Keele University

La Frontera: contesting the cultural construction of the US-Mexico border

Leslie Powner Ph.D.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore the interconnectedness between the history and cultural memory of the United States-Mexico border with a focus on the period 1821 – 1854. In 1821, Mexico gained its independence from Spain; in 1836 it lost its northern province of Texas and in 1848 it acceded half of its existing territory to the United States. The study will explore the connections between this historical narrative and the cultural memory using three cases: Texas, California, and Arizona. The study provides an overview of the historical narrative demonstrating how such narratives are constructed. A model of Hispanicism based on Edward Said's Orientalism will also be used to provide an understanding of how the cultural constructs and cultural memory reveal an hegemonic framework to the process. The thesis also sets this particular study within the context of limology, the interdisciplinary study of borders and borderlands. It will focus particularly upon Emanuel Brunt-Jailly's 4 lens model of borders in order to provide a framework for the study. A range of cultural artefacts will be analysed in each case study to demonstrate how cultural memory structures the historical narrative. The main cultural focus for the Texas case study will be that of the Alamo cenotaph and Alamo films. The California case study will explore the cultural construct of the California Pastoral, a romanticised memory of the state's Hispanic past. The artefacts examined include public festivals that celebrate California's Hispanic past, the California novels of Gertrude Atherton and the myth of Joaquín Murrieta. The Arizona case study explores the concept of cultural amnesia though an examination of the process by which the Hispanic past is excluded from cultural memory. Finally the project seeks to apply the result in an exploration of the contemporary political framework.

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Introduction

Never before has the very nature of American identity been as fundamentally challenged as it is along the southern border, *la Frontera,* today. Here the ways in which Americans have traditionally understood their land are questioned daily by one of the most dynamic ethnic groups within the United States. The Mexican-Americans refuse to allow themselves to be seen within the traditional model of the immigrant. The traditional view is that of the Ellis Island newcomers who seek to break the ties that bind them to the old world and to embrace a new country. Mexican-Americans did not come to the United States. The United States came to them. This study is more than just another example of not achieving the American dream. It is about an issue that could split America in ways that have not been seen since the 1860s. While patriots anguish at the thought that Al Qaeda might sneak in over the southern border, other American citizens whose culture is rooted in the borderlands are facing challenges to their identity, language, and culture.

This study is concerned with the relationship between the historical narrative and cultural memory of *la Frontera* or the United States-Mexico borderlands and the place of Mexican-Americans in the United States today. One way in which that relationship can be seen is in the icons, images and cultural artefacts that attempt to reconstruct the historical narrative. The range of Mexicano and Latino stereotypes found within American popular culture is well documented as are the filmic icons within Hollywood westerns. The most negative image of the Mexican is that of the bandido. The image descended from the earlier image of 'the greaser' in the pages of nineteenth century dime novels and in early silent westerns. It is still a dominant image in film and television. The iconic westerner takes many forms, but the figure of John Wayne still remains one of the most prominent. The idea behind the project arose from two film images that represented this cultural remembrance. Together they raised questions about the nature of the U.S-Mexico borderlands in terms of the interaction between the two republics that shared it.

Both films were produced in the same year, 1948, and in each film the narrative occurs in the Borderlands of Mexico and the United States. The image of the Mexican comes from *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and the image of the westerner comes from *Red River*. The image from the first film is that of the Mexican bandido, Gold Hat, as he threatens the *gringo* prospectors seeking their fortune.[1] The second image is that of Wayne as Tom Dunson asserting his right to seize land from a Mexican *ranchero.*

The part of the bandido was played by the Mexican actor, Alfonso Bedoya, in his first Hollywood film role. Bedoya appeared in many other films during his career in which he played variations on the role of the Mexicano. It was this specific image in the film that was part of the catalyst for the study. In the novel on which the film is based the following dialogue occurs between Gold Hat and Curtin, one of three illegal US prospectors pursuing their right to happiness by searching for Mexican gold.[2]

> "Oiga, senor, listen. We are no bandits. You are mistaken. We are the policiamontada, the mounted police, you know. We are looking for the bandits, to catch them. They have robbed the train, you know".
>
> "All right", Curtin shouted back. "If you are the police, where are your badges? Let's see them."
>
> "Badges, to god-damned hell with badges! We have no badges. In fact, we don't need badges. I don't have to show any stinking badges."

Figure 1 Gold Hat

[1] *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre.* Dir. John Houston. Warner Brothers Pictures. 1948.
[2] B. Traven, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). [The novel was first published by Alfred A Knopf, Inc. 1935.]

Bedoya continued working as a character actor in Hollywood until his death in 1957 and his final appearance was as the Hispanic ranch hand, Ramon Guiteras, in the film *The Big Country.*[3] Although the sympathetic character of Ramon contrasts somewhat with that of Gold Hat, it was yet another stereotype of the Mexicano. On this occasion it is that of a bumbling, naïve simpleton with a funny accent. The impact of his initial role is still potent. As an existential hero who faces death with honour Bedoya stole several scenes from Humphrey. Gold Hat displays courage, wit and pride that contrasts sharply with the stereotypical baseness usually assigned to the stock Hollywood bandido.[4] Despite the quality of the performance, there is a dark side to the image and it can be seen by its inclusion in the racist, mock California driving licence below.[5] What is particularly disturbing is the inversion of Bedoya's dramatic skills into an offensive image.

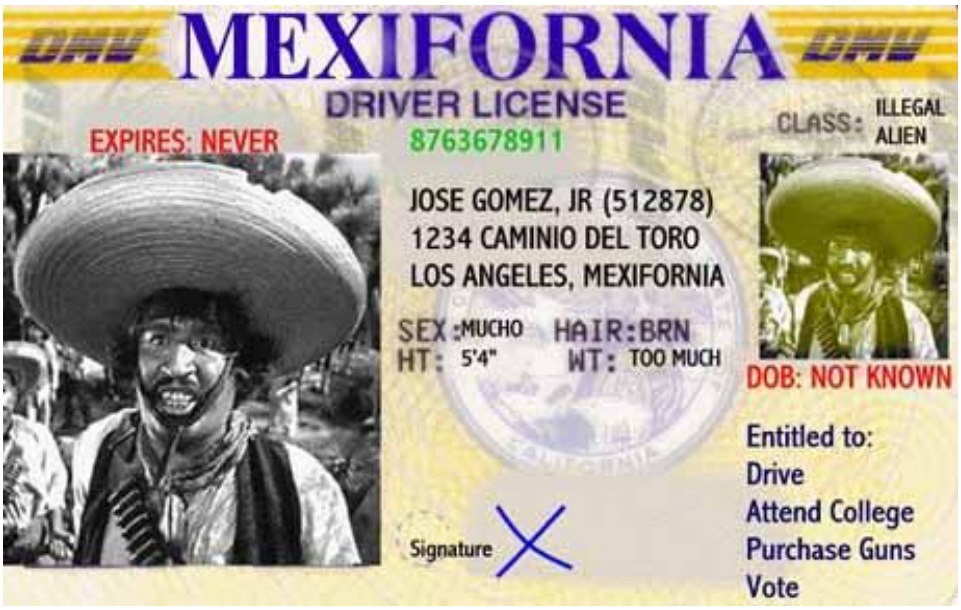

Figure 2 Mexifornia Driving Licence

[3]Dir. William Wyler. United Artists. 1958.
[4]Arthur G Pettet, *Images of the Mexican American in Fiction and Film* (Texas: A & M University Press, 1980) p.148.
[5]Negative racial stereotypes of this kind are not difficult to locate using Google. This particular image can be found at www.thekexperience.okeiweb.com

What is the explanation for the use of this and other negative stereotypes of the Mexicano? The existential hero has become the image of the devious, violent, indolent, immoral, cowardly, disloyal and subversive Mexican. He is the demonstrable child of *la leyanda negra* (the black legend) of Medieval Spain and he threatens the Anglo-American world. Not only is the man a threat, the location of the stereotype is a dangerous and threatening Mexico, the place where the puritanical Anglo-American can find and taste the exotic and the forbidden. Any potential humour in this racist 'joke' is, to say the least in bad taste. The Mexifornian driving licence not only perpetuates the bandido stereotype, but hints at an historical link between the original novel and film. Why, and how, do such stereotypes persist?

The second film image comes from the western, *Red River* and it represents the myth of the heroic man of action squaring off against two *vaqueros* who insist that he remove himself from the land of the unseen *ranchero,* Don Diego.[6] The film's narrative begins in 1851, just 3 years after the end of the Mexican War, and concerns the creation of a Texas cattle empire. Tom Dunson, the creator of the empire, has staked his claim on land in South Texas. The following dialogue occurs between Dunson and Matthew Garth, a young boy who has survived a wagon train attack by Indians and who has been 'adopted' by Dunson.

> Matthew: *Who does this belong to?*
> Dunson**:** *To me. Someday all this will be covered with good beef. I'll put a mark– a brand on it – To show they're mine too.*[7]

Dunson proceeds to brand the few cattle he owns but he is interrupted by the arrival of two *vaqueros* who inform him that the land belongs to Don Diego who lives 600 kilometres away. Dunson's response is to order them to return and inform Don Diego that, from now on, all of his land north of the Rio Grande belongs to Dunson. "Tell him to stay off of it", Dunson orders them. There follows a brief discussion about the land having been given to Don Diego years ago by legal grant and patents. Dunson's response is to declare

[6] *Red River.* Dir. Howard Hawks. United Artists. 1948.
[7] Throughout the text the citations from the films discussed are taken from my own close readings and not from any published scripts.

that, just as Diego took the land from those who were there before, so Dunson is now taking it away from Diego. There is a brief gunfight and the senior of the two *vaqueros is* killed. The survivor is sent on his way with the message that the land has been taken, as Dunson and his companions proceed to bury the man and 'read over him'.

Figure 3 *Red River*

What we have just seen is an act of theft but it is justified by the implication that Dunson has a moral right to claim the land. Throughout the film many of Dunson's character traits are questioned and challenged. He is depicted as selfish, inflexible, ruthless, and harsh in the treatment of his ranch hands. There is, however, no criticism of this act of land piracy. Dunson is an agent of Manifest Destiny and possesses the inherent right of the Anglo-American to acquire Don Diego's land. In the history of the interaction between Mexico and the United States the issue of land entitlement is a key factor in the relationship between the two republics. Both of the films are located in the borderlands and together the two scenes raise fundamental questions about the historical and contemporary links between the two imagined communities. Behind these images lies more than just examples of cultural and media stereotypes.

In order to establish a set of parameters with which to approach these issues, an initial working title provided a direction in which to move. It was *Bandidos, Buccaneers, Ballads and the Border: History, Cultural Identity and Political Reality.* Behind the title was the thesis that, as a result of the entangled histories of the United States and Mexico, certain perceptions of the other took shape and became embedded in their cultural memories. Each of the words provided a focus for the research. The word *Bandidos* describes the ways in which, historically and culturally, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans have been perceived by their northern neighbours. These perceptions are found within the American historical narrative as well as within the cultural memory generated by that historical narrative. The image of the bandido became fixed as the perception of the Mexican as a threat and an image of fear. Alfonso Bedoya, the actor, becomes transformed into a negative icon of the Mexican as an illegal, illiterate, gun-toting immigrant who is a continuing threat to the security and stability of the United States. The inherent racism is inescapable.

The question is, where do the images and the attendant attitudes behind it come from? Stereotypes do not emerge or exist in a cultural vacuum. They are grounded in group and cultural perceptions of the 'other'. These negative stereotypes create, and reinforce, a level of contemporary ignorance, fear, and irrationality. They arise from a culturally inherited perception of a community's history. The group history as it relates to the interaction between Mexico and the United States is focused on the border between the two republics. Examining the history of that border could provide an insight into the process by which the images were formed and why they still persist. It will be argued that their origins are to be found in the initial American responses to Spanish/Mexican culture and they persist today in the American perceptions of Mexico as the home of the drug cartels, coyotes and 'illegal aliens'.

The word *Buccaneers* is intended to capture the alternative Mexicano perception and representation of the American. The historical narrative of the United States recounts the interaction between the two communities, whether through the seizure of Texas or

through the Mexican war, as the achievement of its Manifest Destiny. This was the popular belief that the United States possessed a providential, natural right to extend its boundaries and to acquire the whole of North America. Manifest Destiny was the American justification for the private ventures or filibusters to seize Mexicano territory and is represented in *Red River* by Dunson's seizure of Don Diego's land. For Mexico, its encounter with the Anglo-American, the 'gringo' was experienced in terms of exploitation and land piracy. The alliterative use of the word 'buccaneer' in the working title derives from the fact that the word 'filibuster' comes from the Spanish word, *filibustero*, which in turn is derived from the Dutch word 'vrijbuiter' which translates into English as 'freebooter' or pirate. President Santa Anna clearly regarded the Texas rebels as pirates and 'buccaneer' is a synonym for pirate.[8]

The word *ballad* is the translation of the Spanish word *corridos*, the name given to the narrative folk songs of La Frontera. These are the epic borderland songs and they take their name from the verb, *correr*, meaning 'to run' or 'to flow'. The *corrido* recites its story simply and swiftly, without embellishment. An introduction to the cultural phenomenon of the *corridos* and their representation of the heroic bandit who resists the oppression of *el norte Americano* is provided by Americo Paredes.[9] Paredes places the Mexican *corrido* firmly in the tradition of European border ballads found along the Scottish borders, as well as borders to be found in Spain and Russia. For this project the meaning of the word 'ballad' has been extended to include a range of popular representations of borderland epics whether created by Anglos or Mexicanos. It is argued that 'ballads' can include not just the folk songs but also novels, films, public memorials and festivals that recall the events and persons that are part of the constructed cultural memories of the borderlands.

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[8]Charles H Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980) p.18.

[9]Americo Paredes, *"With His Pistol in His Hand": A Border Ballad and its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958). A useful introduction to the original *corridos* can be found on the CD, *Corridos y Tragedias de la Frontera: First Recordings of Historic Mexican-American Ballads* (*1928-37)*. Arhoolie Productions, 1994. The collection includes the ballad of Joaquín Murrieta who forms part of the California case study in Chapter 4.

The *border* is more than a line drawn upon a map. It is geographically and culturally wider and provides the locus for the historical narrative and the various cultural technologies that celebrate the narrative. A border, resonantly known in Spanish as *la Frontera*, is the location of the historical events on which the communities built these cultural ballads and images. Both the United States and Mexico share a history that can be measured in the sense that the borderlands have a relatively short history. This study focuses primarily on the period 1821-1854, when the current border emerged. Although the entangled histories of the two countries had begun prior to 1821, it was during this period of conflict, rebellion and warfare that the cultural interaction began, and continues today.

In 1821 Mexico became an independent republic and the southern neighbour of the United States. It was a country with a culture, history, religion and language different to that of its American neighbour to the North. In 1836, it lost its province of Tejas to both legal and illegal American migrants, although Mexico refused to recognise the new independent republic. The Mexican War in 1846 finally deprived Mexico of half of its geographic area. Later the United States gained additional territory from Mexico through the Gadsden Purchase of 1854. It is to this historical narrative that the three chosen cultural images of bandidos, buccaneers, and ballads refer, and it is the nature of that reference that is the concern of this study. Is there a connecting thread between the events that form the historical narrative, the cultural memory that recites that narrative, and the contemporary perceptions that influence current events and attitudes? The thesis is that such a connection exists and its dynamic can be demonstrated.

For the United States, this was the period of continental expansionism known as Manifest Destiny.[10] Manifest Destiny articulated the conviction that the extension of America's national boundaries was an inevitable consequence of the providential and natural right of the country to extend and acquire the whole of North and Central America,

[10]Thomas R Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985). The phrase was coined by the political journalist John L O' Sullivan in 1845 in an article written for *The Democratic Review, 1845.*

"from sea to shining sea".[11] Manifest Destiny became the rallying cry throughout America during the presidency of Andrew Jackson and following presidencies up to the Civil War. The notion of Manifest Destiny was publicized in the popular press and was advertised and argued for by politicians throughout the nation. The idea of Manifest Destiny became the torch that lit the way for the expansionism that was first to touch and then absorb the borderlands. For Mexico, the impact of Manifest Destiny brought the experience of exploitation and filibustering by the United States. In addition to the Tejanos who were subsumed into the Texas republic, nearly eight thousand Mexican citizens lived in the regions seized through the Mexican War. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo contained diplomatic assurances as to their status, but the reality was different and their experiences raise the question of their status as citizens within the United States. It is necessary at the beginning to consider this issue of incorporation of the former Mexican citizens who were assigned American citizenship because it raises a fundamental issue about what it means to be an American.

The question, 'what is an American', is far from new. It was raised immediately after the North American colonies seized their independence and has been repeated frequently throughout the Republic's history in the various forms of Nativism and Americanism. These were forms of an exclusivity that defined American identity as the crucial dogmatic response to the events that led to the birth of the republic. To be American was perceived as being radically different in essence. This was because the United States was seen as an historical, political exception. It is argued that American Exceptionalism has permeated every period of American history.[12] It is the single most powerful set of assumptions that has influenced the various periods of the country's history as well as an essential concept for understanding the contemporary American scene. It has dominated the current political debate especially after 9/11 when the paranoia triggered by the Twin Towers attack raised fears about Muslim American

[11]'America the Beautiful', the patriotic song written by Katharine Lee Bates in 1893.
[12]Deborah L. Madsen, *American Exceptionalism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p.3.

loyalties. There is current hostility, not only towards the Republic of Mexico, but towards Mexican-Americans whose roots may previously have been below the border but who are now U.S. citizens. The project will demonstrate that this hostility towards Mexicanos has roots that lie in the nineteenth century and possibly before. It explores the issue of what it means to be an American with regard to the status of Mexican-Americans but the conclusion that will be offered has relevance for all ethnic American groups.

When the new nation was born, the dominant ethnicity in the Republic was Anglo-European and there was no place for two other identifiable ethnic groups, Indians and Negroes. An ethnic caste system existed between the three groups brought together on the same continent.[13] The Europeans had arrived by choice and brought with them, in chains, the African-American. The Native American was already there and although in its early years the United States would identify the Native American tribes as sovereign states, it was a short-lived recognition. The European saw himself as the 'man par excellence' and believed he stood above the other, 'lesser breeds without the law'.[14] As de Tocqueville noted:

> These two unlucky races have neither birth, physique, language, nor more in common; only their misfortunes are alike. Both occupy an equally inferior position in the land where they dwell; both suffer the effects of tyranny, and, although their afflictions are different, they have the same people to blame for them.[15]

This sense of its exceptionality quickly affected the United States' attitude towards the Spanish. As the United States expanded over the continent, the Mexican-American community was pulled into it as a consequence of the drive throughout the nineteenth century for America to fulfil its Manifest Destiny. A key issue is, where did, and where do, Mexican-Americans fit into the definition of, 'what is an American'? They are perceived as another ethnic group that 'arrived' voluntarily and with which America has to deal. If ethnicity is socially constructed then there are questions about where, how, and why a specific ethic group comes into existence. Is ethnic identity imported fully formed from its

[13] See Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* ed. by J.P. Mayer and Max Lerner (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), Chapter 10 p.291ff.
[14]Rudyard Kipling,"Recessional 1897" in *A Choice of Kipling's Verse, made by T.S*. Eliot. (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1963), p.139.
[15] De Tocqueville, p.292.

previous homeland, or is it shaped in its new environment? If it is the case that an ethnic group is the product of its new environment, what determines its boundaries, characteristics, and functions? Is it defined by the dominant society or does it define itself? Is ethnicity assigned or is it the outcome of personal choice?[16]

Ethnicity is not a natural human trait; it is primarily a social construct. I argue that the dominant society imposes ethnicity on other groups as it seeks to define itself. When we equate ethnicity with race, then a number of ethnic groups can be lumped together without any acknowledgement of the place of history and culture in shaping their ethnicity. We have the phenomenon of every Central and South American country and culture being labelled as Latino or Hispanic by the United States. Ironically, in the American Southwest, a common Mexicano practice was to define all whites as 'Anglos' which ignored and denigrated the cultural variety present in the group labelled as such. Such attitudes, from whatever side, ignore the culture and history of each ethnic group.[17]

It is generally agreed that the United States is the most ethnically diverse nation state in the world. It contains a disparate range of ethnic groups whose presence is a consequence of the exercise of choice.[18] They came as a consequence of voluntary immigration which was, before 1924, the policy of the United States. Most of the immigrants came via the Atlantic seaboard and this was the source of the Ellis Island myth that immigration was a matter of choice. You were American because you chose to come to America. There was no such choice for the three groups identified in the diagram on page 13. The experience of African-Americans, Native-Americans and Mexican-Americans challenges the myth that America's ethnic diversity is solely the result of voluntary migration.

Figure 4 on page 13 illustrates the nature of this involuntary caste system. The terms used in the diagram seek to provide a critical perspective from which to find an alternative response to the question, 'what is an American?' There are three separate and

[16] Jason McDonald, *American Ethnic History: Themes and Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 8.
[17] p.18.
[18] p.22.

distinct ethnic groups whose presence in the United States was not based on any conscious choice to become part of the United States. 'Foreignness' is used to describe Native-Americans because this was how they were seen by the Anglo-Europeans. The label explains the distinct cultural, linguistic, and historical differences the Anglo-Europeans perceived in their new-found neighbours. The word 'Different' expresses the Anglo-American view of African-Americans and the difference was perceived as racial. The African American culture (if not their history) was imposed upon them by their owners. African-Americans were the victims of the western slave trade. As was the case with Native-Americans, the African-American experience exposes the myth of America's ethnic diversity as the outcome of a voluntary movement on the part of every incoming group. As for the Mexican-American experience, Chicano scholars have compared the experiences of the Mexican-Americans with that of Native Americans.[19] In the case studies offered in this study, initially Mexican-Americans became part of the complex ethnicity of the United States primarily because they were conquered. They did not choose to cross the border; the border crossed them.

[19]McDonald, p.29.

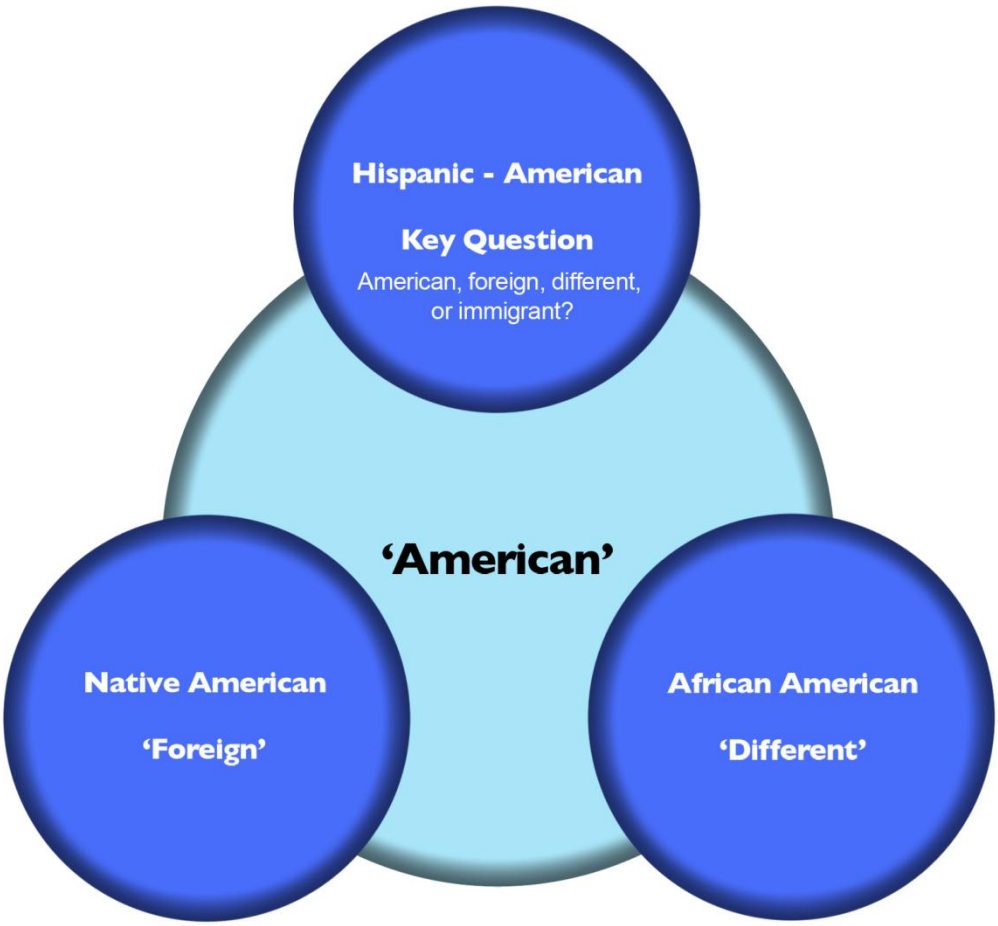

Figure 4 Non-voluntary Migration Model

The Mexican-American experience was the result of events in the nineteenth century and not a consequence of voluntary immigration.[20] The Texas rebellion and the subsequent annexation of Texas was the first occasion when Mexicans found themselves located within a republic where the Anglo-Saxons dominated. The seizure of the additional Mexican territories of California and New Mexico in the 1846 Mexican War saw the expansion of a Spanish-speaking ethnic group into the United States. Both these events placed some 80,000 former Mexican citizens within the United States.

There are other reasons for the Mexicano presence in America and the majority of Mexican-Americans are descendants of immigrants who crossed the border in the twentieth century. Their experience of Anglo-American domination is outside the scope of

[20] Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), p.2.

this project. Some came as refugees from the Mexican Revolution or as economic migrants caught in the 'push-pull' dynamic that drives most migratory patterns. Whether they arrived as a result of nineteenth century American expansionism or in a later migration; they radically affected the cultural landscape of the American Southwest. Their presence challenges the Anglo-American understanding of their place in the wider American society. It is natural that Mexican-Americans stressed their culture and history in order to maintain their ethnic identity. It is also understandable that they have sought to resist their assimilation into the dominant culture.

American identity has been defined in terms of both 'salience' and 'substance'.[21] Salience refers to the importance Americans place on their national identity as opposed to other identities they may possess. Substance describes the essence of what Americans believe they share in common and which distinguishes them from other peoples. Yet there is a negative trait within the American psyche which conflicts with this open tradition. Many Americans find it difficult to respond positively to the presence of those whose historical and cultural experience does not fit the standard model of being 'American'. Their experience contrasts with those of European ethnic groups who fit the Ellis Island model. The three non-voluntary groups effectively became internal colonies. Internal colonies arise when minority ethnic groups are subordinated by a dominant nation state. This was the experience of those Mexicans who, after the end of the Mexican War in 1848, found themselves within the United States. They were not immigrants any more than were African-American and Native-Americans. They acquired their status within the United States through this internal colonialism which, although less organised and structured than external colonialism, experiences the same consequences. The dominant culture imposes a new structure of law, culture, and language upon the dominated group. The experience of the three groups challenges the authenticity and efficacy of the 'American Creed'. The internal colonial experience of the Mexican-Americans has been called 'barrioization' to describe the process by which residentially and socially segregated

[2121] See Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2004), Chapter 1.

Mexican-American neighbourhoods (barrios) were formed in both rural and urban areas of the Southwest.[22] Mexican-Americans retreated into a closed social universe in response to the hostile world dominated by Anglo Americans. The process had two outcomes. There was a positive outcome in that the barrios protected the Mexican-Americans' cultural heritage. Conversely, barrioization also resulted in further social, economic, and political marginalisation.

Research Methodologies

There are three components to the research undertaken during the project. There is the literature search, the field work trips taken along the borderlands, and the research into primary sources. It is also necessary to explain and justify the choices of the three case studies and to provide an explanation of the variety of cultural artefacts and technologies selected.

The purpose of this study is to explore the interconnectedness between the history and cultural memory of the United States-Mexico border with a specific focus on the period, 1821-1854. The study of borders and borderlands is now an interdisciplinary field, so the net cast in the literary search has had to be wide. The width of background reading is evidenced by the catholicity of the bibliography. The research has also included the examination of cultural artefacts including visual media products as well as public acts of celebration such as festivals and memorials. This area was crucial to a discussion of how cultural memory is structuredand maintained. What follows is a summary of the key texts used to provide the conceptual framework that supports the study.

Literature Review

The extent of the literature search undertaken can be measured by the bibliography listed. There were a number of key works which provided the conceptual framework behind the study. Two texts which provided a helpful introduction to understanding the functions of historiography and the narrative processes available to historians were: Alex Callinicos'

[22]Albert Camarillo, (1979) pp. 117-126.

Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History[23] and Keith Jenkins' On *What is History? from Carr and Elton to Rorty.*[24] Together they offered insight into the nature of historical writing and its underpinning philosophies of history. Of particular value were the ideas of Hayden White as outlined by Jenkins in Chapter 5 "On Hayden White". Jenkins also provided an explanation of White's understanding of the range of fictive forms available to the historian. A direct encounter with White's ideas came from his *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* and *Tropics of Discourse.*[25] Also of value for understanding the links between historical narrative and cultural memory was Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past.*[26] Zerubavel examines the ways in which history is socially constructed and the past is registered and organised in our minds. History, he argues, includes shared cultural celebration through holidays and festivals, monuments, memorials, artefacts, and memorabilia. Read in conjunction with White's understanding of the fictive nature of historical texts, Zerubavel provided a further tool for handling the fact that our understanding of the past needs a range of patterns in order to be read more effectively.

Two further works that addressed the nature of cultural memory were Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories; The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic and the Politics of Remembering*[27] and David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: the Civil War in American Memory.*[28] The merging of these two fields enabled me to construct my argument that historical narrative and cultural memory are closely linked. They can be regarded as two sides of a single coin. It also became clear that this study of the U.S.-Mexico border took one into an even wider interdisciplinary field. The border was not a single uniform entity.

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[23] Alex Callinicos, *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
[24] Keith Jenkins, *On What is History?: from Carr and Elton to Rorty* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[25] Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973); *Tropics of Discourse.*(Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1978).
[26] Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
[27] Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories; The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
[28] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: the Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

This was brought home through an encounter of the work of Joan Anderson and James Gerber in their economic study *Fifty Years of Change on the US-Mexican Border: Growth, Development, and Quality of Life*.[29] This provided an introduction to the economic issues that have influence the development of the Borderlands and it was based on field work along the borderlands. This was also the case with the research of Tony Payan which is found in The *Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security.*[30] Both of these texts and personal conversations with their authors provided the realisation that there are distinct borders with distinct histories and cultural memories.

It soon became necessary to embrace the complexity of borderlands and to develop a connection with the interdisciplinary study of borders and borderlands, also known as limology. A general overview of the discipline was provided by the work of Vladimir Kolossov. The framework for the development of my own model came from my encounter with the work of Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly as well as the studies undertaken by Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol.[31] However, the conceptual framework is only a part of the research of equal importance has been my own personal borderland encounters during the field research.

The Field Work

The field work has been an essential component of this study. No engagement with *la Frontera* would have any validity unless it involved an actual experience of the region, its geography, its people and its ambience. My first experience of *la Frontera* was in August 2007 with a trip to Laredo, Texas, the year before this project began. An initial awareness

[29] Joan Anderson and James Gerber, *Fifty Years of Change on the US-Mexican Border: Growth, Development, and Quality of Life* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).
[30] Tony Payan, *The Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security* (Westport, Texas: Preager Security International).
[31] Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, ed., *Borderlands: Comparing Border Security in North America and Europe.* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press 2007) Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel "Theorizing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Perspective" in *Geopolitics* vol 10: number 4, pp 633 – 649.; Vladimir Kolossov, "Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches" in *Geopolitics*, vol 10, number, 4, pp. 606 – 632. (2005).
Victor Konrad, and Heather Nicol, "Border Culture, the Boundary between Canada and the United States, and the Advancement of Borderland Theory" in *Geopolitics* vol 16: no 1, pp. 70 – 90, (2011).

of a different, less comfortable perspective on the border came from the reaction of Texans I met in Richardson and Dallas when they learnt of my destination. They made it very clear that Laredo was not a place they would choose to go and that anyone who did was 'unwise' to say the least. Their perceptions and representations of Laredo led me to the view that this was a case of one dealing with asymmetric power relations. While the Texans would vacation along the Mexican Gulf and Pacific coast and visit Central Mexico, the twin towns of Laredo and Nuevo Laredo were not part of a preferred itinerary. Both towns proved to be very different to other North American cities I had previously encountered. Laredo, Texas, was a Spanish-speaking community. The elderly lady at the downtown motel spoke no English and the motel did not take credit or debit cards. The border took the form of a physical bridge with Border Patrol officers very much in charge. The walk into Nuevo Laredo across the Rio Grande was my first contact with the Mexican *Frontera* but it seemed to be just a continuation of what existed north of the river. It was something of a surprise to discover that a coin in a machine similar to a parking meter would permit my exit from the United States into Mexico. It took a further, less expensive, ticket from a Mexican machine to allow a return. During the few hours spent in Nuevo I was frequently asked if I needed any 'prescription' drugs or medical treatment of any kind. It was my introduction to the borderlands as a location for free market health care. The trip provided a further introduction to the physical presence of the Customs and Border Patrol (CHP). The crossing back happened without any hitch but a few miles out of Laredo on the road back to Richardson was my first experience of a CHP checkpoint where every vehicle was pulled off the Interstate for the checking of the vehicle and the questioning of its driver and passengers.

The next moment of serendipity came in the first semester of my post-graduate programme when I was able to make contact with Professor James Gerber, Head of the Latino Studies Department at San Diego State University. Professor Gerber invited me to meet with him and other members of the Department in the first week of March. I was also able to undertake initial research in the Library's Nasatir collection where I became more

familiar with the potential range of materials relating to borderland studies. The same trip allowed me to undertake two days of initial research at the Huntington Library in California. As a result of my searches, I identified two sets of materials that would be of value for further areas of research. I gained access to the library's Mexican War Collection which broadened my familiarity with this aspect of the border's historical narrative. The collection included correspondence from Mexican and American officers involved in the siege of Monterrey in 1846 and provided a sense of encounter with the origins of the border. The second area that was opened up by my research at Huntington, was that of popular novels representing the history of California in the chosen historical period. Among the literary texts within the library was a first edition of Gertrude Atherton's *Before the Gringo Came*. It was my first encounter with her California novels discussed in Chapter 4 and the concept of the California Pastoral.

In March 2009 and February 2010, I was able to make two field trips in the form of journeys along the borderlands. The first trip took me from San Diego to El Paso and, on the journey I made a number of brief border crossings into Mexico at Tecate, California, Columbus and Douglas, Arizona, and Piedras Negras in Texas. I spent two nights in Nogales where I undertook research at the public library into the history of *los ambos Nogales* before reaching El Paso, Texas. There I met with Tony Payan and Sam Brunck of the University of Texas, El Paso and made a crossing into Ciudad Juarez. I returned to my starting point in San Diego where, before returning to the U.K., I crossed the Border at San Ysidra into Tijuana where I interviewed José Manuel Velenzuela, Co-ordinator of el colegio de la norte and Dr. Laura Velasco Ortiz. They provided me with a firmer sense of Mexicano perspectives on borderland studies.

My 2010 field trip enabled me to complete the borderland journey from El Paso to Brownsville on the Gulf of Mexico. Of particular importance was the opportunity to undertake archive research at the Alamo Library in San Antonio, Texas which generated the materials used in Chapter 3. I had begun this trip from Scottsdale, Arizona where on my return I had arranged an interview with the local County Sheriff, Joe Arpaio whose

controversial approaches to immigration and punishment had gained him both national and international attention. The material produced in the interview is included in Chapter 5. One interesting point to mention here is that, when the interview had been concluded, I told the sheriff that I would forward a copy of the material. He made it clear that he had no interest in the outcome and that I did not need to bother.

The major consequence from the field work was the realisation that the border is not unitary. There are, in fact, various borders that divide the United States from Mexico. There are clearly discernible differences in the borderland historical narratives and the cultural memories that are constructed from those narratives. The experience of distinct borders led to the decision to study *la Frontera* through the three borderland case studies contained here. The case studies constitute the centre of the project but there was a need to provide a conceptual framework with which to examine them. This combination of the conceptual perspective and the exposition of the case studies is the explanation of the structure of the project.

Chapter 1 is concerned to locate this project in the wider context of border and borderland studies. The first part of the chapter provides a brief account of the development of borderland studies from its beginnings as a component of geography to its current status as a rich interdisciplinary field of study. The chapter then sets out a number of models of borders and borderland studies which can be applied to the case studies. While the main focus of this section is upon Emanuel Brunet-Jailly's 4-Lens model for borderland theory, attention is given to further models that have contributed to this study.

Chapter 2 sets out the interconnectedness between historical narrative and cultural memory. In addition the first part of the chapter proposes the construction of a model of Hispanicism drawn from Edward Said's model of Orientalism. The Hispanicism model is offered as a means of understanding the cultural memories that have been constructed from the Anglo perspectives upon the historical narrative. The chapter then sets out the argument that historical narrative provides the material for the cultural memory of an "imagined community". There is a visual representation of the relationship

between narrative and cultural celebration and the chapter identifies the range of fictive narratives available to the historiographer. The second part of the chapter provides an outline of the historical narrative relating to the historical period 1821-1854. It does so with the purpose of identifying the beginnings of Hispanicism, but with the proviso that the process was underway even before the birth of the Mexican republic.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 offer three case studies and each case study explores a different and distinct region of the U.S.-Mexico border.[32] The differences are historical because the three borders appeared at different points in time. The Texas border came into being in 1836 when the independent republic arose from a period of suspicion, violent conflict, and cultural difference. California, one of the victor's spoils from the Mexican War, shaped its history into cultural memory filtered through a fictional romanticism. Arizona was not originally seen by the United States as part of the glorious fulfilment promised by the nation's destiny. Indeed, the 'imagined community' of Arizona did not emerge until after the Gadsden Purchase, but it has created its own sense of what it means to be an American. The case studies are also different because each one demonstrates a contrasting cultural memory. In the case of Texas, its memory deletes the positive and accentuates the negative contribution of the Tejano. Its cultural memory is of a Republic that was born out of a struggle against tyrannical rule. It was recalled as a repeat of the Revolutionary War that gave the United States its independence. This cultural memory sees the Mexican as the other and in its recitation and celebration of its history has created only a limited accommodation of the Tejano contribution to the events of 1835–36.

The second case study explores the history of the conquest of California during the Mexican War. The Californian experience is recalled differently when compared with that of Texas. It is a reminder that the U.S.-Mexico border was never uniform either in terms of its historical narrative or its cultural identity. This difference is reflected in the contrasting historical perspectives and cultural memory. California whitewashes the

[32] It is recognised that there is a fourth border included in the historical narrative; the New Mexico border. It was excluded mainly on the basis that, its experience was similar to that of California. Arizona offered a third perspective

negative and fantasises the positive. The California case study explores the ways in which the historical narrative and cultural identity elements contrast with the Texas experience but fits into the California experience. Although California was brought into the continental United States by conquest, its cultural memory has, it is argued, romanticised the Hispanic past.

The third case study is that of Arizona which was selected because of the contemporary nature of its Hispanic construct. Historically, Arizona did not exist as a specific region under Spanish or Mexican rule. It emerged after the Gadsden Purchase and the State has come to define itself as different. In the current debate about the U.S.-Mexico border, Arizona demonstrates an approach to the border that has forgotten or ignored a significant part of its past. It is argued that Arizona emphasises the negative and is fearful of engaging positively with its Hispanic past.

As well as offering three distinct case studies, the project also offers contrasting examples of the cultural artefacts discussed and analysed. In one sense this contrast is a product of the serendipity mentioned previously. A study of the cultural memory of Texas has to include a consideration of representations of the Alamo, the main icon of the Texas rebellion. The inclusion of Alamo films was an understandable decision, as was the inclusion of the Alamo Cenotaph in San Antonio. In the California case study, the choice of Gertrude Atherton came from my encounter with her work in the Huntington Library. The discovery that her romance, *Los Cerritos* drew on the myth of the *Californio* bandit Joaquín Murrieta brought me back to the working title of 'ballads and borders'. The research into the cultural memory of California led to the inclusion of public festivals and celebrations.

In the case of Arizona, its historical amnesia has produced only a limited amount of readily identifiable Hispanic constructs. The field trip along the Arizona border provided plenty of historic markers relating to the Apache Wars but a dearth of commemorative plaques celebrating the Hispanic. Given the current attitudes within Arizona regarding the border and its peoples, this comes as no surprise. In terms of both its historical narrative

and cultural memory, Arizona appears to stand in contrast to Texas and California. During their Hispanic past Texas and California had clear identities. They were settled regions during the Spanish Colonial period and became part of the new republic of Mexico in 1821. The acquisition of Texas by its American colonials in 1836 and the conquest of California in 1846 provide the United States with two states that possessed a pre-Anglo history. Arizona had no such clear existence prior to 1863, when it became a United States territory. Under Spanish and Mexican rule the desert region known as Apacheria was sparsely settled and was primarily under Apache domination. It belonged partly to the province of Sonora to the south and to New Mexico to the north.

The American settlers who lobbied for Arizona's status as a state did so out of the wish not to be ruled from Santa Fe, the predominantly Mexican territory prior to 1846. Settled by Texans and southerners, Arizona developed an identity in which it viewed itself as decidedly Western. As a result there proved to be a dearth of material that acknowledged an Hispanic past. It will be argued that, as a result, the current arguments and debates within Arizona become more understandable. The focus of the historical narrative and the cultural memory has been upon a Turnerian self-image in which the dominant feature is that of victory over the Native American other which has been recited to the exclusion of the Hispanic element which is seen as alien.

However, this project is more than a comparative study of ethnic cultural differences or the entangled history of the borderlands. It is driven by a concern to challenge the continuing view that *la Frontera* is a place to fear and to seal with walls and increased militarisation. What lies behind the case studies is a wish to search for a dual perspective on the historical narrative and its cultural memory that goes beyond a dystopian perspective. It will be argued that the borderland is a rich cultural soil that is able to produce a perspective of what it means to be an American. The concern will be to embrace a wider and more encompassing approach to citizenship. There needs to be a move beyond the persistent negative representation of the other, into the construction of a

new understanding of what it means to be an American. For that to happen it requires that *la Frontera* is embraced as being crucial to the achievement of this goal.

Finally, the ethnic terminology requires explanation. *Latino* and *Hispanic* are used as general terms to describe all Spanish-speaking Americans who can trace their origin to the Spanish Empire. The term *Mexican* is applied as a general term for citizens of the Mexican Republic. *Mexicano* describes those Mexican citizens who are resident in the United States, including both those with a legal visa status but also those who are living and working within the United States without valid legal documentation. *Mexican-American* is used to define United States citizens who share the same roots but who were born in the United States or became naturalised citizens. *Tejanos* and *Californios* refer to the native-born Spanish speaking inhabitants of Texas and California. *Chicano/a* is the term coined during the Civil Rights movement of the 1950/60s to emphasise the specific ethnic richness of their *Mexicano* origins. It is also possesses a highly potent political message that still has an impact in the current debate about citizenship and identify.

Chapter 1: Borderland Studies, Historical Narrative and Cultural Memory.

> The U.S.-Mexico border *es una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages (*sic)* again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country – a border culture. Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*. A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition.[1]

Introduction

Gloria Anzaldúa's personalised study of *La Frontera* is a key text in the literature of the borderlands. It provides an important reminder that an awareness of the interplay between historical narrative and cultural memory is crucial to understanding the complexities of borders and borderlands. A border is more than a line drawn upon a map. Such lines can be inaccurate and they can frequently fail to capture the complex community networks that exist along and around borders.[2] The false idea that borders are only lines leads to the neglect of the historical narratives that lie behind the borders.

This is especially so when new borders are imposed upon already settled territories. It needs to be recognised that, although borders are frequently thought of as lines of separation, they are, paradoxically, zones of contact and interaction between peoples. A borderland is a region where countries, communities, cultures and histories mix to produce an entangled history. An entangled history is established where two, or more, countries stand astride a common meeting point and where the communities intermingle in complex ways. The complexity of a borderland means that it is not possible to fully understand the history of one country without addressing its interaction with the other. This is true of any border where historical legitimacy has remained contested, such as the border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.[3]

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[1] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), p.3.

[2] See the discussion in Chapter 2 concerning the problems created by the 1851 Boundary Commission's insistence on the use of Disturnell's inaccurate map to determine a fixed border.

[3] A further example is seen in the tension between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia. The latter is still formally known as the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia in the United Nations in order to appease Greek sensitivities.

Every border is unique and peculiar and possesses its own specific history and cultural interactions. In order to engage in a systematic study of any border it is important to be aware of the need to apply comparative studies to our understanding. This has led to the recognition of Borderland studies or limology as a pertinent discipline for this project.[4] Borderland studies has become an interdisciplinary field and the use of the generic term 'limology' to capture its complexity reminds us of that fact. Limology draws from a range of disparate fields that include the social and political sciences, economics, and geography, as well as history and cultural studies. Borders are complex social phenomenon with major implications for our understanding of human psychology and social organisation. This needs to be borne in mind in order to avoid a narrow perspective.

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of the interdisciplinary nature of limology. The interdisciplinary complexity of borderland studies and borderland theory can be seen in the changes in the content of *Borderlands*, the Journal of Borderland Studies. When the journal was first published in 1986 by the Association for Borderland Studies, it focused primarily upon the North American borders, and the U.S.-Mexico border in particular. The expansion of the range of the discipline is demonstrated by an examination of the contents of a recent issue of the journal.[5] In April 2011, the journal contained articles dealing with the Balkans, the BSE crisis in the North American Transboundary Plains-Prairies region, cross border co-operation within the European Union, and the agenda for Polycentric Metropolitan Competiveness in the "Grande Region". The journal's international advisory board included academics from Israel, Nigeria, Singapore, and India and this project needs to acknowledge this interdisciplinary nature of limology and to draw from it where appropriate.

This chapter provides an introduction to the complexity of Borderland studies and then proceeds to draw from the range of concepts and theories that the field of borderland studies has generated. Borderland studies is now a complex discipline and a range of

[4]The word 'limology' is drawn from Vladimir Kolossov, "Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches" in *Geopolitics*, vol 10: no 4, 2005, pp.606-632.
[5] *Borderlands*: The Journal of Borderlands Studies, volume 26, Number 1 (2011).

borderland theories and models are available. Some of the studies and the approaches they offer will be explored in this chapter with the intention of applying some of the models to gain a sharper focus upon the dynamics of the borderlands. The chapter will also examine the relationship between historical narrative and cultural memory. The argument will be made that an awareness of this relationship is crucial to our understanding of the dynamics of borderlands.

The Rise and Growth of Borderland Studies.

This section draws upon a key article written by Vladimir Kolossov, which supplied an initial introduction to limology and borderland studies.[6] The article provided an outline of the development of border studies from the turn of the twentieth century to present post-modern theories of borderlands. The first academic discipline to concern itself with the study of borders and borderlands was Geography. The geographical approach to borders that arose in the late nineteenth century was concerned with understanding the origins and the evolution of borders. From its beginning as a component within a single academic discipline, the study of borders has moved from these narrow limitations and developed into the rich, interdisciplinary field of borders and borderland studies. Kolossov reminds us that, "The history of humanity is the history of wars and wars have had boundary change as at least one objective".[7] There is now a range of theoretical approaches to borderland studies which fall into two distinct groups. The first group consists of traditional forms of borderland methodologies and includes historical mapping in addition to the typological, functional and political approaches to interpreting the nature of borders.

In the period following the First World War the political concern was to avoid future conflicts through the process of border allocation, delimitation and demarcation. There was also a concern to understand the relationship between the functions of national boundaries, the foreign policies of political regimes, and the interactions between

[6]Vladimir Kolossov, "Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches" in *Geopolitics* vol 10*:* no 4, pp. 606 -632, (2005). This essay is the key source for the information in this section.
[7] p.606.

neighbouring states. These approaches led to the realisation that what was required was an interdisciplinary dimension to the study of borderlands. It was acknowledged that a substantial interconnectedness existed between a particular political regime and the functions of its boundary. It was frequently the case that a stronger state imposed the line and its policing upon a weaker neighbour.[8] This was true, as we shall see in the following chapter, of the U.S.-Mexico border where the primary agent, the United States, was the more powerful of the two republics. In the same period it was also realised that a border could be identified by either its natural features or its ethnic groupings, together or separately. Consequently, the political dimension of borderlands needed to be included when developing a detailed study of a specific border region.

The growing discipline of limology was used to allocate the post-First World War European borders and later it was the basis for the construction of the boundaries of the various colonial possessions in Asia and Africa. Typological approaches to borders dealt with the classification of types of borders and it regarded the complex relationship between borders as creating both barriers as well as lines of contact between different communities. Since the 1950s the Functional approach to borderland studies has been applied to the attempt to understand the migratory flow of peoples over and through borders. The Functional approach has also addressed issues that arise when borders become points of mutual influence and interaction. Functional methodologies have led to borders being viewed as multidimensional as well as dynamic social phenomena. Borders were seen as containing, both implicitly and explicitly, the dimension of landscape. This is the case with regard to this study of the U.S.-Mexico border. The project has revealed the part played within *la Frontera* by its physical elements such as the rivers, mountains and deserts of the southwest in defining the nature of the border.

During the Colonial period and in the later struggles for political independence from the imperial powers, the Europeans imposed their concept of the boundary in the regions of Asia and Africa where, before the arrival of imperialism, the concept of a

[8]Kolossov, p. 611.

border, as a strict line of separation between two clearly defined nations boundary was unknown. The same process occurred in North America when the European settlers arrived. They initially imposed boundaries on the indigenous Native Americans and defined limits to each other's territories. Before the Europeans had arrived the concept of borders was unknown to the North American Indians. The development of the reservation system was the next stage in this process of imposing boundaries up other ethnic groups.

After the Second World War, researchers began to give attention to a Functional approach to border studies as they addressed the questions of how boundaries functioned and how they were affected by political and territorial factors. During this period political scientists began to apply models drawn from the study of international relationships and ideas regarding the functions of state boundaries. It is possible to identify the presence of two sub categories within a Political approach called, respectively, the *realistic* and the *liberal* paradigms.

The realistic paradigm regards the state as the key political player where the boundaries between states serve as strict lines of division that protect and preserve the state's sovereignty and its security. The liberal paradigm operates from the perspective that sovereign states are not the sole players, or, even, the key players in the dynamics of a borderland. The liberal paradigm regards the major purpose of a boundary as being the connection point between neighbours which allows them to engage in appropriate interactions. The essential political tasks that a state needs to undertake at a border are the improvement of the cross boundary links and the strengthening of the channels of communication. In this context the political objective is to reduce the impact of territorial disputes and border conflicts.

An additional political paradigm was developed later. This was the global paradigm which was concerned to analyse international networks and to examine the ways in which these networks connected with economic and political factors along the borders. Despite this increase of knowledge and information about borders, there remains a need for still more substantial theoretical reflection. It became clear that borders could not be

understood simply at the national level nor could they be explained simply in terms of a line between two or more nations.[9] Borders were far more complex.

In the 1970s the political sciences began to examine borders as the source of conflict between neighbouring countries and communities. There was an exploration of methods which would enable international conflicts and border disputes to be resolved through peace-making and peace-keeping strategies. A further development took place in the 1980s that made use of world systems and territorial identities to analyse the place of border problems and conflicts in the process of nation and state building. The principles of border policy and border cooperation were studied for the purpose of creating and strengthening transboundary regions. The same decade saw the rise of geopolitical approaches to borders and borderlands where the objective was to explore the impact of globalization upon political borders. There were further moves to examine borders from the perspective of applying military, political and security strategies.

A further disciplinary focus came about from an approach to border studies based on a methodology known as 'practice-policy-perception' (PPP). The PPP approach considers borders to be points of social representation and the locus where the reality of ecopolitics (that is, the interconnection between politics and ecological concerns), is to be found. PPP also offers a perspective on borderland studies that seeks to synthesise the latest theoretical achievements with some of the traditional approaches discussed above which still possess practical value. The Functional approach regards a border as more than a legal institution solely concerned with guaranteeing the integrity of state territory. A border is the product of social practice as well as the outcome of a lengthy historical and geopolitical development. Borders are an integral component of the ethnic and political identity of a people. The PPP approach provides a range of tools with which to analyse the complexity of borderlands.[10]

This makes it possible to focus on informal cross-border movements around and across borders such as business networks, local community links, as well as the

[9] Kolossov, p. 612.
[10] Ibíd. p.625.

contribution of non-government organisations (NGOs) to the development of border regions. PPP has a further value in its application to the analysis of border policy in terms of state, international, institutional and legal infrastructures. It allows consideration to be given to the ways in which formal structures enable transboundary flows and it can also be applied to the complex relationship between the border as a barrier, and as a boundary. When PPP is applied to this balance between the border as barrier and the borders as boundary, it becomes possible to determine the degree of permeability that is present. PPP can be used to address the range of perceptions that are held about the border by the range of agencies present. It seeks to understand the border through an examination of its specific character and the way in which that character has evolved. For example, the United States has two continental borders, north and south. The nature and character of each is different because their respective processes of evolution were different. A range of questions have to be addressed if we are to understand the nature of borders. What specifically has emerged at a border as a consequence of its evolution and who have been the influential agents in the process? How have they shaped the social representations of the border region? The activities that take place at a border and the perceptions that are held about the boundary and its institutional and legal infrastructures are interdependent and therefore have to be considered together.[11]

In order for this to happen it became necessary to identify and apply alternative ways of understanding borders that could be used to fill this gap. The result of the search was the emergence of postmodern concepts of borderlands which began to appear around the late 1980s. They were a reaction to the various analytical and methodological problems of the previous decades. The postmodern trend has made use of a wide range of concepts proposed by political scientists, philosophers, sociologists, social psychologists and others. It was the rise of this multiplicity of approaches that led to the interdisciplinary approach to borders and borderlands. A number of concepts were drawn from world systems theory and they reflected growing concerns within structuralism.

[11]Kolossov, p.626.

Particular use was made of the notions of discourse and the social construction of space, as defined in the postmodernist approaches of Foucault and others. The exploration of these postmodern concepts in the search for understanding of borders and borderlands made it possible for limology to engage with both the subjective and objective dimensions of the borderland experience. This two-level perspective enabled progress to occur in our understanding of the complex interactive encounters and experiences that are to be found in borderlands.

The most significant achievement in borderland studies during the 1990s came when the world theory system was integrated with the theory of territorial identities. The world theory system had gained a greater understanding of the place borders that had in the global context, ranging from the local to the global itself. Geographical studies had taken on board objective economic trends such as the globalisation of labour and the development of more effective systems of telecommunication, communication and transport. The obvious impact of the internet became a further source of change and influence on the understanding of the relativity of borders. The objective trends required global networks to be based on a hierarchical system of domination of the periphery by the centre. The growing use of these objective trends was combined with theories of integration based on subjective concepts such as 'political will' and 'political institutions'.[12]

The study of the emergence and evolution of territorial identities has become a cornerstone of contemporary border studies. The recognition of the links between objective and subjective approaches makes it possible to now examine the place of the border within the social consciousness of its communities and in the sense of self-identification of people with their physical environment at all levels. These aspects of border studies also draw on both cultural anthropology and studies that link together the concept of nationalism as a form of territorial ideology and as the basis for state-building. Nationalism presumes that there is either a struggle for territory or a need to defend the nation's rights to the territory. This leads to a false understanding of borders as places of

[12] Kolossov, p. 613.

rigid demarcation and exclusion. The place of the concept of nationalism in borderland studies is a further crucial element in the search to understand what borders are and how they function.

The concept of the nation-state was shaped by the specific political conditions of Western Europe in the nineteenth century. These conditions led to the emergence of supposedly homogeneous nations each united through a common language and culture, as well as by economic systems and a specific legal system. These nations acted within strictly defined and safe borders that were assumed to be internationally recognised. However, this model of a nation-state cannot be applied to many countries where the population is ethnically and culturally diverse. I argue that the United States has operated, and still operates with this nineteenth century concept of the nation-state. This is an approach that reveals a sense of the nation attempting to turn a diverse population into one that is assumed to be more homogenous. The motto of the United States is 'E Pluribus Unum' (One out of many) and the motto aptly fits its sense of itself as a clearly defined nation-state whose people share a common language, culture, faith and institutions. The model is, however, outmoded because it fails to recognise and, more importantly, fails to respond to the contemporary situation. The reality of the multi-ethnic and multicultural society demands an alternative perspective on what constitutes national identity. This requires far more from a country than simply the attempt to impose WASP or other similar white models of nationhood upon a population that has become even more diverse than it was at the time of its birth. Although the nineteenth century might have provided more of a cultural mix than we imagine, states were very willing to enforce homogeneity to a degree not found today. In addition newly arrived populations were more willing to accept the dominant cultural model and to seek assimilation.

Borderland studies draw our attention to the frontier as a key focal point for our understanding of the background to the boundaries between communities. Limology has given us a deeper understanding of the importance of the local character and culture of

borders.[13] It is at this point that the work of Oscar Martinez has relevance.[14] His studies of the US-Mexico border identified a heterogeneous culture characterised by an increasing mobility and receptiveness to innovation. Those who live in the borderlands possess a strong sense of self-awareness and they are able to exist without conflict in a number of cultural worlds. These worlds include both the world of their nation-state and that of their ethnic group. Borderlanders can handle alien and different cultures in addition to the specific culture of their border. A further political issue has to be considered when it comes to the conflict between the needs of the individual and what is regarded as a fundamental element within international law. The international element concerns the right of a nation state to its geographic integrity and the inviolability of its boundaries. There infrequently a tension between that element and the intrinsic right of a local community, or of an individual, to exercise self-determination.[15]

This tension is the product of a particular historical set of circumstances that came to a head in the early twentieth century with the Treaty of Versailles in 1917. The Treaty resulted in a series of population transfers that were regarded as necessary in order to produce ethnically pure and culturally homogeneous states and so preserve the peace. The purpose of the movement and removal of specified groups was believed to be essential to maintaining national integrity and future world stability. An example of this view occurred when the overlapping Greek and Turkish populations within the Ottoman Empire were pulled apart and confined to different sides of the Aegean. A similar process took place in Ireland when there was a demand for a partition of the country. However, partition was never implemented despite calls for establishing a "Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People" in the new Stormont. The Nationalist model also assumed that political and cultural allegiance to a nation was determined primarily by the shared geographic features. The Nationalist argument was that an island must be one nation and not two. The contrasting Unionist view was that a loyal Northern Ireland required the

[13] Kolossov, p. 617.
[14] Oscar Martinez, *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S. Mexico Borderlands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994)
[15] Kolossov, p.618.

relocation of Catholics to the south. As we shall see in the case studies, there is a related dispute about separation along the U.S.-Mexico border where the border is seen by many to the north as an essential line of exclusion while borderlanders regard *la Frontera* as porous in nature.

Even in situations where the processes of integration can be fairly advanced, the question of political boundaries can still create a major barrier to community harmony. Before 9/11, the impact of globalisation appeared to have removed the need to consider geopolitical approaches to the border. Borders were becoming redundant concepts as wider economic and political units were being formed. There were still certain issues about integration at political boundaries, borders and frontiers that needed to be addressed. There is paradox that needs to be recognised when we are discussing borderlands. Every boundary looks outwards in a concern to reunite a social group geographically dispersed around *la Frontera* but it also looks inwards in order to separate the group and its territory from disparate neighbours. In the same way, increasing individualism also acts upon the dynamics of boundaries. Consequently there is a growing reluctance for people not to want to deal with the problems of 'others'. There is the experience of a growing alienation from the large administrative and political units which deal with the management of boundaries. The continuing militarisation of the U.S. southern boundary with the 4-wheel drives, drone aircraft and its checkpoints that are encountered as you drive east or west are felt by many borderlanders to be an infringement of long held rights.

Initially, a nation's power elite was isolated from those who lived on the periphery. Now, the middle classes seek to establish gated communities which provide them with an isolated and socially homogenous environment that is capable of stricter control. There is a parallel here with the building of the U.S. border fence, the purpose of which is to seal off and keep out the other. It is an example of how the reaction to the threat of terrorism has led to the desire on the part of western nations to tighten the control of their borders. The perception of the other, as a threat, leads to a desire to reduce or cease any contact

with the neighbour who is regarded as dangerous or undesirable. If they cannot be eliminated, dominated, controlled or relocated, then another solution must be found which is to build a wall to keep them out.[16]

This was the rationale of states that led to the building of 'Great Walls' such as the Chinese wall and the walls built by the Romans during their occupation of the British Isles. The Berlin Wall provides a further example of walls of exclusion, though its purpose was initially to contain its people within. It was not built to exclude others as such, but to keep out an unwanted ideology. Officially the wall was designated as an "anti-fascist" barrier to keep capitalism out and protect the people within. The Israeli-Palestinian Wall provides a contemporary example of a wall designed to keep the other out. It is clear that the Mexico-US border fence fits into this category of exclusion. Both physically and politically there is a strong resemblance between the two. Currently there is a growing argument within Pakistan to control its problems relating to the Afghan border by constructing a wall similar to that along the U.S. border with Mexico. The Israeli-Palestine wall illustrates another point. In all of the cases cited, the actual successes gained seem to be very limited. Walls do not reduce conflict. They only increase the sense of isolation and maintain the level of ignorance about the other. Isolation and ignorance in turn lead to mistrust and fear. Walls and fences allow us to picture the other in negative hues that make the achievement of harmony less likely. If walls cannot exclude people and ideas, what kind of barrier can exclude the content of the internet?

Our ideas about boundaries are connected to issues of security and the willingness of a nation-state to use force to protect itself against perceived threats. Because of this, border areas become the natural location for border guards and customs officers. Borders are where we find a high concentration of military and paramilitary units which invariably face towards the directions from where public opinion feels that danger threatens. Security is a complex construct which contains military, economic, political, and environmental security components. The traditional function of state boundaries regarding

[16] Kolossov, p.619.

national security was that of preventing military threat as the continuing demand for increased militarization along the Mexican border illustrates. Currently, the Mexico border raises concerns about undocumented workers, illegal drug trafficking and the need to protect the United States against terrorist attack. The demand for border security is the product of an alliance between these different concerns and fears. The call for a closed border is about more than just fear of an attack from the south. In the populist perspective a state of war is believed to be looming despite the fact that Mexico has not posed a military threat to the US since the time of Pancho Villa. Even then, the invasion threat was minimal.

The violence now associated with the drug cartels is not a military threat to the United States nor do undocumented workers pose a military danger or a radical Islamist threat. Yet the dominant voice today is that which calls for the tightening of the southern border and even for armed vessels to patrol the Niagara River and the Great Lakes to prevent incursions from Canada. Securitisation is viewed as requiring the largest possible control over transboundary flows. A border is required to function as a peacetime front line where the primary task is to prevent substantial infiltration into a national territory in the shape of undesirable people, products and ideas. Another feature of this traditional approach to state border security is the attempt by state institutions to foresee and prevent any potential problems which may arise. This is where the call for the border to serve as a security fence comes from.

There have been changes in the perception of what constitutes a regional and national threat to a nation-state. There is a growing belief that it is not possible to deal with the new challenges simply by depending on the military, the military police or paramilitary forces. Many experts take the view that attempts to control transboundary flows using the old techniques are not just inefficient but also harmful to a society and its economy. The postmodern approach to border security argues that governments need to develop and extend cross-boundary cooperation at the local level rather than resist it. This means that security requires a regional dimension. This was demonstrated during the Northern

Ireland peace process where cross border cooperation had to become extended, although old style Unionists would have preferred an Israeli style barrier between themselves and the Republic of Eire.

The problems and issues at the borders have to be dealt with at the border itself, in a spirit of cooperation and not confrontation. A systematic approach to boundary defence needs to be devised. This requires a national security strategy to be applied not just at the boundary of a nation-state but in the interior as well. International evidence suggests that, at best, only a mere 5-10 per cent of the illegal traffic in drugs are ever seized at the border. Most of it passes through the official crossing points undetected despite the increased numbers of Border Patrol personnel and resources. Evidence indicates that this is true with regard to the United States.[17] However this evidence does not fit in with the populist view that the issue can only be addressed at the border alone and so it is ignored. There is a persistent demand for the continuation of traditional responses to border security. The current populist cry for tougher controls is an example of what Marshall McLuhan called 'the rear view mirror' approach to change. According to McLuhan we become locked into the unproductive and unfruitful act of viewing where we think we are going by constantly looking back to where we have been. Border security is not just the responsibility of national governments. Nation states need to have regard to the interests of both local and international groups and this requires a new perspective on the nature and management of borders.

> The past went that-a-way. When faced with a totally new situation, we tend always to attach ourselves to the objects, to the flavour of the most recent past. We look at the present through a rear view mirror. We march backwards into the future.[18]

A further area of borderland theory that needs to be considered is that which examines boundaries as venues of social representation. There is a range of layers of border discourses which never quite fit together. This can be seen in the distinction

[17]Tony Payan, *The Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security* (Westport, Texas: Praeger Security International, 2006).The book is one of a number of studies to show the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the US policy with regard to the southern border.
[18]Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1967), pp. 73-74.

between ‘high’ and ‘low’ geopolitics. High geopolitics focuses on the place of a nation-state within the world context, and within the system of international boundaries. High geopolitics is subdivided into ‘theoretical’ and ‘practical’ geopolitics. Theoretical geopolitics deals initially with strategic studies before it focuses on general issues. Low geopolitics is concerned with a set of geopolitical concepts found in symbols and images in the media, advertising, cinema and other forms of popular culture. The geopolitical vision includes representations about the territory occupied by an ethnic group or a political nation. It focuses on the boundaries that separate states and examines the preferred models of the state, its historical mission and any forces preventing the realisation of the desired model. A final strategy to explore and understand the nature of the border is the ecopolitical approach based on the acknowledgement that the natural environment does not recognise borders as political entities. Frequently physical features such as mountain ranges, river basins, regions occupied by wildlife, birds or fish, are crossed by political and administrative lines on maps. This also applies to mineral resources which do not recognise borders. Ecopolitics has become an important social science discipline which allows us to explore transboundary environmental and political problems. It is a discipline being developed primarily by political scientists, specialists in international relations and physical geographers.

So, limology, or borderland studies, is now an important and rapidly developing interdisciplinary field of study and currently it faces considerable challenges. One challenge is that, as a result of the major political shifts in the last twenty years, there has been an increase in the total number of borders and boundaries. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the collapse of Yugoslavia serve as examples of how new borderlands have emerged. The expansion of the European Union is also the source of heated federal and national debates about the identification and definition of borders. These and other political fissures and geopolitical break-ups have created strong territorial claims that are negatively impacting on international relations. The ripple effect from the attack on the Twin Towers has cast its shadow, not only over the North American borders, but also over

European and Middle Eastern borders as well. It will be argued in the following discussion that the current political debates about the United States borders, security and national identity have been coloured by both the short and long term reaction to the Twin Towers attack.

The rise in the numbers of borders as a consequence of the breakup of major political groupings, such as the European eastern bloc, has changed the perceived function of borders. Because of this there is a need to generate more analytical strategies. The application of various geographical, social and political disciplines, such as economics, cultural studies, psychology, and spatial planning has contributed to the rise of borderland studies as a distinct and important interdisciplinary field.[19]Kolossov argues that the mixture of new postmodern approaches, when they are combined with traditional methods of analysis, moves us into a new situation. When we are examining the nature of borders, frontiers, and boundaries we are dealing not just with political and economic lines on maps but with significant social constructs that require the application of a range of techniques, tools and discourses in order to be understood. The above analysis of the nature and value of limology may not appear directly relevant to this current project but it is important to set the case studies in this wider context. Limology is also able to provide a range of analytical and interpretive models that can be usefully applied to the project. The key model to be discussed in this chapter is Emanuel Brunet-Jelly's 4-Lens model.[20]

[19]I Kolossov, . p.628.

[20]Brunet-Jailly's model is specifically relevant to an analysis of borders that includes local culture and history but its use should not lead us to ignore other valuable models that offer additional perspectives. Two additional models of borderlands have proven their value in this discussion, not only because they offer a degree of triangulation, but also because they remind us of the breadth of approaches that are available for understanding the complexity of borders. The first model is that offered by Baud and Van Schendel [See Baud ,Michiel and Van Schendel, Willem, 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands' in *Journal of World History,* volume 8, number 2, pp. 211-242 (University of Hawaii Press,1997)]. Their model defines a border as possessing three distinct geographical zones. There is *the border heartland* where the social networks and groups are directly shaped by the border and its interactive dynamic. The second is *the intermediate borderland* which they describe as the region that always feels the influence of the border but in varying degrees of intensity. The variation in the influence of a borderland can range from the moderate to the weak and its strength depends upon the specific nature of the border that is being examined. Finally there is *the outer borderland* which, although it is influenced by the border, will only feel its impact under special circumstances.

The second model relevant to this project is that proposed by Oscar Martinez who identified four key stages in the development and evolution of borderlands. [See Oscar Martinez*, Border People:*

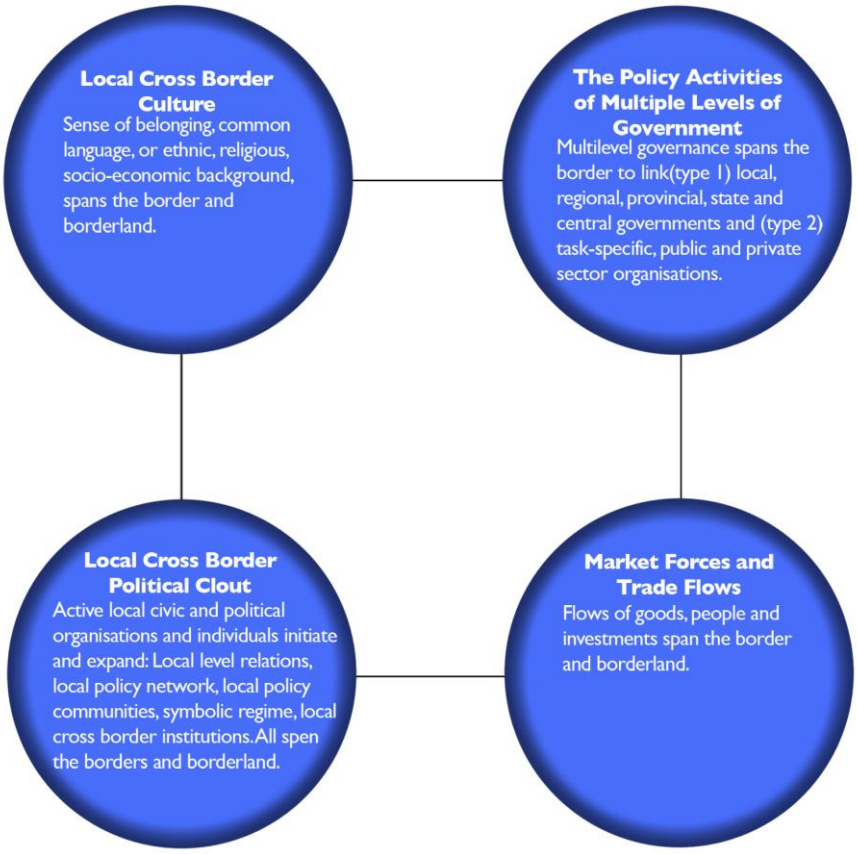


Figure 5 Brunet-Jelly's 4-Lens Model

Life and Society in the U.S. Mexico Borderlands (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994)] Martinez defines Stage one as the a*lienated borderlands* where cross-border exchange and interaction is essentially non-existent because of the level of animosity between the two sides. The border is, to all intents and purposes, functionally closed. Very little cross border interaction occurs, if at all. He cites the U.S.-Texas border which went through the experience of an alienated border for two generations after the Texas rebellion. The Korean border provides an example of a contemporary alienated border. Borderland alienation occurs as a consequence of extreme friction between two countries or communities based upon political disputes, intense nationalism, as well as religious, cultural and ethnic hostility. The second stage is the c*oexistent borderlands* where, although there may be strained relations, there does occur a minimum of cross border contact. After the collapse of the Republic of Yugoslavia, the border between Macedonia and Greece moved into this level of border interaction that focused upon a linguistic and cultural difference connected to the name of Macedonia. The third stage of border interaction is the *interdependent borderlands* where a symbiotic relationship is fostered and maintained through trade and migration. The European Union and the U.S.-Canada borders epitomise this level of interdependency. Finally, there is the *integrated borderlands* where most barriers to trade and human movement have been removed and there is a vital sense of mutuality to be found. The United Kingdom provides an example of integrated borders born after centuries of a process that moved from alienation, to co-existence, through interdependence and on to integration. However, it is important to avoid reading the model as implying that there is a chronological or a progressive development around borderlands. The various stages can (and do) change and shift depending on the impact on the borderlands from the elements identified and discussed in Brunet-Jailly's 4-Lens model.

Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly proposes a four lens analytical model that can be applied to the study and analysis of borderlands. The model is based on his general theory of borders and borderland suggested by his research on the U.S.-Canada border.[21] As a consequence of his analysis of the literature of borderland studies, he takes the view that there are four equally important analytical lenses available as tools which can provide a sharper focus when applied to any specific border. His main hypothesis is that each analytical lens enhances and complements each other. What can be viewed from their combined perspective is a borderland region that is culturally emerging and becoming integrated. Because the lenses are complementary, each one possesses the same value and importance.

The first lens allows for an examination of the multi-level government borderland policies and activities, at a number of levels ranging from the local level, through regional, provincial, state levels and finally to the level of central government. A further level of governance that can be scrutinised through the government policy activities lens, is the work performed by task specific organisations such as customs, immigration, and security departments. Thus the lens provides a vertical and a horizontal perspective for the analysis of political activity in borderlands. The second lens places the focus upon the market forces found in and around the borderlands. These include the flow of people, goods, and the range of trade activities across the border including both legal and illegal traffic. The third lens moves the focus to the various forms of local cross border political clout that are present. Brunet-Jailly defines 'clout' as the influence and agency of the various organisations and groups active around the border whether they are concerned with local, civic or political issues. The border clout lens also recognises the influence and impact of specific individuals who initiate border activities or who seek to influence events along the border. The networks of communities that cross the border and interact together

[21]Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, "Theorizing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Perspective" in *Geopolitics* vol 10*:* no 4, pp.*633-649*, (2005),. See also Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol, "Border Culture, the Boundary Between Canada and the United States, and the Advancement of Borderland Theory in *Geopolitics* volume 16: no 1 pp. 70-90, (2011).

are also included in the search for an understanding of the borderland dynamics. The final lens permits the examination of the local cross border culture which includes the sense of community that is experienced through common language, shared ethnic and religious backgrounds, and the socio-economic status of individuals and communities. Clearly a borderland can only be comprehensively understood when the cultural dimension is explored. The four lens model and Brunet-Jailly's underlying arguments regarding its application provides us with the means to develop an instrument "that delineates a constellation of variables along four dimensions".[22] The question that needs to be addressed is, how reliable is the image produced by the four lenses?

Despite its apparent usefulness, some concern has been expressed that Brunet-Jailly's model falls short of capturing all the complexity of the dynamic of *la Frontera.* In particular, attention has been given to the model's apparent weakness when it comes to gauging the influence of culture and power upon the nature of identity within borderlands. This particular point has been raised by Konrad and Nicol in their discussion and analysis of Brunet-Jailly's original model. They argue that culture, in particular, needs to be addressed in more detail than has been the case so far.[23] They maintain that culture "in its many facets …and power…are the key variables for explaining how borders and borderlands originate, are sustained, and evolve".[24] They regard border culture as encapsulating the way one lives, writes, speaks about and constructs the border. Border culture is an evolving framework for the construction of meaning but it continues to be poorly defined in social and geographical terms as well as in terms of the feelings and imagination of those who experience the borderlands. Borders are only international in a formal sense and most of those who live in *la Frontera* have only a limited awareness of their neighbours as 'foreign'.[25] This argument is observably true of the U.S.-Canada border which, like Brunet-Jailly, is the primary focus of Konrad and Nicols' work. Along the

[22]Brunet-Jailly, ibid p. 634.
[23]Victor Konrad and Heather N Nicol, *Beyond Walls: Re-inventing the Canada-United States Borderlands* (London: Ashgate, Border Region Series, 2008). See also Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol, "Border Culture, the Boundary Between Canada and the United States, and the Advancement of Borderland Theory in *Geopolitics* vol 16: pp. 70 – 90, 2011).
[24]Ibid. p.73.
[25]Ibid. p.77.

northern border there is a commonality of history, language and culture unlike the southern border with Mexico where language, history and culture would suggest the alternative. However, the U.S. Mexico border also presents us with a cultural hybridity and displays a complex cultural interaction that is clearly identifiable in place names, food, music, as well as in the shared historical narrative.

In their critique of Brunet-Jailly's general theory of borders, Konrad and Nicol acknowledge that, as a starting point for the debate, his initial four-lens model provides a valuable set of tools for understanding how borders function. However, they make one proviso when it comes to the link between the influence of culture and local political clout, which Brunet-Jailly defines as local political activism within and around borderlands. They argue that local borderland culture is not fixed but is constantly changing. It frequently redefines itself and alters shape in response to a variety of external influences. They propose an extension to the model through the addition of a fifth lens that can provide a sharper focus on the socially constructed and reconstructed identities found around borders. They suggest that the inclusion of such a lens would improve the clarity of our understanding of the cultural dimension of borderland studies. They insist that culture and identity are more complex than the original model appears to imply. They believe that a deeper grasp of the influence of culture on identity is necessary if the borderlands are to be better understood. This additional lens will provide a sharper focus on the place of socially constructed and reconstructed identities present at a border. It offers a clearer understanding of the influence of a local cross border culture upon the other lenses than is possible with the original four-lens model. While accepting their argument that this additional lens improves the original image, there is an argument to be made for a further sharpening of the cultural lens if the model is to fulfil its potential. In pressing the argument for extending the 4-lens model, it is recognised that Konrad and Nicol have raised a note of caution about the models.

> (I)t is important to stress that the very act of creating models of how borders work, drawing representations of how the components fit together, and summarising the content of the lenses, has reduced their theoretical value because border and borderland theory remain at the stage of visualisation. We may see that there are

> lenses through which to consider how borders work, yet to impart too much clarity to the view through these lenses is premature.[26]

The inclusion of directional arrows can obscure the fact that the dynamic of a borderland is one of relationships and interaction. Borderlands are constantly changing as human and social constructs. Both Brunet-Jailly's initial model and Konrad and Nicols' amendment originally did connect the lenses with directional arrows. Here they have been removed in the hope that by doing so the model can convey a stronger sense of the dynamic and inter-flow on the borderlands. It is also acknowledged that the combination of too many lenses can lead to distortion. Despite this risk, my argument is that borders and borderland studies has to be constantly aware of the importance of the historical narrative in the construction of the cultural memory and the sense of identity. Too often, this element of the dynamic is ignored or forgotten. Whether this requires an additional sixth lens in order to prevent the neglect of a borderland's historical narrative is a moot point, but the historical narrative of *la Frontera* needs to be kept in the frame if a sharper image of the borderland is to be obtained. It is not possible to grasp the complexity of borderlands unless the narrative and its links with cultural remembrance are kept in focus. The inclusion of a further adaptation to the original 4-lens model will enable access to the complexity of the borderlands when we include its history and the array of cultural memories.

[26]Konrad and Nicol, p.85.

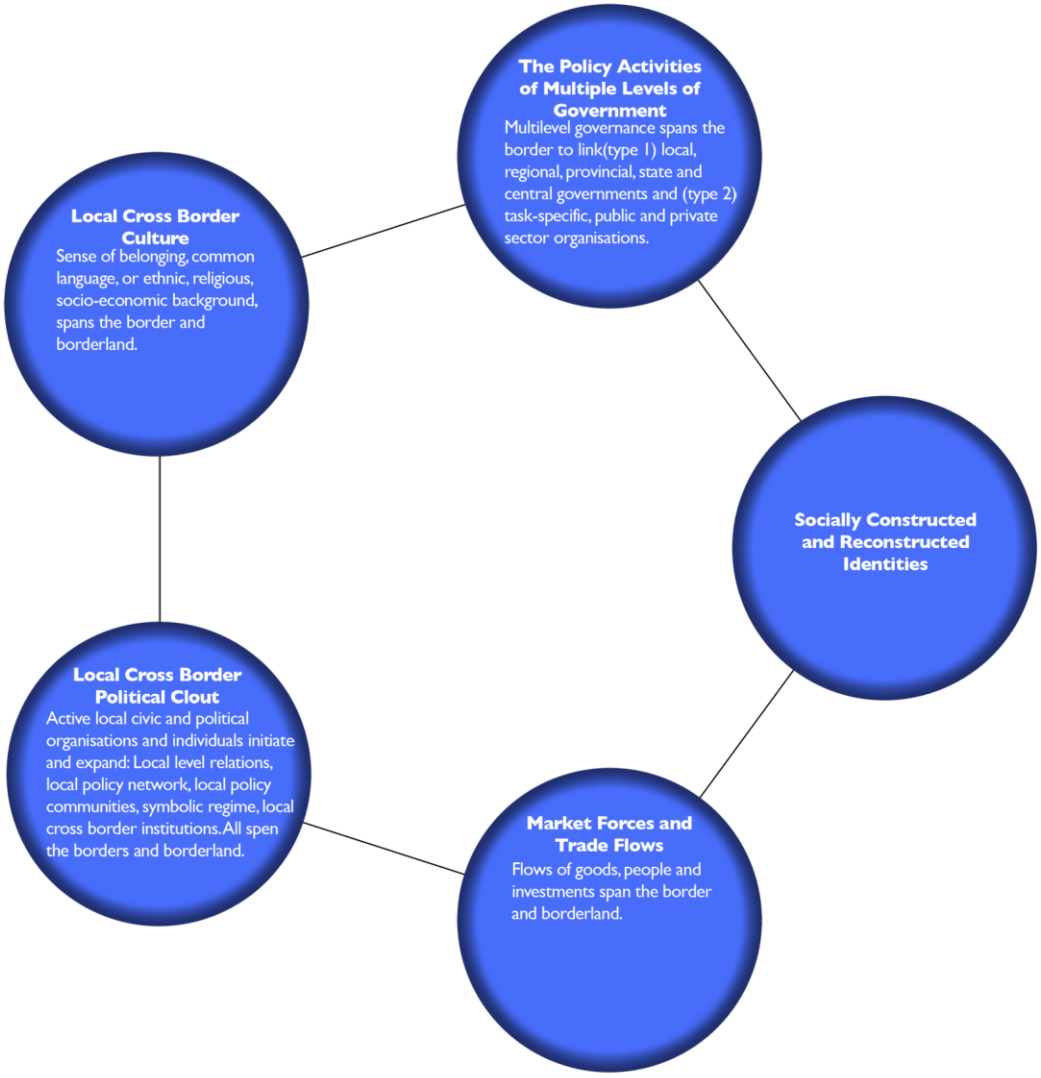


Figure 6 Konrad and Nicols' Extended 5-Lens Model

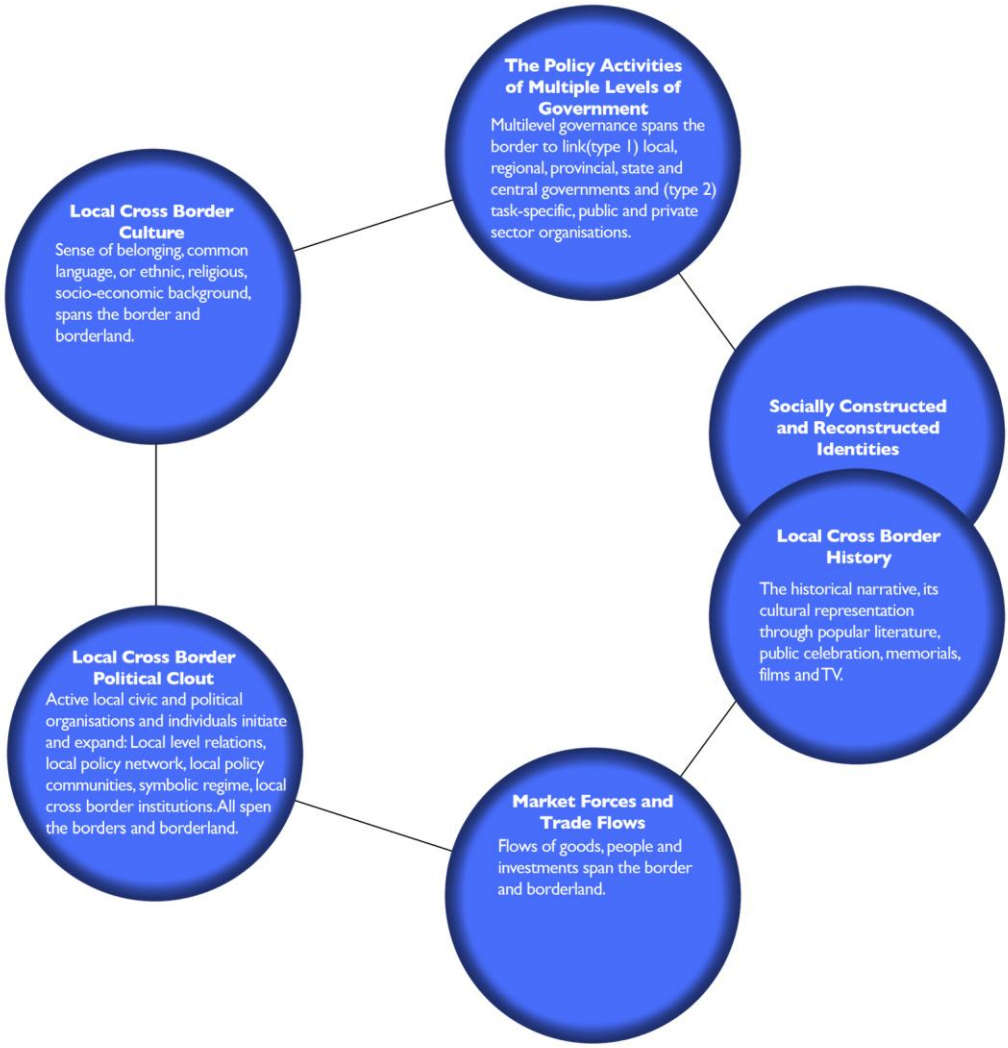


Figure 7 The Additional Lens: Including the Historical Narratives

Those undertaking borderland studies need to be constantly aware of the place of historical narrative in shaping the cultural dimension. Local cross border history has to be in the frame if we are to obtain a sharper image of the dynamic. The use of this adapted four-lens model will allow us to address the complexity of a border when it includes its history and the array of often rival cultural memories that arise from that history. We need to be aware of the interconnections between local cross cultural identity and the representation of the historical narrative through the cultural technologies. While there is a risk that by combining too many lenses we create overload, or distortion, the historical

narrative needs to be constantly before us in the quest for understanding and clarity. All too often, politicians, pundits and the public are besotted with the contemporary aspects of borders, such as security and immigration. To provide a sense of balance it is essential to stress the importance of the historical dimensions. The current concerns over borders and boundaries have not just appeared out of nowhere. They have a history, and if we ignore the contribution and influence made by the history of the border then we will frustrate the search for understanding. My proposed sixth lens is intended to enable a clearer awareness of the importance of historical narratives and their relationship to the contemporary borderland cultures. In order to reduce the potential risk of visual overload the local cross border history lens has been added to Konrad and Nicols' lens. The analogy offered is that of the reading test when the optician inserts an additional lens and asks the question, 'is it clearer?' Hopefully the answer is, 'Yes'.

The initial four-lens model places an emphasis upon the human origin of borders rather than upon the traditional focus of their geopolitical beginnings. It used to be argued that borders were inherent in the nature of things, like air or gravity. It required historians and others to demonstrate that borders were historically contingent. It now has to be conceded that borders are "human creations that are grounded in various ethical traditions".[27]My argument is that these ethical traditions are rooted in specific historical narratives that underpin the cultural identities around the borders.[28] It is now necessary to explore the process by which historical narrative and cultural memory function.

[27]Kolossov p. 634.

[28]Brunet-Jailly is far from alone in reminding us of the semantic distinction between the French '*frontiere'* and the American "frontier". Each word draws upon a different historical and cultural imagery and the difference creates distinct cultural identities and cultural landscape. For the French (and other Europeans) the former word defines a region or borderland where two or more nations meet. In contrast, the American use of the word 'frontier' draws on the imagery ascribed to the West by Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis of the border as an expanding zone of settlement. Turner defined the frontier as the shifting location where the process of civilisation rolled over vast spaces sparsely occupied, if at all, by primitive peoples. The frontier conveys the image of an expanding region that is steadily but surely becoming occupied as the westward march moves providentially and inexorably onwards.

Historical Narrative and Cultural Memory[29]

Toynbee's observation about the assumed randomness of history reminds us that the historian is concerned to identify connections between the 'damn things that happen'. To explain the process, my 3-stage model on pages 58 and 59 represents the process of constructing historical narratives by using the metaphor of time as a flowing river in which the random events occur.[30] The blue dots represent the events and, in Figure 5 the connecting line depicts a narrative construction made by historian A. Not all of the dots have been included in the narrative because this historian may not have been aware of some of the events. Others are not included because they were not perceived as relevant to the narrative. In Figure 6, the additional darker blue notes represent data and information that have come to light since the first historian published a narrative. Figure 3 delineates the narrative of historian B who has taken the initial narrative in a different direction by drawing upon the later material and making different connections. There are other factors that influence the direction historians can take their narrative and they arise from their imagined community and its ideology.

Two historians can also stand on opposite sides of the river and so acquire different perspectives. Historian A's perspective may be influenced by a different cultural memory than that of historian B standing on the opposite bank. The contrasting perspectives are also influenced by alternative historical narratives, emplotments or time maps available for the shaping of cultural memory.[31] A time map provides the means by which an imagined community constructs a shared historical narrative that gives the community a sense of who they are. The metaphor of history as a river allows for the

[29]For the sources behind this section see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973) and Eviator Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003). White argues that the historian has available a range of four potential emplotment strategies that can shape the narrative into a particular story. Zerubavel identifies a wider range of plotlines and narratives that can be used in telling the story of the past.
[30]Any metaphor has limitations but an alternative metaphor is that of two passengers on a train journey sitting opposite each other at a window. Although they are making the same journey and looking at the same passing scene, their two perspectives are not identical.
[31]Zerubavel, p.109.

possibility of viewing an historical narrative as a bank of a river which represents a border between the cultural memories of two imagined communities. The river banks can be linked and crossed using stepping stones, bridges and fords. The history and the cultural memory of one community can touch, or be connected to, and crossed at times with the history and cultural memory of another. The borderland or frontier is the location where such links and connections can be identified, studied, and built on in seeking understanding and cooperation rather than suspicion and conflict.

> What is problematic about being historically biased is not only the deliberate fabrication, distortion, or omission of actual facts but also the pronouncedly partisan, politically motivated mnemonic selectivity that leads one to dismiss or ignore any historical narrative other than one's own.[32]

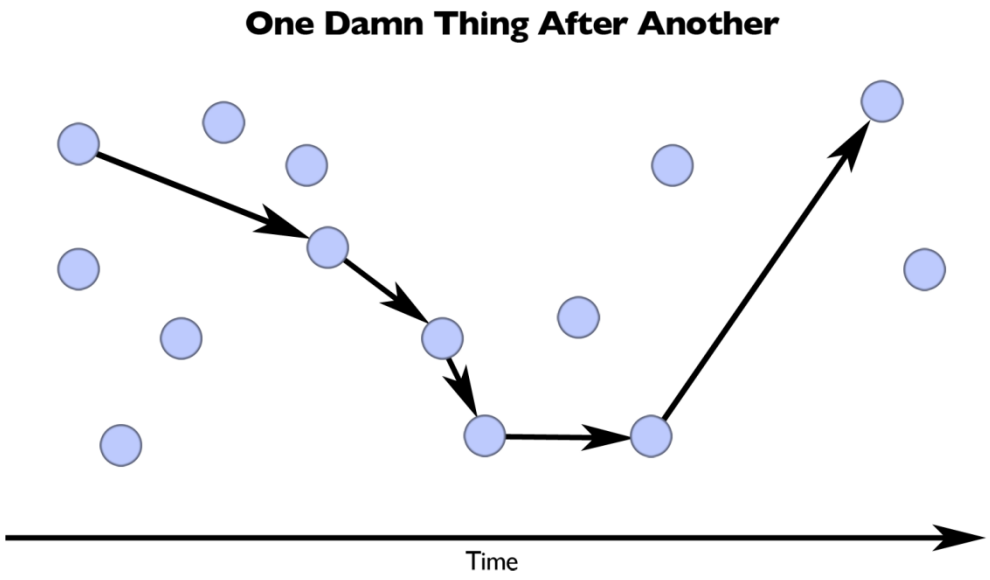
Historians examine the past to seek causes, links and explanations with the purpose of finding understanding. They impose significance as well as meaning upon the data before them by researching the events, in order to identify causes, links and connections between the historical events. Historiography is the endeavour to generate a meaningful structure out of the materials before them. It is a complex process because historians cannot be aware of all events since some may not yet have come to light. Historians may not fully recognise the significance of certain events, or they can underestimate their importance. As they impose a narrative structure upon the material, historians do not come to the task cold and they are not free of previous perspectives, even if these perspectives reflect the contested nature and interpretation of the events under examination. This can lead to political and cultural tension between imagined communities.

Historians possess an arsenal of potential narratives that influence the choices they can make. In the process of creating a historical narrative, the historian is able to draw upon this range of structures and perspectives. The national, political, social, and cultural background of an historian will influence the narrative perspective chosen. The historical narrative below serves as an example. The history of the borderlands contains

[32]Zerubavel, p.110.

personal choices made from observation, reflection, and conclusions drawn from primary and secondary sources. The choices are influenced by the cultural framework in which the historian operates. A second historian may stand and look at the same flow of events but from a different perspective. Consequently a variant or different narrative is constructed. There can be similarities and points of agreement between the two perspectives, but it is important to acknowledge that the perspectives will not match perfectly.

Figure 8 The Initial Historical Narrative



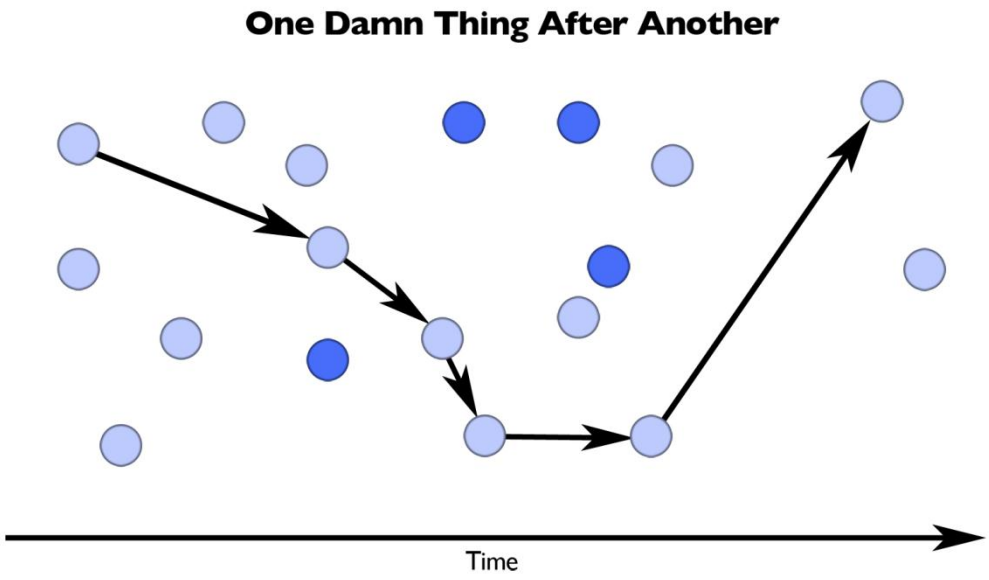


Figure 9 More Damn Things

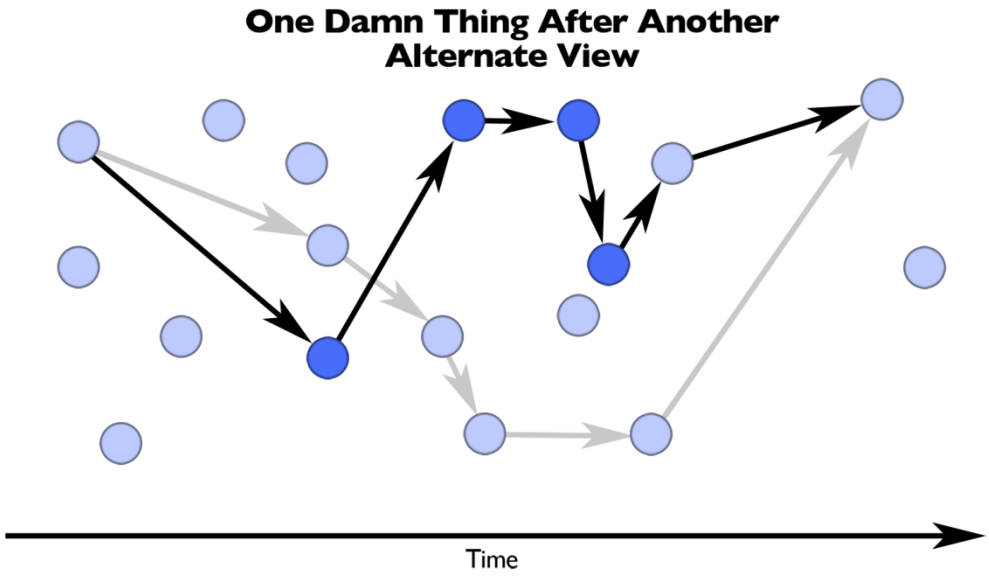


Figure 10 The Alternative Historical Narrative

A conflict between two imagined communities can be the result of each insisting that their version of history is the truth. When this is coupled with an unwillingness to give serious consideration to an alternative perspective, the conflict can escalate. In the

entangled histories and the cultural memories of the U.S-Mexico borderlands historians have generated conflicting memories. The convention is that the victors get to write the history and this is true of *la Frontera.* Historically, economically and politically it is the United States' narrative that has dominated the historical narrative of the region. The Mexican perspective is frequently overlooked north of the border, so it is important to keep their narrative in mind. The Mexican interpretation of the events deserves to be respected and to do so requires us to understand how an historical narrative becomes the source of the cultural memory.

After the construction of an historical narrative there is a further stage in the process by which the narrative enters into the cultural memory of a group, community, a nation through a range of cultural technologies.[33] These include films and television, popular literature, public holidays, public monuments and memorials. They are the tools that are used to construct and maintain an imagined community's cultural identity. There is a socialisation process that generates shared ways of seeing the world that are taken to be beyond question. The imagined community acquires its specific cultural and national identity through the enculturation of the hegemonic historical narrative. "Cultural meaning can be distinct from history, yet, I would argue, is essential in its construction".[34] The historical narrative is essential to the construction of the cultural meaning of a community.

There is a social dimension to this creation and maintenance of a community's cultural memory.[35] We acquire memories that we share with our group, community and nation. We identify with, and participate in, a collective past. Zerubavel cites the example of young Americans who, when asked to name significant historical figures associated with their country's history, came up with the same names: George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin. We could expect a group of British young people to produce a similar list of names drawn from their shared history and

[33]Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, The Aids Epidemic and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
[34]Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture", in *The Interpretation of Culture.* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p.5.
[35]Zerubavel, p.2.

collective memory. This requires the construction of “mnemonic communities” in which individuals, families, ethnic groups, and nations share collective memories. The experience of socialisation within an imagined community is assisted by common mnemonic traditions which are a range of social norms and patterns creating and maintaining shared reminiscences. The creation, development and maintenance of the social shape of our past is not random. We receive our collective memories both by means of highly structured mnemonic patterns, plotlines and narratives and through more subtle means. School history lessons, textbooks and museums are examples of the formal cultural technologies. The major civic or religious festivals of a community, the cultural images on postage stamps and bank notes are examples of more subtle methods of constructing cultural memory.

Shared scenarios are available and open to groups that share a collective cultural memory and the narrative plots can be recited in various ways. One community’s collective memory may allow it to view its history as progressive and there would be an historiography that celebrates its culture positively. The United States’ mnemonic plotline provided it with its nineteenth century master narrative of Manifest Destiny. A range of cultural technologies recall that sense of progress in art, popular literature, and music. We find collective mnemonic narratives in other historical narratives where the collective memory of one community recites its shared past as one of decline. Such a memory has shaped the British sense of itself since the Second World War. Other narratives that are available for other imagined communities include: a “rise and fall, fall and rise” scenario, the conversion narrative celebrating a saga of an historic recovery, or a series of turning points.[36]These are strategies by which a community’s history is structured and strung together in the people’s collective memory and these collective narratives or time maps can be considered from a comparative perspective.

> (A) pronouncedly multi-perspectival look at several maps … together can provide us with a complete picture of the inevitably complex multi-layered, multifaceted social topography of the past.[37]

[36] Zerubavel Chapter 1 pp.11ff
[37] ibid. p110.

Nations that share a history of rivalry and conflict will hold contrasting cultural memories which can be mapped in the form of comparative historical timelines. Mapping the timelines of groups that share entangled histories provides us with a way of visualising these differing historical narratives and collective memories. (See Figure8 on page 64)The comparative tool highlights the convergence and divergence of the historical, cultural and political interaction between Mexican and American cultural memories. It allows us to avoid adopting a fundamentalist attitude to the historical narrative that regards only one collective cultural memory as valid. The U.S.-Mexican War reinforced the nationalism of both countries. In the case of the United States it was a nationalism based on the sense of victory and Manifest Destiny; for Mexico it was a nationalism triggered by defeat. In both cases they represent the acceptance of the nineteenth century myth of nationalism.

The experience of cultural socialisation provides members of a community with a shared set of cultural memories which creates a sense of connection to each other. The memories weave a web of significance that binds the whole group. The closer the links are between the communities, the less cultural friction there is. The contemporary interaction between Mexican and American cultures across the borderlands is abrasive because there is a limited range of shared signification between the two communities. Around the borderlands there is more interaction between the two cultures while the cultural friction becomes greater the further one moves away. *La Frontera* is a label that seeks to capture the experiences of the Mexicans who lived in the regions that Mexico lost to US expansionism.[38]

In spite of the commonality of experience that the border provides, there are discernible historical and cultural differences between the Texas, California and Arizona borderlands that arose from variations in their experience of acquisition and annexation. The shared commonality is the consequence of the invasion of Mexico by a richer and more powerful United States which led to Mexico losing almost half of its territory to its

[38] David J Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Tucson: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

northern neighbour. The *Tejano* experience of loss had taken place nine years previously and the experience of secession generated a different cultural memory. California experienced invasion but Arizona territory did not come into existence until a decade after the Mexican War. The former Mexican citizens who were the victims of this conquest had a frontier experience very different from the experience of the conquerors. Two distinct, separate cultures were brought into being in the Southwest in which the Anglo culture dominated. This domination has had considerable influence upon the interaction between the two cultures, but it was perceived very differently by the three separate communities of Texas, California and Arizona.

The dominant historical perspective within American historiography since 1893 has been Frederick Turner's Frontier thesis.[39] During much of the twentieth century it was the major influence on the American understanding of its historical narrative of the West and its cultural remembrance of the American West. Jackson's view was that the frontier experience shaped both the American character and its democratic institutions and this became the frame of reference for cultural technologies that 'remembered' this frontier orthodoxy. The technologies in popular culture and the literature of the West created this representation of the West. The cultural tools that shaped this representation include dime novels of the nineteenth century, popular theatre and Wild West Shows, (especially those associated with Buffalo Bill and his competitors). In the twentieth century cinema, television, comics and other media technologies continued to shape the images, conventions and ideology of a mythic West. They gave birth to the familiar generic conventions of the Western film and popular Western fiction and then became integral to the cultural memory of the United States reinforcing the historiography of the Anglo-American West.

[39] Frederick W Turner, *The Frontier in American History* ((New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1953).

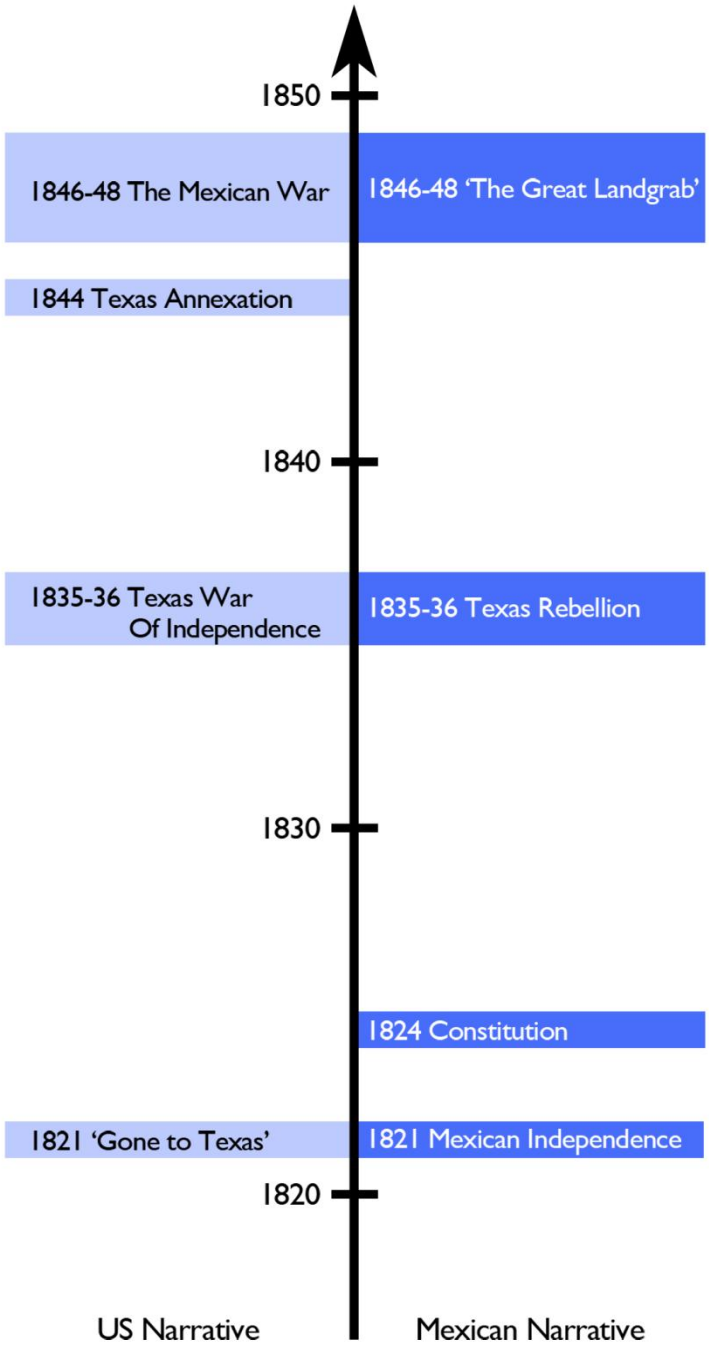


Figure 11 The US-Mexico Time Map

Conclusion

There is no question that Borderland studies is acknowledged as possessing an interdisciplinary character and has moved beyond the limited perspective found in

traditional social science approaches. It is now the domain of a highly complex interdisciplinary network of academics. While they still work within their own particular field, they are able to draw upon the research and insights of colleagues from other disciplines. The study of borders and borderland regions is no longer confined to the limits of any single social science discipline. The growing interdisciplinary nature of the study of borders has created the more complex discipline of limology and it has gained the attention of anthropologists, ethnologists, political scientists, lawyers, psychologists and other social scientists who have joined the earlier ranks of geographers, historians and economists. This complexity is demonstrated by the range of studies drawn upon for this project. I have made use of historiography, human geography, and cultural and film studies, as well as literary studies, politics and economics.

There is a range of resources available for the study of the United States-Mexico border from the discipline of limology. This chapter has provided an overview of the growth and development of this field since before the beginning of the twentieth century. Although other models are available I have drawn from the four-lens model of borders and borderland studies provided by Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly. It was chosen as providing the basis upon which the perspective of this study was to be built. The proposed addition to the model by Konrad and Nicols was discussed and it is acknowledged as valuable in providing a needed extension to Brunet-Jailly's original model. It was then proposed that it is necessary to add a further adjustment to the lenses to sharpen the focus even more. My improved focus lens would enable us to examine the significance of the cross border historical narrative to our understanding of the dynamics of the border.

We now have a framework with which to explore the nature and influence of the borderlands. We have an understanding of how the historical narrative has been constructed and we have made the argument for a connecting link between historical narrative and cultural memory. It is now necessary to explore the connection between historical and cultural memory in more detail by providing our own historical narrative of

the U.S-Mexico border. This will provide the focus for the three borderland case studies that follow.

Chapter Two: Cultural Memory and Historical Narrative: The United States - Mexico Border, 1821-1854

> I am learning to live in history.
> What is history? What you cannot touch.[1]

> The republic of Mexico…The United States of America…good neighbours...for a century friendly hands have been clasped across the border in a token of enduring peace...and yet, from time to time, this peace has been endangered by money-mad plottings of sinister groups…the reign of terror inspired by one of these groups is our story…and into this Zorro rides again.[2]

Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of the history of the U.S. Mexico border between 1821 and 1854 and identifies the formative stages in the development of the relationship between the two countries. An awareness of this historical background is crucial to an understanding of the current controversies that surround the border. The focus in this study is upon the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and it is not intended to deal with the interacting national history of the two countries. While the two dimensions of national and local historical narratives cannot be easily separated it needs to be recognised that this is a study of the borderlands, *la Frontera*. This distinction between national and local historical narrative and cultural remembrance is recognised and accepted as a given. This is important when it is acknowledged that the border between the two countries has been, and still remains, a shifting, emerging, and controversial boundary. *La Frontera* is part of the mental maps of the people living in, and experiencing the region. The borderlands are as much the product of the human attempt to make sense of their surroundings as it is the outcome of the United States and Mexico agreeing to drawing a line on the map.

The identification of any historical timeframe is always artificial because history does not come in neat packages and this is true of the timeframe identified in this chapter. The period, 1821 – 1854, was chosen for two reasons. First, it was during this period that

[1]"Mexico, 1-12" in Robert Lowell, *Notebook.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p.101.
[2]*Zorro Rides Again.* Dirs. John English and William Witney. Republic Pictures. 1936. [As can be seen, the introductory titles to the serial show a blissful ignorance of the complex relationship between the two republics.]

the present borderland was shaped and the entangled history of the North American republics began. Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821 after a decade of struggle and 1854 was the year of the Gadsden Purchase when the United States acquired from Mexico the region below the Gila River that became the southern part of Arizona. Between the two events we see the contemporary border taking shape. As it did so it shifted and changed as a consequence of the conflicting interactions between the two countries. What have emerged as a consequence of the changing nature of the relationship between Mexico and the United States is a borderlands and a frontier that displays cultural conflict, diversity, and sharing. The cultural diversity is seen in the fact that there are at least three separate borderlands examined in this study.[3] The events and experiences which shaped the borderlands were different for Texas, California and Arizona and it is the recognition of this difference that lies behind the choice of the three case studies that form the body of the project. The second reason for choosing this time period is that it allows us to discern how attitudes between the two imagined communities were formed and to explore the persistence and influence of those attitudes in the contemporary relationships. The construction of these attitudes has produced a cultural dynamic that I have labelled 'Hispanicism' which draws upon Edward Said's model of Orientalism.[4]The chapter provides an outline of the historical narrative of the borderland which, ironically, is also a construct. However, firstly it will define the model of Hispanicism and argue for its usefulness as a tool for understanding the constructed historical narrative of the borderlands.

Hispanicism and Orientalism

The model of Hispanicism proposed originated from the need to construct an initial conceptual framework with which to approach the case studies. As has been argued in the previous chapter, this framework includes setting the study in the context of limology

[3] New Mexico provides a fourth borderland that has not been included in this study.
[4] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 1-9.

or borderland studies. From this multidisciplinary field Brunet-Jailly's 4-lens model was used with a proposed extension that enabled the links between historical narrative and cultural memory to be fore grounded. In this chapter it is proposed to add this further model to provide means of interpreting historical and cultural interactions between Mexico and the United States. Said defined Orientalism as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience".[5]

In the same way, Hispanicism allows for an understanding of how the United States has come to terms with the place of Mexico and Mexican-Americans in its experience.[6] Orientalism consists of a number of interdependent elements and includes university departments whose members study, research, and teach the Orient, whether their approach is anthropological, sociological, historic or linguistic. Since the late 1950s there has been a growth in the number of academic departments and schools within American universities that study 'Hispanicism'. The departments may be labelled Latino, Hispanic or Chicano/a Studies and the programmes offered by them include history, anthropology, sociology, geography, language and literary studies. Orientalism was also defined in terms of a general meaning of constituting a way of thought that is based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between one culture (the Orient) and another (the Occident).

> Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are the poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind", destiny, and so on. This (author's emphasis) Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx.[7]

In the same way it is possible to identify a similar general element and style of thought within Hispanicism. Like Orientalism, Hispanicism has its poets, novelists, political

[5]Said, p.1.
[6] The application of Hispanicism to Mexico does not imply that it can only be used in this context. The legacy of the Spanish empire dominates the western hemisphere and the United States experience of the impact of that dominance is as complex as the West European interaction with the Orient.
[7]ibid p.2f.

theorists, and economists who have accepted a basic distinction between Mexican and American culture as found at the borderlands. Hispanicism has used this difference as the starting point for theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts of the Hispanic. The distinction also extends to popular cultural forms such as popular fiction, film and television, comics, music and public art. There is a third element drawn from Said's definition of Orientalism and applied to the model of Hispanicism. It is the phenomenon of Hispanicism as a corporate institution for dealing with the Hispanic which involves making statements about it, authorizing views about it, issuing descriptions of it, teaching it, settling it and ruling over it. Hispanicism is an American 'institution' that allows it to exercise domination over the other. Like Orientalism, Hispanicism is, "a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different world."[8]This domination enables the contrasting culture to restructure this different world and permits the exercise of authority over it. Said used Foucault's concept of a discourse to explain the way in which a dominant culture creates and manages the dominated. A similar Foucaultian discourse can be discerned within the American patterns of dealing with the Hispanic. Just as European culture acquired strength and a distinct identity by placing itself over and against the Orient, so the American sense of identity and power has gained from the Hispanicist discourse it has created, developed and maintained. This is not to imply that Orientalism and Hispanicism are merely hegemonic discourses. They are too rich and complex for such a view and they have produced much that is of intellectual, artistic and cultural worth. Hispanicism can be viewed as offering a continuum of responses to the other that has generated a range of positive and negative outcomes.

Said reminds us that humans make their own history and what they know as history is what they have made. The knowledge that is acquired is extended to include geographical, cultural and historical entities.[9]Said argues that for Western Europe to

[8]Said, p.12.
[9]ibid p. 4.

construct Orientalism, there is a requirement for the construction of 'Occidentalism' to provide a comparison. Hispanicism requires the obverse construct of Americanism and this will be a factor in our application of the model of Hispanicism. This chapter will provide an outline of the history of the borderlands that has been constructed from the events between the years 1821-1854. We need to consider the process by which historical narratives are established. The process is part of the discourse of Hispanicism in which the United States-Mexico borderlands has been constructed. The Hispanicist model will be applied to each of the case studies to further define their tripartite nature and respond to the diverse nature of *la Frontera.* The model of Hispanicism originated in a search to construct an initial conceptual framework for the case studies. It provided a means of addressing the tripartite mythology. The case studies reveal three distinct dimensions of hegemonic myth. In the Texas case study it is one of *contribution* in which there is an acknowledgement that Tejanos made a contribution to the 1835 rebellion. The Californian myth takes the form of a co-optation in which the Hispanic historical narrative is restructured by the victors. The Arizona case-study constructs a narrative in which the Hispanic contribution has been culled.

The development of an Hispanicist framework needs to be understood if we are to grasp its power and influence upon cultural memory. Thankfully, memory is not total recall. Individuals do not remember everything and some elements of the past become forgotten, or ignored, while others are reshaped. We do not forget everything and what is forgotten appears to be random, although the Freudian view suggests that the process is more complex. The same perspective can be applied to the cultural memories of imagined communities. This important perspective needs to be kept in mind in light of the persistence of the 'common sense' notion that history equals heritage. Personal memory is an unreliable tool and this is true for cultural memory. It is a social construct and the process of its construction can be observed.

> As we well know, not everything that happens is preserved in our memory, as many past events are actually cast into oblivion. Even what we conventionally consider "history" and thereby include in our history textbooks is not a truly

> comprehensive record of everything that ever happened, but only a small part of what we have come to preserve as public memory.[10]

The various experiences of the imagined community provide the raw materials that historians use as the basic elements in the construction of the historical narrative. The narrative is rehearsed, repeated and absorbed into the cultural memory through various agencies of socialisation such as educational institutions, but education is not the only tool. A community's history is ingested through more than just the formal process of learning history. A community absorbs its history through regular celebration of events held to be of significance. These become its 'high days and holidays'. It also commemorates the historical narrative through memorials and other public artefacts. The cultural mnemonic is absorbed through a range of cultural technologies: toys, songs, anthems and other musical forms. Popular fiction, comic books, and other memorabilia and mementos reinforce a shared sense of history. It is represented further in feature films, television series and documentaries. The shaping of cultural memory is the means by which we acquire the shared sense of who we are. It is a cohesive process because it creates the corresponding awareness that others have also participated in the events that shape the cultural memory. In this way an imagined community is created.

The time map on page 57 depicts two contrasting cultural mnemonics in the historical narrative of *la Frontera:* Mexican and American. The American time map gained prominence while the Mexican-American time map came to represent the experience of an internal colony. Forty years after the Mexican War the dominant mnemonic that expressed the American cultural perspective was first formulated by Turner in his frontier thesis. This was the belief that the frontier forged the American character and institutions. It created Americans who were democratic, nationalistic, egalitarian, self-reliant, hardworking and inventive. This view of the West, as the anvil upon which the American character was forged, no longer dominates the scene, although it still has traction. While historians still regard the American character as influenced by the frontier experience, it is

[10] Zerubavel (2003.), p.3.

argued that there was also a Mexican frontier experience and *La Frontera* shaped the Mexican character and Mexican institutions in similar ways to the Turnerian thesis of the American frontier.[11]

David Weber stresses that this influence is clearly discernible in the development of Mexico's northern borderlands. Jackson's thesis excluded any substantial reference to a non-Anglo frontier experience and it was left to others to identify the impact of the *la Frontera* on its pioneers. The Mexicano frontier experience included an interaction with the physical and geographical environment that shaped their character just as much as the Anglo-American character was influenced by its Western experience. The Mexican borderlands possessed its own distinct features which shaped their cultural institutions in significant ways. *La Frontera* formed an alternative and distinctive character that possessed its own validity. The barren, arid Mexican frontier resulted in the use of adobe as a building material as opposed to timber which was not present in the Southwest to the same extent as it was in parts of the American West. The adobe hacienda is as much an expression of the Mexicano borderlands as the log cabin north of the border is an iconic image of the Anglo pioneers. The physical nature of *la Frontera* led to a reliance on the horse (as opposed to the canoe in the Midwestern West).The origin of the 'cowboy' lies in the Mexican *ranchos* and, although the Anglos were quick to absorb the vaquero way of life they were slow in acknowledging its source. The settlement pattern of *la Frontera* took a different form from the steady, gradual advance of the American frontier seen in the early development of the Cumberland Gap through the Alleghenies to some 150 miles west of the Mississippi. The Spanish settlement adopted a pattern of "leapfrogging" over spacious regions to produce more isolated pueblos dependent on the local *presidio* for protection. There was also a contrast between the Spanish policy on the assimilation of

[11] See especially, David Weber, *Foreigners in their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Tucson, University of New Mexico Press, 1973); Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821 – 1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Tucson, University of New Mexico Press, 1982) and Abraham P Nasatir, *Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest* (The University of New Mexico Press, 1976).

the indigenous peoples which included a willingness to intermarry. This established an inclusive frontier that contrasts with that of the American frontier. The American frontier was one of exclusion where the indigenous peoples were seen as lesser breeds.[12]

> Friction between Mexicano and Americano involved race, language, religion, food, sex, and almost every other conceivable cultural distinction. But the points where friction usually provoked violent resistance were law and land.[13]

Their experience of conquest required Mexican-Americans to define themselves in response to the new, imposed situation. As for the Americans, they developed a range of self-justifying attitudes towards the defeated Mexicans which they linked with the speed of their conquest of Mexico. They regarded their victory as evidence of the cowardly inferiority of the Mexican character. There was a belief on the part of the victors that the conquered deserved defeat. The cultural construct of the Mexicans was that they were a benighted, backward people who would benefit in the long run from their 'annexation' by the United States. They were unfit for prosperity and self-determination. This became a component of the emerging Hispanicism.

As for the Mexicanos, they found themselves within a different border and faced with a different language and institutions which did not regard them with favour. In a hostile social environment they had to devise response strategies to the situation. A number of options were available to them. There was the option of withdrawal in the sense of ignoring the fact that they had been conquered, but withdrawal was not only a psychological response. Withdrawal also took the form of a physical separation from their conquerors by creating buffer areas to keep the communities apart. This was the origin of the *barrio* and Rosenbaum argues that this was the choice of the majority of Mexicanos given the obvious linguistic, religious, and cultural differences between themselves and their conquerors. It was a response that suited the victors who welcomed segregation as a way of responding to the conquered.[14]

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[12]David Weber (1973), 276ff.
[13] Robert J. Rosenbaum, *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: The Sacred Right of Self Preservation* (Austin: University of Texas, 1981), p.14ff.
[14]Ibid, p14ff

Another response to the new culture was that of accommodation which was adopted by the elite and upwardly mobile Mexican-Americans, especially in New Mexico. A third response was to assimilate, and many Mexicanos did try to embrace the new society in which they found themselves. However, the loss of land rights and the experience of intolerance, prejudice and violence reduced the effectiveness of this approach. The fourth response was violent resistance and this was a choice that a number made. In New Mexico it took the form of *Las Gorras Blancas* (the White Caps) while in Texas it was seen in the Cortina War. In California resistance expressed itself in the outbreak of banditry which became part of the myth of the California Pastoral. It is now necessary to examine the historical narrative of the borderlands as background to the three case studies. A thematic approach rather than a strict chronological narrative has been chosen to remind ourselves there are, at least, three distinct borders.

The Historical Narrative 1821 – 1854

The Emerging Borderland

Before Mexico gained its independence in 1821, it was part of the Spanish Empire. Throughout the colonial period there had been an emerging borderland with the neighbours to the north. The Spanish frontier had been shaped by three interconnected institutions: there were the evangelising missions, the military *presidios,* and the settled pueblos. The missions were the agency for the Christianisation of the Native Americans. The role of the missions in the development of the borders explains why Spain was willing to support them in times of threat more than at other times.[15]The military *presidios* contributed to the defence of the *pueblos* in the northern regions.

[15] Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Mission as Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies" in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821,* ed. David J. Weber (Tucson: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), pp.57ff.

The United States first laid claim to the Spanish province of Texas after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase when they regarded the region between the Sabine and Rio Grande Rivers as part of the sale. They did not press the issue and when the United States purchased Florida from Spain in 1819, it formally surrendered its claim to the region in the Adams-Onis Treaty. It would later regret this decision and the regret added fuel to the juggernaut of Manifest Destiny that moved the Americans to the acquisition of other Hispanic territory. By the time the Adams-Onis treaty was ratified in 1821, Spanish rule in Mexico was over and the United States was dealing with the new reality of the United States of Mexico.

Friction and factions dominated Mexico's political scene as the new republic attempted to structure itself. A major rift had appeared between Centralists, who wished to retain control of the new republic in Mexico City, and Federalists, who sought more sovereignty for the regions. The Federalists briefly gained the upper hand and, in 1824, the Mexican Constitutional Congress adopted a federal constitution modelled on that of the United States. The new republic was composed of nineteen states and each state was constitutionally empowered to elect its own governor and legislatures. The Constitution also included a three-fold division of powers: the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. The major contrast with the United States Constitution was that the Mexican Constitution did not include a separation of church and state. The 1824 Constitution declared that the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion would be, for perpetuity, the religion of Mexico.

After independence, the northern frontier of Mexico became less stable and secure. Native American tribes such as the Apache and Comanche (*los indios barbaros*) achieved a measure of success in their frequent raids on the Mexican settlements. The young Mexican government found it difficult to maintain the security of *la Frontera,* especially in Texas. There was an influx of Anglo-Americans into the borderlands and their arrival contributed to a shift in the balance of power as a result of their trade with, and encouragement of, certain tribes. The trade mainly took the form of barter and the

exchange of horses for weapons. After 1821,as a result of the economic weakness of Mexico and Mexico City's inability to supply any substantial military presence, central support for the *presidios* began to decline and the *presidios* were manned by a diverse range of militias and localised defence units. The defence units, *activos* or *urbanos*, were funded and supported by the national government as a reserve force. In addition, local militias known as *civicas*or *rurales* were established in a further effort to provide local defence.

Mexico had gained its political independence but its future development as a new republic was limited because of its failure to achieve economic security. The struggle for independence had taken ten years and the newly independent country went through a period of internal political struggle and conflict. Mexico also moved from its former colonial dependency on Spain into a neo-colonial dependency on the United States, Britain, and France. Under Spanish rule, the only legal trade in Mexico was with the mother country and it had to pass through the port of Vera Cruz. Independence brought fresh trade links to the north because of the rise in traffic between Mexico City and the province of New Mexico. As the New Mexico trade grew, it shifted to the United States via the Santa Fé Trail. Alta California became a centre for international trade in sea otter pelts, seal skins, cow hides and beef tallow and drew the attention of European countries such as Britain, France and Russia. The United States began to focus its attention on the region as an area for its territorial expansion. As a consequence Mexico's grip on its northern territories was weakened as the official trade along *el camino real* (the Royal Highway) and the Santa Fe Trail became an artery of trade with the United States.

> The Mexican era…saw the *pobladores* break loose from the grasp of Spanish mercantilism only to be embraced by American Capitalism. The extent to which the frontier could or should resist that warm embrace proved a vexing question for officials on the frontier as well as in Mexico City.[16]

[16] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico.* (Tucson: University of New Mexico Press, 1982),p.146.

The threat to Mexico's northern territory above the Rio Grande produced a strategy of Indian restraint through the colonisation of Texas. The Mexican government attempted to resist the developing American economic embrace through legislation. In 1824 the Mexican government imposed a ban on non-Mexicans engaging in the fur trade. Two years later, foreigners were also forbidden to practice certain trades and professions. The later decision to close the northern Texas border in 1830 and end further immigration was another attempt to stem the tide. The refusal of both the local *Tejano* citizenry and frontier officials to support this legislation thwarted these attempts to control the situation in the borderlands. The weakness of Mexico City's efforts to control the migrant flow combined with the willingness of local officials to flaunt the trade laws increased the lack of faith the American newcomers had towards Mexican law. It also reinforced the Hispanic stereotype of Mexicans as feckless, if not actually corrupt.[17]Ultimately Mexico failed to hold on to its northern territory and this failure was in stark contrast to the United States' successful territorial expansion. This contrast between the two provides a sharp contrast between the two opposing nationalisms. To the north there was the confident Americanism and, to the south, a proud, sensitive stoicism amongst the *Tejanos*. The confident Americans soon became a problem in Texas, which was part of the Mexican state of Coahuila y Texas

The Texas Rebellion

The first American had arrived in Texas in 1789 before the Louisiana Purchase had been agreed.[18]The number increased slowly at first and by 1804 there were an estimated sixty-eight foreigners living in Texas, fifty of whom had been there for over three years. Between thirteen and twenty of them were American settlers and not transient trappers. After the Louisiana Purchase the numbers of American settlers in Texas began to increase. There were incidents that demonstrated the expansionist ambitions of

[17]Weber, p. 155.
[18] Abraham Nasatir, *Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest* (Tucson: The University of New Mexico Press, 1976), p.121.

Americans and they were motivated by more than the wish to settle in a neighbouring country. The United States was driven by the intense sense of Manifest Destiny to control the North American landmass. In contrast, Mexico was seeking to settle and develop the frontier region through a policy of colonisation. The purpose was to control the aggressive Native American tribes and to protect its settlements by establishing a buffer zone between themselves and their expansionist northern neighbour. In 1824 and 1825, Mexico introduced both state and federal colonisation laws in the effort to open up its northern frontier to foreigners.

The colonisation laws were introduced in a climate of intense political controversy in Mexico. Independence had not produced a state of equilibrium. From the start of its existence, Mexico was seized by the political struggle between Federalist and Centralist forms of government within the new republic. The infant republic experienced an almost constant state of political chaos for more than half a century. In 1824, the Federalists had prevailed long enough for them to create their own federalist constitution and it was in this context that the initial colonisation laws came into effect. Anglo settlers were encouraged to come to Texas by the offer of land and the financial incentive of tax and tariff exemptions for a period of seven years. The Mexican government imposed three conditions on the newcomers. They were required to become Mexican citizens, to embrace the Catholic faith, and to provide certificates affirming they possessed a good character and habits in their communities of origin. Subject to these requirements, the new settlers could acquire land either through direct negotiation with the Mexican government or via the *empresario* system.[19]

In 1823,during the short reign of Emperor Iturbide, an Imperial Colonization law was introduced in order to encourage Catholic immigration. The law provided for the employment of *empresarios* acting as formal agents for the development of new settlements. The legislation was nullified after Iturbide's abdication but its general terms formed the basis of the colony established by Stephen Austin. In the Federal period

[19]http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fau14 (Accessed, 16 August 2011).

which followed, a National Colonization law was passed and it formed the framework for future settlements within Texas. The law excluded the allocation of any land within twenty leagues of the border without the approval of the central government. The Mexican Congress also reserved the right to restrict immigration from any country if it was felt to threaten national security.

Stephen Austin is the most familiar *empresario* but there were some twenty six altogether during the period. Austin took on the role and responsibilities after the death of his father, Moses, who had negotiated the original contract with the pre-independence government of New Spain. For Austin to take up the reins, he had to obtain the agreement of the newly established Mexican government to the previous contract. His contribution to the development of the Anglo-American domination of Texas was substantial. After setting up the original colony based at San Felipe de Austin, he established additional colonies and brought about fifteen thousand families into Texas.[20] The Texas settlers came from the United States but smaller numbers arrived from Ireland, Germany and other parts of Western Europe. The Mexican government sought to establish Mexican communities but with limited success. The primary Mexican colony was that of Guadalupe Victoria which was established in 1824 by Martin de Leon with an initial influx of twenty-four Mexican families.

The main influx of settlers was from the United States and the border soon became porous as both legal and non-sanctioned immigrants poured into the province. The Mexican government experienced a growing sense of apprehension as the Anglo settlers made their presence felt. There was little interaction or intermingling between the new arrivals and the Tejanos because the newcomers established their own communities some distance away from the Tejano pueblos. The number of American immigrants increased and the cultural, linguistic and legal differences between the two cultures added to the sense of segregation. Fearful of the impact of the Anglo-Americans upon the

[20] Todd Hansen, *The Alamo Reader: A Study in History* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003), p.4.

character of Texas, the Mexican government introduced further legislation in an attempt to retain control. The consequence of the new laws was an increased tension within the region as the Anglos reacted to the restrictions. Mexico City responded by tightening its control over Texas and increased its military presence.

The Texas rebellion began on 2 October 1835 with a small skirmish at the town of Gonzales which did not deserve the title of 'Battle' assigned to it. The rebellion ended on 21 April, the following year, at the Battle of San Jacinto and two days later saw the complete withdrawal of all Mexican troops from Texas.[21] Between these two events there occurred a number of bloody encounters between the Mexican forces and the Texas rebels. As we shall see in Chapter 3, these battles were accorded a mythic status within both the Texas and American cultural memory. The Texas struggle for independence was seen as possessing the same weighty historical significance as the War of Independence some sixty years earlier. The first brief clash at Gonzales became known as the Texas "Lexington" where, like the Founding Fathers, freedom loving Americans launched their heroic struggle against the tyranny of Mexico. But, like the original battle of Lexington, the reality was a little less spectacular.

At Gonzales, in the growing climate of tension, suspicion, and anger between the American settlers and the Mexican government, the military commander in San Antonio, Colonel Ugartechea, sought to confiscate weapons that might be used against his force. He sent a corporal and five soldiers to Gonzales to seize a small cannon held by the citizens of the colony. The cannon had been given to the town in 1831 to assist in its defence against Indian attacks. When the citizens refused to hand over the piece, Ugartechea sent a larger force under the command of Lieutenant Francisco Castañeda but gave orders to avoid confrontation. The citizens again refused to comply but there was

[21] This account of the Texas rebellion draws upon a number of sources. See: William C. Davies, *Three Roads to the Alamo: The Lives and Fortunes of David Crockett, James Bowie, and William Travis Barret.* (New York:Harper-Collins (Perennial edition, 1999); Stephen L. Hardin, *Texas Iliad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836.* (Austin: University of Texas Press,1994); Jeff Long, *Duel of Eagles: The Mexican and U.S. Fight for the Alamo.* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990).

no major conflict. The citizens challenged Castañeda to come and take the gun. Shots were exchanged; the cannon was fired at the Mexican soldiers who then returned from Gonzales empty handed. The Texan rebellion had begun.

The key event in the conflict was the siege of San Antonio de Bexár by the Texans which began on 28 October, 1835 and continued until 5 December. The town was finally stormed by the Texans. General Cós surrendered while defending the Alamo to where they had retreated. Cós and his troops were allowed to leave Bexár under a parole in which the General swore not to take up arms against Texas again. The capture of San Antonio de Bexár created a rift in the strategic thinking of the Texans. Some regarded Coos' retreat as the end of the affair while others believed that Santa Anna, who had seized political control of Mexico and suspended the 1824 Constitution, was sure to respond in force. They insisted it was essential to prepare for the defence of the territory before the expected Mexican force arrived. One group of rebels argued for a military expedition to sack the town of Matamoros in the belief that this would seal the future liberty of Texas. They organised the expedition and left San Antonio with around one hundred defenders short of valuable supplies. The Matamoros expedition ended in disaster when, in February 1836, it encountered a force of Mexican troops near the Nueces River and the majority of the expedition was killed.

The Texan defence of San Antonio was now located in the Alamo mission and the Alamo became the subject of disagreement amongst the rebels. Sam Houston was in command of the rebel Texans and despatched James Bowie with about thirty volunteers to San Antonio with instructions to destroy the mission. Houston believed that Texan independence could only be achieved through guerrilla tactics and not by the defence of fixed locations like the Alamo. Command of the Alamo was in the hands of James Neil and he and Bowie agreed that the mission should be defended and ignored Houston's orders. On 3February 1836 Bowie and Neil were joined by William Barrett Travis who brought with him an additional thirty men. Ten days later, Neill left the Alamo to respond to the needs of his family who had been struck by illness. He left Travis in command of the

mission but, because of the rivalry between Travis and Bowie, Travis' authority was short lived.

There was a rift between Travis' regular troops and Bowie's volunteers who resented Travis's authority. In an attempt to resolve the problem, Travis allowed the defenders to vote for a commander and Bowie, not Travis, was elected. The rift was short-lived but only after Bowie celebrated his election with an alcoholic binge. On 14February, the two men reached an agreement. Travis retained command of the regular troops while Bowie would lead the volunteers. All general orders and communications would be issued and signed together. Bowie's role was substantially reduced after he succumbed to a crippling illness that confined him to a sickbed for the rest of the siege. Previously, on 8 February the third member of the Alamo Trinity, David Crockett, arrived with a further group of volunteers. They were known as the Tennessee Mounted Volunteers but only half of them were from Tennessee. Santa Anna reached San Antonio on 23 February, and the thirteen-day siege began. The Alamo fell on the morning of 6 March. The siege of the Alamo, and the slaughter of the defenders, has become the core element in the cultural memory of the event and the nature of this cultural memory is explored in chapter three.

On 1,March the Texans held a convention at Washington on the Brazos and declared Texas Independence on the second day. While the convention was in session Houston arrived in Gonzales and began a westward retreat. On 20 March Colonel James Fannin, commander of the Texas force in Goliad and his men were captured. Seven days later, on the direct orders of Santa Anna, Fannin and over four hundred Texans were executed. Finally, after a game of cat and mouse, Houston's army surprised Santa Anna's forces at San Jacinto on 21 April. The Mexicans were routed in a matter of minutes and Santa Anna was captured the next day. Santa Anna conceded victory and recognised the Texan demand for independence. The withdrawal of the remaining Mexican troops began on 23 April under General Vincente Filisola. The Mexican government, however, refused to endorse Santa Anna's recognition of Texas

independence. The tension between Texas and Mexico continued, mainly due to the imperialist ambitions of the Texans.

This tension was demonstrated by the Texas Santa Fé expedition of 1841 and the Mier expedition a year later. The Texas-Santa Fé Expedition was a joint military and commercial expedition to Santa Fé, New Mexico, which was then still part of the Republic of Mexico. The expedition was both approved and financially supported by Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, the President of Texas.[22]The overt purpose of the expedition was to establish trade with Santa Fe and tap into the market opportunities offered by the Santa Fe Trail. The covert objective was to acquire New Mexico as part of the new Republic and it revealed the imperialist intentions of the new Republic.[23] The expedition's leaders took with them for distribution amongst the citizens of Santa Fe, copies of a lengthy epistle signed by Lamar, written in both English and Spanish. The missive was a follow up to a previous letter from Lamar inviting the New Mexicans to change their allegiance from Mexico to Texas "we shall take great pleasure in hailing you as fellow citizens, members of our young Republic, and co-aspirants with us for all the glory of establishing a new happy and free nation".[24]The second letter repeated President Lamar's optimistic tone and promised a positive outcome for New Mexican citizens if they embraced union with Texas. The Santa Fe expedition ended in a disaster for the Texans who, after prairie fires and Indian attacks, lost their way and surrendered. They were force marched to Mexico City for a period of unpleasant incarceration.

The Mier Expedition of 1842 was a further example of the conflicts between Mexico and Texas that reinforced stereotypes of the other. In March 1842 Mexico invaded Texas with the intention of retaking the illegal republic. The townships of Goliad, Refugio, and Victoria were reoccupied by Mexican forces who arrived at San Antonio on 5 March.

[22] Lamar replaced Houston as President, only to be replaced by Houston at the next election.
[23] William Campbell Binkley, "New Mexico and the Texan Santa Fe Expedition", in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Volume 27, (July 1923-April1924). (http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth101086 (accessed January 18, 2012).
[24]Letter from President M.B. Lamar to the People of Santa Fe, 14 Apr. 1840. http://www.tamu.edu/ccbn/dewitt/santafeexped.htm. (accessed May 2010).

Having failed to raise a sufficient number of volunteers to defend it, the Texans vacated the town. When the Texas militia came to the aid of San Antonio, the Mexicans had already withdrawn. In September, Mexican forces returned and seized control of San Antonio again. Under the command of General Woll, the Mexicans remained until 20 September but before they withdrew they engaged the Texans in the battle of Salado Creek and killed 53 men. The Texans saw this further act of aggression as the justification for another retaliatory response in defence of their new republic. Sam Houston, again the Texas President ordered a punitive campaign into Mexico territory.

The expedition left San Antonio in November 1842 and consisted of some 700 volunteers eager for plunder and glory. Despite capturing El Paso on 8 December and the town of Guerrero later in the month, the expedition's commander realised that his force would not be able to complete its task. He ordered his men to make their way back to Texas. About 189 men and officers complied but the rest remained in Mexico as the Mier expedition. It was the final Texan raid into Mexico before the Mexican War and the most disastrous in terms of the consequences for the Texans. Mexico regarded them as another gang of land pirates and filibusterers. The Mier expedition was launched on 20 December under the command of William S. Fisher and two days later it reached the Rio Grande opposite the Mexican town of Mier. Fisher's force was accompanied by a small group of Texas Rangers serving as a company of spies. The Rangers discovered the presence of Mexican troops nearby and their leader, Ben McCulloch, advised Fisher against crossing the river. Fisher ignored the advice and entered Mier on 23 December demanding supplies from the citizens. The demand was met later that afternoon, but the Texans did not have the equipment to take the materials away. The town's *alcalde* promised to deliver the supplies the next day so the Texans withdrew across the river where they waited in vain for the promised delivery. They were unaware that the Mexican General, Pedro de Ampudia, had arrived in Mier and had forbidden the transfer.

The Texans attacked the town but, despite inflicting substantial casualties on the Mexicans, they were unable to sustain their momentum. Hunger, a diminishing supply of powder, and loss of morale affected Texan discipline. Under a flag of truce Ampudia convinced the Texans to surrender. The exhausted Texans laid down their arms and their subsequent experiences at the hands of the Mexicans became a *cause celebre*.[25] The Mexican authorities refused to recognise the Texans as prisoners of war and this refusal appeared to be supported by Houston who publicly declared that the expedition had no formal authority. He insisted that the treatment of the prisoners depended upon the Mexican government's response. Initially, the men were sentenced to death but General Ampudia rescinded the order. The prisoners were marched to Matamoros where they were held before being force marched to Mexico City. When they reached the town of Saledo a successful mass escape took place but the next stage of the incident was a disaster. Only three men made it safely back across the border and the rest wandered aimlessly before they surrendered either in small groups or singly to the pursuing Mexican troops. President Santa Anna again ordered their execution but the Governor of Coahuila refused to implement the order. The Mexican government then ordered the decimation of the remaining 176 prisoners leading to the infamous 'black bean' episode. The Texans were ordered to draw beans in a tense lottery where a black bean indicated selection. Seventeen men who drew out black beans were executed along with the Texan responsible for organising the escape, even though he had not drawn a black bean.

Many of the remaining prisoners died in captivity from starvation, disease or from wounds received during the venture. In this climate of intolerance and cruelty on both sides there was a hardening of the stereotypical perceptions of the other. The cruelty of the Mexican response to the venture fuelled the American myth of the vicious, sadistic Hispanic. The pseudo-military retaliatory invasion by the Texans reinforced the Mexican view of the Americans as buccaneers. Perceptions on both sides fed into the Manichean

[25] Joseph Milton Nance, "Mier Expedition", in *Handbook of Texas Online.* http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/gym02. (accessed 17, July 2008)

image that the two communities each had for the other. As far as Mexico was concerned the final stage was the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845. For President Tyler and his successor, President Polk, this was just the next stage in the inexorable march of Manifest Destiny. Only with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo did Mexico come to accept what had been for so long a *fait accompli*. But before then the first border, that of Texas-Mexico was a fact. Before the second border under consideration was also established, Mexico had to endure the final humiliating filibuster of the Mexican War.

The Mexican War 1846-48

The Mexican War is the key to appreciating the continuing attitude of Mexico towards her northern neighbour over the years.[26] It was the root of the economic backwardness that Mexico has endured since, as well as the source of the resentment and bitterness still felt towards the 'good neighbour' north of the Rio Grande. The stereotypes of Mexicans that emerged during the early encounters between the two countries were reinforced by the Texas rebellion and its later annexation. In addition to the annexation of Texas other factors contributed to the declaration of war in 1846. The philosophy of Manifest Destiny contained a commitment to further acquisitions of territory by America. For President Polk the essential prize was the acquisition of California, while the continuing political instability within the Mexican government was another ingredient in the pot. The Mexican government's unwillingness to accept the United States offer to purchase the desired territories was another contributory factor. The successful purchases of Louisiana from France in 1803 and of Florida from Spain in 1819 were followed by the offer of $15m to Mexico for the desired territories. Mexico's refusal to take the offer meant that the Polk administration had to resort to other measures to achieve its expansionist intentions.

[26]Orlando Martinez, *The Great Landgrab: The Mexican American War 1846-1848* (London: Quartet Books, 1975), p. 2.

The Mexican War consisted of three separate and distinct campaigns. There was the invasion of Mexico south of the Rio Grande under General Zachary Taylor. The second campaign was the march of the Army of the West under G. Stephen Kearney which seized control of the main prizes of New Mexico and California. The third campaign was General Winfield Scott's expedition towards Mexico City. In May 1845 Polk ordered Taylor to prepare his force in readiness against any potential conflict. He also instructed the Commander of the United States flotilla in the Pacific to seize Californian ports in the event of a war. There was some attempt to resolve the issues between the countries by diplomatic means but these fell foul of the internal disruptive politics of Mexico and Polk's lack of sensitivity with regard to the situation. Polk sought to re-establish diplomatic links with Mexico which had collapsed after the Texas annexation in the hope of achieving a financially negotiated settlement. He appointed William S. Parrot as a confidential agent in Mexico for this task.

As a result of Parrot's efforts, Polk learned that the Mexican government would be willing to receive a fresh envoy and John Slidell was sent to Mexico City as a minister plenipotentiary under instructions from the President. Slidell had been given a range of options for his dealings with the Mexican government. He was authorised to offer up to $25m,as well as the willingness by the United States government to assume responsibility for its citizens' compensation claims against the Mexican government.[27] The full amount would be offered if Mexico conceded California as far south as Monterey and New Mexico. Lesser sums were offered depending on which territories she was willing to relinquish. The bottom line was that the United States would take up the payment of all claims if Mexico recognised the Texas boundary on the United States' terms.[28]Mexico rejected the offer and refused to recognise Slidell's status on the grounds that they had

[27] During the Mexican struggle for independence, U.S. citizens had submitted claims for loses they had incurred as a consequence of the conflict. The claims were adjudicated internationally in 1840 and set at around $2m. Mexico had accepted the finding and paid some instalments, but its weakened economy had prevented further payments. It was the outstanding amount that the U.S. added to the mix.

[28]John Douglas Pitts Fuller, *The Movement for the Acquisition of All Mexico* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1936), p.33.

agreed to receive only a special commissioner, not a formal minister. Slidell remained in Mexico for four months in a vain effort to fulfil his mission, but not even a change of government provided him with success. He left Mexico on 17 March 1846 by which time the President's cabinet had already agreed to consider "war measures" in the light of events on the Rio Grande.[29]The President had set in motion a chain of events that made such an outcome more likely to occur.

The spark came in the disputed region between the River Nueces and Rio Grande in 1846 when Pedro de Ampudia, the Mexican general in command of the region, demanded General Taylor's withdrawal on 12 April. The inevitable clash occurred twelve days later when a group of Taylor's dragoons suffered casualties in an engagement with Mexican troops. Taylor reported to the War Department that hostilities had now commenced. On receiving the news, Polk informed Congress that Mexico had invaded United States territory and "shed American blood on American soil".[30]Congress acknowledged a state of war and gave the President authority to enlist 50,000 volunteers. It also approved an appropriation of $10m which Polk used, not just to respond to the conflict along the disputed Texas border, but to commence his war of conquest in the West. He ordered the Army of the West, commanded by Stephen Kearney, to move quickly into the Mexican province of New Mexico and, when New Mexico had been occupied, to proceed to Alta California.

> To New Mexico's inhabitants, Kearney issued a proclamation, declaring the province would be retained as "part of the United States", and under the name of the "territory of New Mexico". As "citizens of the United States", all inhabitants of New Mexico were absolved "from any further allegiance to the republic of Mexico".[31]

The acquisition of New Mexico resulted in limited resistance although there was an outbreak of hostilities after Kearney had moved on to California. The Californian conquest

[29]Pitts Fuller, p.34.
[30]Cited in Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.741.
[31] John H. Shroeder, *Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), p. 51.

was less straightforward. Six days before the outbreak of war in the disputed Texas borderlands, Polk had set things in motion in California. Commodore Sloat, commander of the Pacific flotilla, and Larkin, the U.S. consul in California, had received verbal presidential instructions via a marine lieutenant, Archibald Gillespie. Gillespie also gave instructions to John C.Frémont who interpreted them as an authorisation to take control of the province. Sloat arrived in Monterey on 2, July and (because of his age and poor health) was replaced by Commodore Stockton who, in conjunction with Frémont, established a Californian battalion of mounted rifles.

Frémont is a controversial figure in American frontier history. By 1846 he had become a household name on the basis of two topographical expeditions in the Pacific coast region. He was a brevet-Captain in the army topographical engineers.[32] He was also the son-in-law and primary disciple of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, a strong proponent of Manifest Destiny. Despite being a serving officer, Frémont was something of a maverick who would face a court martial for mutiny for his behaviour in the Californian campaign. Despite being found guilty of the charges, his sentence was overthrown through Benton's influence, and in 1856 he become the first presidential candidate of the Republican Party.

> He operated nearly as a law unto himself. Up to 1845 Frémont's independence had harmed nobody. His military superiors realized full well that the Corps of Topographical Engineers benefited from the prestige Frémont brought to it. So they winked at his foibles and even cooperated as he planned his own expeditions.[33]

Frémont's expedition arrived in California in March 1846 on a third expedition which consisted of 60 armed men (including the scout Kit Carson). He informed the Californio commander of Monterey, General Castro, that his company were simply seeking a route to Oregon. Castro gave permission for the group to remain in the Sacramento Valley but Frémont moved his men closer to Monterey. He refused to comply

[32]In the United States Army, commissioned officers could be promoted to a 'brevet' which carried the level of responsibility of the rank, but not the salary.
[33] John S. D. Eisenhower, *So Far From God: The U.S. War with Mexico, 1846-1848* (New York:, Doubleday, 1989), p.210.

with Castro's next demand that the expedition leave California. Instead, Fremont hoisted the Stars and Stripes and set up defences. When he realised that Castro was advancing towards him with substantial artillery, he fled north to Oregon for a while. Castro's response to the threat posed by Frémont generated a sense of nervousness amongst American settlers in the region. A group of them, based at Sutter's Fort, rustled 150 horses while a second group seized 18 artillery pieces and a further 250 horses. In a third incident, Manuel Vallejo, the commandant at Sonoma, was captured by a group of drunken Americans from Sutter's Fort. This was despite the fact that Vallejo was a personal friend of the American consul, Thomas O. Larkin, and committed to union with the United States. Frémont, who had returned, insisted on keeping him prisoner. The Americans in Sonoma then declared their independence from Californian rule and established the 'Bear Flag Republic'. It acquired the name because of a hastily designed flag carrying the image of a bear. Frémont claimed to be the instigator of the new republic and resigned his commission from the United States army. He organised a "California" battalion and announced his intention to seize the whole of California. He was apparently unaware that Mexico and the United States might be at war.[34]

Events in California did not have to await the arrival of Kearney's Army of the West. Commodore Robert Stockton was now in control of Monterey and, working with Frémont, he proceeded to Santa Barbara and then on to Los Angeles where he proclaimed the American annexation of California. Despite the rapid acquisition of California and New Mexico, Polk did not have things all his own way. There was strong resistance from the *Californio* forces, as well as in the invaded northern states of Mexico. Polk also faced rising opposition at home from both dissident Democrats and the Whig opposition. The latter opposed both the tone and the substance of Polk's diplomacy. There was concern that the conflict with Mexico might generate European intervention and upset negotiations with Britain over the Oregon question. There was popular enthusiasm for the war, but there was also substantial criticism from certain quarters. The

[34]Eisenhower, p. 214.

comment ascribed to Walt Whitman that "Mexico must be chastised" was not the universal view.[35] The American Peace Society was one source of opposition and was responsible for the publication of a critique of the war in 1850.[36]The Peace Society was closely linked to the Quakers who sponsored Livermore's report. Other religious groups opposing the war included Unitarians and Congregationalists. Henry Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government" cites the Mexican War as an example of the malpractices of civil government that deserved resistance through civil disobedience.[37] James Russell Lowell's "Bigelow Papers" provided a satirical perspective on the expansionism behind Polk's policy.[38]

It is a myth that all Americans suspend their political differences during a time of war because to express political differences publicly through criticism of the administration is believed to offer encouragement to the enemy, threaten national security, and endanger the lives of those on the frontline. However, this was not the case with the Mexican War. Shroeder cites the Mexican War as one of the conflicts where both the causes of the war and its necessity were the source of intense political dispute.[39] Contemporary critics declared the war to be unnecessary, impolitic, illegal and immoral. However, the anti-war opposition failed for a number of reasons. It was unable to prevent the outbreak of the war and, once the war had been declared, it proved almost impossible to reverse the Polk administration's policy without appearing to desert the troops under fire. Another reason for the opposition's failure to end the war was that they were unable to generate any viable alternative strategy. So the war with Mexico continued.

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[35] "Yes, Mexico must be thoroughly chastised! Let our arms now be carried with a spirit which shall teach the world that, while we are not forward for a quarrel, American knows how to crush, as well as expand!". *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (May 11, 1846).
[36]Abiel Abbot Livermore, *The War with Mexico Reviewed* (Boston: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1850).
[37]Henry D. Thoreau, "Resistance to Civil Government" in *Walden and Resistance to Civil Government,* Norton Critical Edition (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1966), pp. 227-245.
[38] James Russell Lowell, *The Bigelow Papers* (London: Trübner and Co, 1862)..
[39]John H. Shroeder, p.ix.[He also cites the War of 1812 and the Vietnam War as further examples.]

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

Mexico City fell on September 14, 1847 and two days later Santa Anna ended his presidency yet again. Nicholas Trist who was the American responsible for negotiating the treaty was a southerner with a firm belief in Manifest Destiny. He was also a Jacksonian Democrat with a sense of loyalty to President Polk. Despite getting off to a bad start, Trist also became close friends with General Scott whose popularity and political views did not please the President. Their friendship was a factor that led Polk to recall Trist back to the United States. Trist ignored his instructions and continued the negotiations using the initial remit he had received from Polk. Trist was instructed to demand that Mexico cede the provinces of Alta California and New Mexico as well as accepting the Rio Grande as the border.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is the oldest extant treaty between the two countries. The terms of treaty were dictated by the United States who used its military, economic, and industrial superiority to impose its will upon a much weakened Mexico. There were four stages in the treaty's development.[40]Because Polk had always wanted to negotiate with Mexico there had been an initial period of secret diplomacy in a series of communications between Polk, James Buchanan, his Secretary of State, and Alexander J. Atocha, a Spanish-American citizen representing General Santa Anna. At the time the former Mexican president was in exile in Cuba, Atocha had become acquainted with Santa Anna through a series of speculative business activities. Atocha advised Polk and Buchanan that Mexico might not be averse to recognising the Rio Grande as the border between the two countries if it could be agreed that the region between it and the River Nueces became neutral territory.[41] It was also suggested that if Santa Anna could return, he would pursue peace with the United States

[40] Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1990).This analysis of the Treaty draws upon del Castillo's important discussion.
[41] Ibid, p. 17. [Interestingly, there is still an argument for the idea of the border serving as a cordon sanitaire rather than a line between the two countries.]

A second stage in the peace process occurred when Santa Anna and General Scott agreed to an armistice on 22 August 1847 although there were breaches by undisciplined Mexican troops and civilian mobs. Before any formal negotiations began, the Mexican negotiators became aware, through intercepted dispatches, that Secretary of State, James Buchanan, had instructed Trist not to regard the acquisition of Baja California as a *sine qua non*. The Mexican negotiators were willing to concede their claim to Texas if the Nueces River was accepted as the border. Santa Anna had previously hinted that Alta California was expendable on the grounds that Mexico could neither defend nor populate it. He was also willing to consider that the region between the Rio Grande and the Nueces be regarded as a neutral buffer zone. This concept of a frontier as a buffer region is an interesting contrast to Turner's frontier hypothesis and its implication that the frontier was an empty region prior to the arrival of the Anglo.

The third stage of serious negotiations began on 1 September when a tentative agreement was reached regarding the United States annexation of California and New Mexico. The United States had a problem accepting the Nueces River as the border because to do so could be construed as an admission that the initial military engagement had taken place on Mexican territory. Polk had proposed a payment of $30m to Mexico for the ceded provinces. It was in this atmosphere that Trist disobeyed his President's instructions to return to the States and began the final stage of the negotiations. Trist negotiated on the basis of his original instructions in April and the Treaty was signed on 2 February 1848 and forwarded to Washington. Trist's actions brought to an end any further territorial demands on the part of the United States.[42]

Mexico accepted America's original demands and the United States acquired the former provinces of Alta California and New Mexico. Mexico gave up its claim to the territory between the Rio Grande and the River Nueces and accepted the United States offer of financial responsibility for the unsettled claims of American citizens against the Mexican government. In return Mexico received $15m dollars,$5mdollars less than the

[42]del Castillo, Chapter 4.pp 79ff.

previous offer. The Treaty provided the United States with substantial lands and resources that contributed enormously to the rapid industrial expansion in the twentieth century. In contrast, the war plunged Mexico into a long period of internal argument and recrimination.

> The disastrous military defeat in 1848 forced both conservatives and liberals to revaluate the consequences of their political programs in hopes of finding ways to strengthen the nation. The Mexican War set in motion political forces that would drastically change Mexico's future.[43]

The United States Senate ratified the Treaty on 10 March 1848 but not without further changes. When Polk had submitted it to Congress he recommended deletion of Article X which addressed the issue of the ownership of land grants in the ceded territory. The fate of their inhabitants was the subject of considerable discussion between Trist and the Mexican negotiators. Articles VIII and IX dealt with the property rights of the transferred Mexicans and the Mexican negotiators had obtained some amplification of the text. Article X related to existing Mexican land grants, especially in Texas. Polk was concerned that Article X would revive older land grant claims especially in Texas where grants awarded by the Texas government after 1836 might be challenged. Polk argued that Texas public lands belonged to the state and so the federal government had neither the power to dispose of them or to alter the status of grants already awarded.

There was opposition to the ratification from various quarters. Buchanan opposed it on the grounds that Mexico had not really ceded enough territory and this view was shared by Sam Houston and Jefferson Davies on the basis that Mexico needed to cede more territory to compensate the United States. Houston had his eyes on Mexican territory as far south as the state of Vera Cruz whilst Jefferson Davies favoured annexation of most of the northern Mexican states. For them the treaty failed to punish Mexico enough. Whig opposition to the Treaty was based on a fear that the new territories might increase the power of slave states. Some northern democrats still voiced their

[43] Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Mexican Views of 1848: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo Through Mexican History", *Journal of Borderland Studies,* Volume 1, No. 2, Fall 1986. p 24.

doubts about the morality of the war. A further popular concern was that acquisition of Mexican territory could increase the Catholic presence in the United States and weaken the country's Protestant heritage.

In the end, Article X was removed in its entirety and Article IX was also amended to include text from the earlier treaties of Louisiana and Florida. Senate finally ratified the Treaty on 10 March after a secret Senate debate of which no exact record exists. Polk signed the Treaty sixteen days later and, along with the ratifications made by the United States, the Treaty was exchanged at the meeting of the Protocol of Queretaro in Mexico on 30 May. The two United States Commissioners present explained to the Mexican delegates the reasons for the amendments made to the original treaty negotiated by Trist: the amendments to Article IX and the deletion of Article X. These changes were to have important consequences for the newly acquired populations as will be seen in the case studies.

Article V of the Treaty set out an elaborate framework for determining the boundary between the two countries with its definition of reference points such as "the middle of the river" and "the mouth of its deepest branch".[44]The Article committed both governments to the use of a map published the previous year.[45] It was the work of the cartographer J. Disturnell whose map was regarded as both scientifically accurate and unbiased and it was appended to the Treaty. The thinking behind Article V includes the mistaken idea that borders can be set down as clear, neat lines on a map. Thus they can be religiously respected by the two governments and any proposed change would require the agreement of both sides.

The Treaty assumed that the issue of the border was settled. Once the suggestion of using the disputed region between the two Texas rivers as a buffer zone was dropped, the border was assumed to be a single straight line. From the Pacific the line was believed to separate former Alta California from Baja California. From California the line followed

[44]http://www.azteca.net/aztec/guadhida.html. p.3. Accessed 16/4/2007.
[45]J. Disturnell, Map *of the United Mexico States, as organized and defined by various acts of the Congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best authorities.*

the flow of the Gila River, and ran along the southern and western boundaries of New Mexico before it was assumed to run straight down the middle of the Rio Grande. After the Treaty was signed all that was needed was to agree where the line was and to mark it. The act of drawing the physical line proved to be far from simple and the accuracy of the border continues to be a problem. The drawing of the line took place in a period of intense partisan politics in the United States and one of political instability in Mexico. It was against this background that the work of the joint United States and Mexico Boundary Commission took place.[46]

> In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground land marks which shall show the limits of both republics…the two Governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte.[47]

Those appointed for this task were required to maintain journals and mark out the line. The results agreed in the survey would be regarded as part of the Treaty with the same legal force as if they had been originally included in the document. Article V concluded with the assertion that both governments would reach an amicable agreement as to what the commissioners, surveyor and their respective escorts might need to achieve their objectives. Despite the optimistic tone of the Treaty the task proved to be complex, dangerous and politically divisive. It was complex because the maps identified and used were far from accurate. Disturnell had miscalculated the location of El Paso and he ignored the fact that the Rio Grande was a shifting landmark. It was also a dangerous task because of the physical landscape, climate and threat of Indian attacks. It was politically divisive because both sides wanted to gain rather than to lose any territory.

[46] Joseph Richard Werne, *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848-1857* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 2007).
[47] Ibíd. p.126.

Intermittent Apache raids on both sides of the assumed border frustrated the work of the participants. The Rio Grande, like any river, would change the direction of its flow and the choice of the Gila River, in what later became Arizona, was another source of disagreement between the two sides. Trist had initially proposed that the border follow the Rio Grande to the point where it reached the thirty-second parallel. It would then follow a straight line all the way to the Pacific. The Mexican negotiators objected. They were anxious to retain San Diego as a port, the Gila River as a physical boundary and El Paso del Norte as a Mexican town. As well as Apache raids there were filibuster raids into the northern Mexican states during the survey. Further problems arose as a result of the California gold rush. While the commission was seeking to complete its provisioning, gold fever both increased the cost of equipment and depleted the market of labourers and engineers. By the end of the first survey only fifty-three boundary markers had been erected between the Pacific coast and the Rio Grande. There was also a dispute caused by the fact that Disturnell had miscalculated the location of the boundary. Consequently there was a further loss of 320 square miles to the United States by Mexico.

The Treaty also sought to address the status of Mexican citizens who now found themselves within the United States. This was the focus of Article VIII which offered a range of choices. Mexicans could remain living where they were or relocate at any time to Mexico. If they chose to relocate they had the right to retain any property they owned. If they decided to sell their property, the Treaty acknowledged their right to take the proceeds of sale with them without any tax or charge being levied. If they chose to remain, they could still retain their Mexican citizenship or, alternatively, elect to become a United States citizen. However, there was the possibility of a further outcome.

> Those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to become citizens of the United States.[48]

[48]http://www.azteca.net/aztec/guadhida.html. p.4.(accessed 12/9/2011)

The protection of the Constitutional rights of Mexicans who elected to become United States citizens (or who became so as a consequence of failing to "maintain" their Mexican character) was addressed in Article IX. Originally, the article spoke of allowing such a person the right to enjoy all the rights of a United States citizen. While their status was in the process of recognition, the Treaty guaranteed protection to their right to liberty, property and religious practice. The United States Senate amended this article and explained its decision for doing so in the Protocol of Queretaro. The amendment replaced the original article with Article III of the 1803 Treaty of Louisiana that had sealed the Louisiana Purchase. The amended article now read:

> The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible according to the principles of the federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all these rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the Religion which they profess.[49]

Article X addressed the question of land grants issued by the Mexican government or by the Spanish, in territories that were now under American rule. The land grants were to be recognised as legally valid by the United States. The grants would be viewed by American courts as having the same legal status as if the territories had not been ceded to the United States. The Americans suppressed the article because of its potential impact on the land grant issue in Texas. The Protocol of Queretaro declared that it was not the intention of the United States to annul existing land grants given by the Mexican government. The owners of such land had the right to seek acknowledgement of their legal titles by American tribunals. The Protocol declared that the land grants concerned would be those that were legal in California and New Mexico prior to 13 May 1846. For Texas the specified date was 2 March1836. Given the loss of land that many of these new "citizens" of the United States experienced in the years to follow, it is difficult not to view the deletion of Article X without a twinge of cynicism.

[49] Richard Griswold del Castillo, (1990), chapter 4.

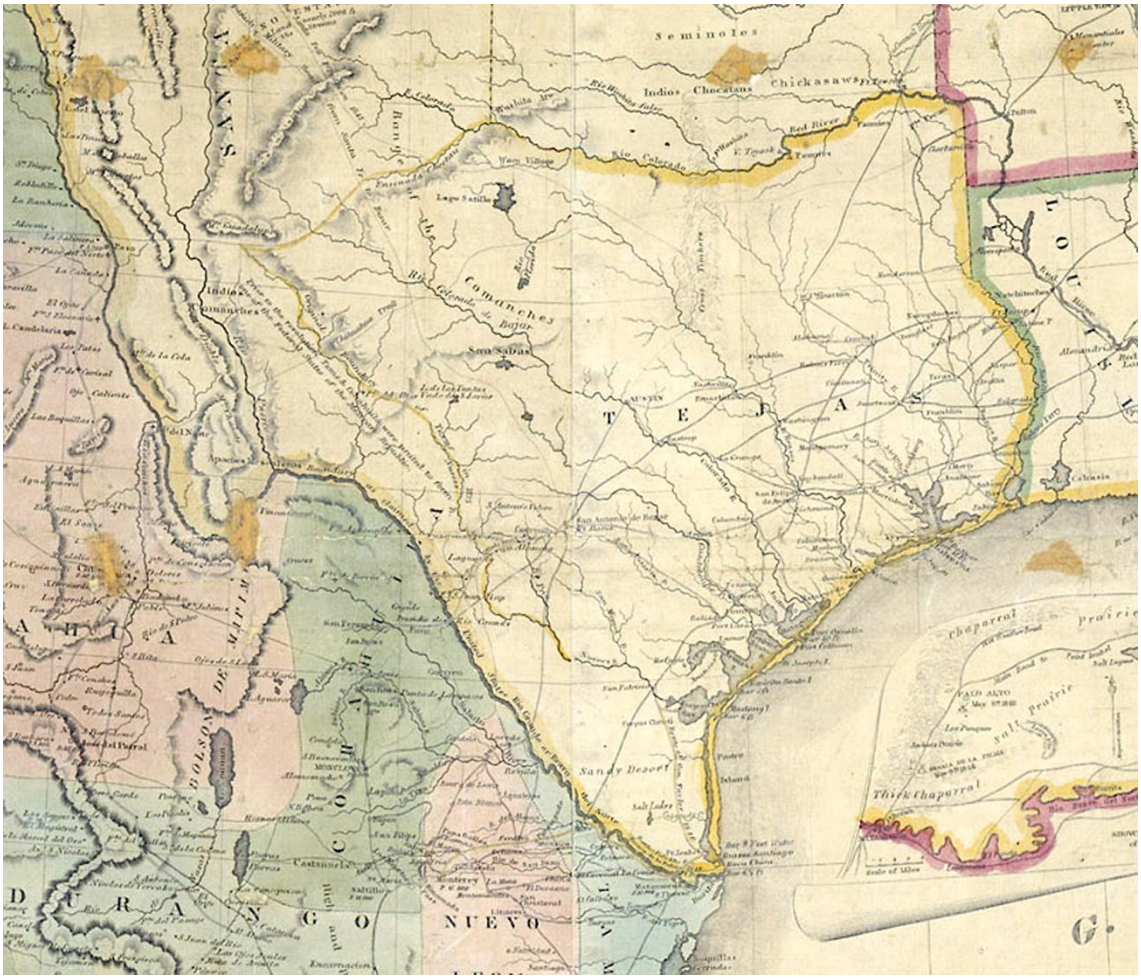

Figure 9 John Disturnell's 1847 Borderland Map

The Beginnings of Hispanicism

The new border created disruption for the conquered Mexicanos as new political, legal and economic systems were imposed upon them. Their traditional Hispanic culture did not fit easily with that of the conquerors. The cultural contrasts were a reminder to the Mexicanos of their defeat. The old ways held little kudos for the conquerors but they still retained their potency across the new border. The desire by former Mexicanos to retain links with their past and their culture was strong. So was the pressure applied by the conquerors upon the conquered to despise, denigrate and desert their culture if they wished to be regarded as citizens. To understand the relationship between the two cultures more clearly, it is necessary to return to the question of how the historical

narrative feeds into the memory of the two cultures. It requires discussion of how historical narratives are constructed. The process will be examined in detail through the case studies but the process of cultural remembrance began simultaneously with the historical events. An early example of the process is found in an American book published anonymously in 1825but whose authorship is now ascribed to John M. Niles, Postmaster General during Martin van Buren's presidency.[50]In his account of the region that soon became the scene of conflict, Niles offers his perspective on the differences between the two cultures. He describes the Mexican province of Texas as lying between the Rio Bravo del Norte, as the Rio Grande was known by the Mexicans, and the existing western boundary of the United States. Niles recognises that the region had previously been claimed by the United States under the Louisiana Purchase but that they had relinquished the claim to Spain following the Adams-Onis Florida Treaty. His description and analysis of the Mexican population and character reveals the beginnings of Hispanicism as he offers his initial perceptions that came to influence the Anglo-Americans' view of their southern neighbour.[51]His description of the Mexican character shows a bizarre, complex catalogue of racial differences defined in terms of physiology, temperament and values. He describes Mexico as a racially hierarchical society at whose apex is the Creole who possesses positive natural talents and the facility for acquiring knowledge. Creoles are mild, courteous, and benevolent, but, although they are intensely patriotic and value their independence and liberty, they are beset by the sin of gambling. In contrast to Creoles, the 'coloureds' consist mainly of the labouring classes and soldiers. Niles argues that many of them make good citizens, who acquire property and are devoted to the cause of liberty. However, there are other classes who are indolent, wretched and filthy. He cites the example of Mexico City's *leperos*, the notorious beggars, thieves and pickpockets with their addiction to drunkenness as further evidence of an anti-social nature. According to Niles, all Mexicans, regardless of their ethnic purity, share one thing. "All classes of the

[50] By a Citizen of the United States (John M. Niles), *A View of South America and Mexico* (New York: H. Huntington Jr., 1825).
[51]Ibid. p. 136ff.

people are said to be fond of smoking to excess; females as well as the men and boys".[52]This social analysis from almost two hundred years ago reveals that the now familiar racial stereotypes were already becoming embedded in the United States' cultural memory even before the conflicts had broken out.

Niles also offers his opinions on the cultural differences between Protestant and Catholic countries.[53] The former have outstripped the latter in terms of both moral development and progress in the intellectual sciences. France is an exception to this generalisation, but Niles fails to explain why. The probable explanation could be the Louisiana Purchase or the French support given to the United States during the War of Independence. Niles' main conclusion is that the Roman Catholic religion is not conducive to scientific and intellectual activities and he offers two explanations for this. On the one hand Catholicism possesses an intolerant spirit that stifles mental enquiry. He believes that this failure arose from the Catholic emphasis upon religious external forms and ceremonies. These, he claims, focus the adherents' minds upon elaborate rituals to such an extent that their minds become closed to intellectual activity. "In a word, it (Roman Catholicism) is calculated to enslave the mind, and when that is fettered, little improvement can be expected".[54] Niles' views are an echo of *la leyenda negra* and a precursor of the racial stereotyping that shaped the perspective of the borderland in coming years. The Texas Rebellion and the Mexican War would contribute to the shaping of the narrative and its memories. Mayer Brantz provides a further example of the shaping of the American cultural perspective of Hispanicism.

[52]Niles, p.137.
[53]ibid p.139.
[54]ibid p.139.

In 1843 Mayer Brantz served for a year as the United States Legation secretary in Mexico City and was the author of an early history of the Mexican War.[55] His explanation of the causes of the War reveals the perceived wisdom at the time. He lays some of the blame at Spain's feet on the grounds that it failed to harness the natural resources of her colony.[56] His description of the Mexican population mirrors the stereotypes that were later used to justify the war. The Mexican rancheros were cowards when facing regular troops in battle but were formidable and cruel when they resorted to guerrilla tactics. The Indians or *mestizos* were lazy, gluttonous and so foul and badly clothed as to generate a sense of disgust on the part of any foreigners who had to deal with them. Brantz regarded Mexico as a country so dominated by the military and clergy that it was no surprise it was immersed in ignorance, poverty and moral weakness.

> It is not at all surprising to find that out of a population of seven millions, four millions are Indians and only one million purely white, while more than two millions of the rest as zambos, (sic) mestizo and mulattos. Nor is it singular that of this whole population of seven millions, not more than six hundred thousand whites and eighty thousands of the other casts can read and write.[57]

The same moral weakness was present in the Mexican government which had failed to accept its responsibility to honour the reparation dates for American citizens as set out by the United States. Congress had set a price on these claims and laid down specific dates when instalments would be paid by the Mexican government. Mexico had asked for a postponement of the settlement on the grounds of its economic problems and Brantz contrasted what he regarded as a churlish, almost childish reluctance of Mexico to accept its responsibilities with that of other countries. Other nations faced economic difficulties, but they accepted their obligation to meet demands for financial reparation. Mexico needed a severe rebuke rather than being permitted to default. "In the spirit of

[55] Mayer Brantz, *A History of the War between Mexico and the United States with a Preliminary View of Its Origin* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1848).
[56] ibid p. 11.
[57] ibid. p.13.

forbearing kindness towards a sister republic which Mexico has so long abused, the United States promptly complied with her request".[58]

Brantz paints a stark contrast between the American and the Mexican soldier.[59]While the Mexican soldier was almost as brave as the American, there are some sharp differences. They reveal the American soldier as superior to the Mexican. Because of their mixed blood, Mexicans exhibit traces of cruel savagery in the shape of a disdain for life. In contrast, the American soldier values life and wishes to preserve it. In Brantz's opinion the American soldier is aware of the importance of discipline and obedience to his "resolute and skilful officers". The Mexican, however, is quick to give vent to personal feelings and, when coupled with the fatalism inherited from his Moorish background, he becomes a cruel and vindictive individual. Brantz argues that the Mexican soldiers' political masters reveal the same traits.

> The qualities which characterize the Mexican soldier …mark also the statesman of that country. Their loud and vainglorious professions of resolve; their bombastic proclamations; their short passionate and revolutionary governments; their personal rivalries and universal anarchy denote impulsive tempers utterly incapable of sustained self-rule or resistance… Diplomacy is the weapon of weak powered, and the pen is a most important implement when defeat, inaction or incompetency is to be excused to the Mexicans.[60]

Brantz acknowledges that the annexation of Texas was a contributory factor in the causes of the War but he places the primary responsibility upon the devious Mexican government. American immigrants were victims rather that instigators. He describes the Mexican government's suspension of the 1824 Constitution as "distasteful to every friend of genuine liberty".[61] United States citizens had flocked to Texas in the belief that the Mexican Constitution was a transcript of their own, but the "quiet and orderly conduct of our immigrants was … not regarded favourably by the Mexicans". Anglo-Texans were free from any blame for the Texas revolution; it was the fault of Mexico alone. The 1830 law prohibiting further United States migration was arbitrary and led to a military occupation of

[58]Brantz, p. 32.
[59]ibid p.32ff.
[60] ibid. p 35.
[61]ibid. p. 44ff.

Texas. It allowed arrogant, insolent Mexican troops to dominate an innocent people who were regarded as inferior.[62]In his account of the Texas rebellion and the 1841 Santa-Fé Expedition, Brantz offers the behaviour of the Mexican government and its troops as a substantial cause for Texas Annexation. The geographical and political affinity between the United States and the new Texas republic led naturally to the need to guarantee that there was a friendly government controlling the border rather than the perfidious Mexican.

> The cruelty with which the war was waged, and the brutal treatment received by some of the prisoners of the Santa Fe expedition…convince us that a strong power should have imposed peace on Mexico.[63]

Brantz claims that the United States maintained strict neutrality during the Texas rebellion and depicted a morally superior United States. He insisted that there were higher principles that the United States could not ignore including the need and right for the United States "to regain our ancient rights".[64]According to Brantz, the Mexican War provided the opportunity to restore to the United States the territory that was part of its Manifest Destiny. When Brantz's1848 perspective is combined with Niles' in 1825 we see a particular historical narrative under construction that was being absorbed into the cultural memory. However, an alternative perspective is available. There is an irony here as the US arrivals in Texas were technically immigrants (as we would understand the term) within the United States of Mexico, having emigrated from the USA. Yet in their own minds they were not leaving the USA; they were simply extending the limits of their perceived community. In Texas the newcomers simply experienced a little local difficulty. The irony lies in the fact that, in the very same territory several generations later, Mexicans moving north are not expected or allowed to bring their republic/society, with them, but must behave as immigrants and follow US expectations.

These early histories contributed to the construction of the framework of Hispanicism. John M. Niles and Mayer Brantz provide early examples of how the United

[62]Brantz reads like the first draft of some of the Alamo movies discussed in Chapter 3.
[63]ibid. p. 78.
[64]ibid. p 51.

States believed that the causes of the conflict arose primarily from actions linked to its assumptions about the Mexican “character”. A set of moral, religious, social and political stereotypes was being constructed which would colour the American view of the other in ways that are now embedded. We see them in the representations of the Mexican in both the historical narrative and in the cultural memory that the narrative generates. The case studies will provide further evidence as to how the process operated and how the various cultural memories were constructed along the borders with Texas, California and Arizona.

Chapter 3: Forgetting the Alamo: The Unsung Heroes

Introduction

At the time of the Texas Rebellion, the Mexican citizens living along *la Frontera* were moving from a co-existent border into one of alienation that would persist for many years. The clash between Texas and Mexico City had reached a high level of tension and animosity. The political divisions were substantial and were part of the growing conflict between the Centralists and the Federalists. The former wished to impose a Constitution in which the power and control lay in the Capital, while the latter were prepared to fight for more state and provincial democracy as promised in the 1824 Constitution. In addition, the Anglo community in Texas was split into two groups; the Peace party which initially sought a negotiated resolution to the situation, and the War party eager to seize Texas from Mexican rule completely. The province was further divided culturally and geographically between the Anglos and the Tejanos. The political clout was moving away from the latter as the Anglo immigrants aggressively pushed their political agenda. It was not surprising that Texas was becoming fractured and, in the white heat of its politics, sharply contrasting cultural identities were being forged. They would eventually become fixed and rigid stereotypes.

To the Texas rebels, the greatest bandido was the Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, who they believed was determined to deprive them of their assumed freedom and rights. On his part, Santa Anna viewed the Anglo-Texans as land pirates greedy for Mexican land and who deserved no mercy. In the ensuing years, after Texas gained its independence, the issue of the Texas-Mexico border and its limits became a focus of dispute and conflict. The task of unravelling the constructed memory from this historical narrative is a complex task. The ‘ballads’ that seek to celebrate the cultural memory display various traces of otherwise vanished elements that are difficult to analyse. As I made clear in the introduction, I have extended the meaning of the term *los corridos* (ballads) to include a wider range of cultural technologies and artefacts than simply folk songs. This allows the

opportunity to discuss and analyse cultural celebrations such as public memorials, popular histories, novels and films which all claim to celebrate the ‘truth’ of the Alamo.

This chapter examines the controversy around the unveiling of the Alamo cenotaph in 1936. The controversy demonstrates how the cultural memory encapsulated in the cenotaph became a contributory factor to the false belief that the Alamo and the Texas rebellion were the consequence of a racial divide and a clash of cultures. This false memory has meant that a substantial element of the Texas rebellion has been distorted or diminished, if not entirely forgotten through the creation of the Alamo cenotaph. The cultural memory represented by the work has been mirrored in the other cultural artefacts analysed here.

The cenotaph can be regarded as the source of the false perception that the Alamo and the Texas rebellion were the consequence of a racial divide and a clash of cultures. This argument will be developed through an analysis of the Alamo films which marketed themselves as authentic reconstructions of history. Given the place that the Alamo siege has come to hold in the cultural memory of Texas, the reason for such an analysis of films that rehearse the myths is understandable. The analysis that follows is concerned to uncover the extent to which the distorted memory continued to be perpetuated. The chapter then moves on to a review of how this cultural memory has also been represented in popular histories, literature, and the graphic histories of Jack Jackson. First of all it will be necessary to examine what is known about the cooperative nature of the Texas rebellion. The inclusion of substantial biographical detail relating to the Alamo Tejanos is justified on the grounds that this background reinforces my argument that the Texas rebellion was as much an Hispanic enterprise as it was Anglo-Texan. The concern is not to attempt to produce a more authentic historical narrative. It is to demonstrate the richness of the background to the cultural constructs.

The extent to which the potency of the racial dimension to the Texas cultural memory has persisted is illustrated by the experiences of three Texan historians, two of them Anglo-Texans and the third a Tejano. The first witness called is Richard R. Flores

who, in his analysis of the potency of the Alamo memory recalls his first school field trip to the Alamo. He had passed the Alamo on the numerous occasions that he had visited his father who worked in a pharmacy across the Plaza but this was the first time he had entered the Alamo. He recounts how every expectation he had about the visit was met. The very stones of the Alamo filled him with a sense of history and fired his imagination, triggering a sense of awe. Here was the place where the legendary heroes, Bowie, Crockett, Travis and others gave their lives for Flores' freedom. The magic disappeared immediately the visit was over when his best friend, Robert, nudged him and whispered, "You killed them! You and the other 'mes'kins'". Flores comments, "It is not that I didn't know I was Mexican. I couldn't escape it. I just hadn't realized the liability it was in the eyes of my best friend".[1]

Flores contends that the reproduction of the Alamo story through the repertoire of film, literature, and folklore is the result of the transformation of the historical events into "a powerfully rendered and racially produced icon of that cultural memory". His thesis is that the place of the Alamo in America's cultural memory involves the signification of a radical difference between "Anglos" and "Mexicans" which has structured the social relations between the two ethnic groups since the original events of 1836. The act of remembering involves the obverse act of forgetting and the cultural memory of the Alamo is linked with a specific cultural amnesia. Aspects of the Alamo are frequently forgotten and the most frequently forgotten element is the Tejano involvement and the contribution made by them to the events of the Texas rebellion. If the Alamo is to be culturally celebrated then their involvement needs to be identified and included. Flores argues that "remembering the Alamo" has depended upon this construction of a racial distinction between Anglos and Tejanos. The changes arise from shifts in Texas social stratification that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century.[2] He attributes this process of social change to a multifaceted network of economic changes, social processes, discursive articulations, and

[1] Richard R. Flores, *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), p.xiii.
[2] ibid pp. xvi/xvii.

cultural forms that occurred as Texas changed from a predominantly Mexican cattle-based society into an industrial and agricultural social complex. He called this process of social, cultural and political change, "The Texas Modern".[3]

James E. Crisp's account of his Anglo childhood in the small Texas town of Henrietta provides a fascinating comparison with that of Flores.[4] Immersed, as a child, in the Anglo myths surrounding the birth of Texas, Crisp describes the racist context of his upbringing.[5] He was ignorant about the Mexican dimension to Texas history, despite being caught up in the "Davy Crockett" craze generated by the 1955 Disney film. He explains how he reacted to the film's climax. "Like Davy, I just kept on killing Mexicans. These were imaginary Mexicans, of course. As far as I knew there were no "real" Mexicans in the Clay County of 1955". As a student and a participant in the 1960s Civil Rights movement he wanted to explore this Tejano background. His undergraduate project was a study of the Mexican government's immigration policy during the period of the Anglo-American settlement. As a result of his research he came to doubt the consensus view that the Texas revolution was the inevitable outcome of either the "age old prejudice of race" or the even gentler perspective that it was the consequence of an irreconcilable gap between two political ideologies and cultural perspectives.[6] He adopted a revisionist position that the Texas Revolution was not a product of ethnic friction but a precipitating cause. Although the source of his cultural ignorance about his history arose from an Anglo experience that differed from that of Flores, his experience was very similar.

The third testimony to a distorted cultural memory is a little less complex than those of Flores and Crisp but it also challenges the Anglo ethnic memory of Texas as solely a white history. Jack Jackson, the graphic artist and historian, dedicated *Los Tejanos,* his account of the life of Juan Seguín, to his childhood friend, Jésus "Jesse"

[3] See Flores Chapter 1, pp1-12.
[4] James E. Crisp, *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Alamo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-25.
[5] Crisp comments that although he was also aware of the presence of an African American community in his home town of Henrietta, he personally did not engage in conversation with an African American until he went to college.
[6] ilbid p. 23

Contreras, and, “to our lost innocence, which didn’t see any difference between Brown and White”.[7] In his series of graphic Texas histories Jackson sought to redress the balance and to celebrate the Tejano contribution to Texas through his series of graphic histories.

Crisp argues that there is no basis for the claim that the Texas rebellion was divided neatly along ethnic lines. Tejanos sided with the Anglos and Juan Seguín’s company of Texas volunteers made a vital contribution throughout the rebellion not only by acting as scouts and undertaking reconnaissance but also through substantial military action. Around 160 Tejanos took part in the siege of Bexár in December, 1835 and a number of them fought and died at the Alamo. Seguín’s company was not the only Tejano involvement. The first vice-President of the Republic of Texas was Lorenzo de Zavala.[8] Zavala had resigned as Mexican minister plenipotentiary in Paris after denouncing Santa Anna’s seizure of dictatorial powers and made his way to Texas to share in the rebellion. The question is to what extent are these historical realities recognised and celebrated in the cultural memory of Texas. This chapter is more than an attempt to correct the historical narrative. It is concerned to identify the process by which the cultural memory has excluded the Tejano contribution as a significant element of the Texas story. First the case study examines the evidence of who the Alamo Tejanos were and then discusses the ways in which they have been forgotten or remembered in the cultural memory. Who were the Tejanos who fought for Texas freedom and died at the Alamo? To what extent has their contribution been retained and celebrated in the cultural memory? The examination of the cultural memory begins with an analysis of the Alamo cenotaph located in San Antonio. The cenotaph provides a physical ballad that commemorates a

[7] Jack Jackson, *Los Tejanos: The True Story of Juan Seguín and the Texas-Mexicans during the Rising of the Lone Star.* (Seattle: Fantographic Books, Inc. 1982), p.2.
[8]Raymond Estep, "ZAVALA, LORENZO DE," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fza05), accessed March 15, 2012.Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

community's perceived values. The starting point is to explore the evidence of who the Alamo Tejanos were.[9]

The Tejano Defenders.

> The precise number of Tejanos in the Alamo – and of those who fought in the Revolution – is the subject of unending debate, but the total undoubtedly surpassed what has traditionally been allowed.[10]

There is still uncertainty about the total number and identity of all of the mission's defenders, but there were certainly more Tejanos at the end than the three mentioned by Travis in one of his final messages from the Alamo.[11] The available evidence supports the claim that at least nine of Juan Seguín's company were present at the end. The sources behind this conclusion include eye witness statements and legal archives concerning Texas head right applications. After Texan independence, the new republic would award land grants of 640 acres to anyone who had taken part in the siege of Bexár and/or the final battle of San Jacinto. Land was also granted to the family and descendants of identified Alamo defenders. The land applications made by the families of the Tejanos and other archive materials such as contemporary formal applications, witness statements and legal affidavits support the claim that there were at least nine Tejanos involved in the defence of the Alamo. In three instances the written evidence is sparse but it is accepted

[9]The key sources behind this research were; The individual files on each of the Tejanos which contain all the current archive materials; Amelia A. Williams, *A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of Its Defenders* (Ph.D. dissertation, Austin: University of Texas 1931). [The work was published in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* in 1932 and is the standard work on the identification of the Alamo defenders. All later studies drew on William's initial research]; Bill Groneman, *Alamo Defenders: A Genealogy: the People and Their Words* (Austin: Texas, Eakin Press, 1990). [Groneman extended the research begun by Williams]; Todd Hansen, (editor). *The Alamo Reader: A Study in History* (Mechanicsville, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2003). [Henson provides access to most of the initial source material in one volume. The book is essential to Alamo research]; Thomas Ricks Lindley, *Alamo Traces: New Evidence and New Conclusions* (Lanha: Republic of Texas Press, 2003); The information drawn from the cited works was also supported by personal research in the D.T.R. Library at the Alamo location in San Antonio in February 2010.

[10] Jack Jackson, *Los Tejanos: The True Story of Juan Seguin and the Texas-Americans during the Rising of the Lone Star* (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, Inc. 1982), p.40. [Jackson's graphic novels, while they comply with the conventions of the graphic genre, provide a high level of historic accuracy and fairness.]

[11] "We have but three Mexicans now in the fort: those who have not joined us in this extremity should be declared public enemies, and their property should aid in paying the expense of the war". Travis' letter to the President of the Texas Convention dated 3 March 1836. See Hansen, p.35.

as reliable. In other cases there has been debate and controversy before agreement on the identity of some of the Alamo Tejanos was reached. For the remainder there is more substantial evidence as to their presence at the Alamo and that Juan Seguín was the Tejano captain who led them there.

Seguín left the Alamo before the final battle but his contribution to both the rebellion and the later development of Texas society was substantial. He serves here as the representative of the wider Tejano contribution to the events. He and his father, Erasmo, played a larger role in the political and social development of Texas than even Stephen Austin.[12] Seguín was only one of many other Tejanos who made a major contribution to the birth of Texas. The rebellion would be better described as the war of Texas secession. Seguín's decision to support the Anglos was a major factor in encouraging other Tejanos to join the war. His later personal experiences also provide an example of the eventual impact that negative Anglo attitudes had upon Tejanos. Seguín was driven out of Texas to Mexico, the victim of rumour and threat.[13]He would later return and the town of Seguín carries his name but he remains a neglected figure in the Texas memory. He was a key source of information about the men of his company who remained in the Alamo. He produced two lists of their names, as he recalled them in later years. He also supplied written evidence to support head right claims by some of the descendants of the Tejano defenders.

The two occasions when Seguín recalled the defenders names were in 1873 and 1874, when Seguín provided Reuben M. Potter with their names. Potter had been an active participant in the Texas Revolution and later became a prolific writer and an early authority on the Alamo. The two lists contain the names of nine soldiers under his command who he said had accompanied him into the Alamo. As we shall see there is evidence that, in two cases, Seguín's memory was not totally reliable but archive material

[12]Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), p.136.
[13]Jésus F. De la Teja, (editor), *A Revolution Remembered: The Memoirs and Selected Correspondence of Juan N. Seguín* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, Texas, 2002).

has corrected his failings. Seguín raised his company of Mexicans by recruiting boyhood friends from the Bexár region.[14] Those who remained in the Alamo were the remnant of Seguín's original company. Others had either returned home on furlough or had moved to Gonzales to regroup along with the rest of the Texan rebel army. The agreed names of the nine are: Juan Ambillo, Juan Badillo (Padillo), Andres Nava, Antonio Fuentes, Carlos Espalier, Brigido Guerrero, Damacio Jimenez (Ximenes), Gregorio Esparza, and Toribio Losoya.

Juan Ambillo's name appeared on both of Seguin's lists but, so far as is known, no land grants were ever awarded to any of Ambillo's family or descendants. Seguín's evidence is crucial. Ambillo was one of twenty-four Tejanos who enlisted for six months in Seguín's company and he had participated in the siege of Bexár in the previous December. According to Amelia Williams, he was a private, but Groneman identified him as a sergeant. Whatever rank he held, his name is inscribed on the Alamo cenotaph. Each name on the monument is followed by the individuals' place of origin. The Anglos are listed as mainly coming from various parts of the United States and Europe. James Bowie, who was a Mexican citizen at the time, is identified as a native of Tennessee. Ambillo and most of the Tejanos are listed as natives and residents of San Antonio. In contrast to the Anglo defenders, the Tejanos were truly native to Texas.

The second named member of Seguín's company was Juan Badillo who was sometimes identified as Antonio Padillo. Badillo, like Ambillo, was also possibly a sergeant who had also signed up for six months and participated in the siege of Bexár. In addition to appearing on both of Seguin's lists, his name also appears on a third list of five Alamo Tejanos prepared by Agustin Barrera, a local citizen of San Antonio. Barrera had entered the Alamo shortly after the fall to take part in the disposal of the bodies. His list also includes the names of Carlos Despalier, Antonio Padillo, Gregorio Espinosa, Toribio Losoya, and Andres Moras who also appear in Seguín's lists.

[14]Ramos, p.147.

The third Tejano identified by Seguín was another native of San Antonio, Andres Nava, a twenty-six year old rifleman.[15] His body was later identified after the siege by a fellow resident, Damacio de los Reyes who had been ordered into the Alamo to remove the bodies for cremation. Reyes testified that he was able to identify Nava's body because he was an acquaintance. Later testimony to Nava's participation came in support of an application by Nava's surviving siblings for a head right land grant in November, 1860. Juan Seguín supported the application in a sworn affidavit and declared that Nava was "a free white man of Mexican blood" who had participated in the Alamo defence. Given the racist aspect of the Alamo memory this ethnic identification is worthy of note.

In the case of Antonio Fuentes, the fourth Tejano, there is more personal detail available. There is some uncertainty as to his age; Williams described him as a sixteen year old resident of San Antonio, but Groneman puts his age as twenty-three, closer to Seguín's twenty-eight. In August 1856 Fuentes' brother and sister in-law claimed and were awarded 1,920 acres of land on the basis of an affidavit sworn by Antonio Menchaca.[16] Menchaca declared that he was well acquainted with Fuentes, whose widow never remarried and died childless in 1851. Menchaca also tells us that Fuentes had served under Bowie, Burleson and Travis at various times in the war. Menchaca also provides a teasing insight to Fuentes' character. Fuentes played a minor role in the dispute between Travis and Bowie over the command of the Alamo and the incident also involved Erasmo Seguín, Juan Seguin's father, who was the San Antonio Justice of the Peace at the time. The leadership dispute was settled by a ballot in which Bowie defeated Travis. Somewhat the worse for drink, Bowie celebrated his success by demanding the release of two gaoled soldiers. One of them was Fuentes, who had been sentenced by Erasmo who then ordered Fuentes' return to prison. The final outcome is unclear but Fuentes was allowed to rejoin the defenders when they moved into the mission.

[15]Groneman, p.83.
[16]Thomas Lloyd Miller, *Bounty and donation land grants of Texas, 1835-1888* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), p.278.

The identification of Carlos Espalier as an Alamo defender has been more complex. Early Alamo casualty lists mention a Charles Despalier who was described as an "Aide to Travis".[17] There was initially no mention of a Carlos Espalier and it was assumed that the two names belonged to the same individual whom the Tejanos referred to as 'Carlos' instead of the anglicised Charles. However, the evidence now supports the inclusion of a Tejano defender called Carlos who was distinct from Charles Despalier. There was a written statement from Antonio Menchaca in February 1856 in which he describes the day he met Carlos Espalier in January 1836. Menchaca stated that he was socializing with Bowie when Espalier, who called Bowie 'Uncle', invited Bowie to his mother's house for supper. Menchaca declared that he was not aware of any one called Charles Despalier and that Carlos Espalier was the only name he heard. Menchaca stated that he often saw Espalier sign his name as such. Another witness, Agustin Barrera, declared that Espalier was not known as Despalier and that, after the siege, he entered the Alamo in the company of a priest and identified Espalier's body.

If these two names do refer to the same individual then we have a letter from Travis to Sam Houston commending a Tejano for bravery. Travis wrote to Houston on 25 February and asserted that Charles Despalier, along with Robert Brown, had "gallantly sallied out and set fire to the houses which afforded the enemy shelter, in the face of the enemy's fire".[18] There is further evidence to support the claim that Carlos Espalier was a Tejano defender in the form of another land grant awarded to Espalier's aunt, Doña Guardia de Luz signed by Sam Houston, 'Governor of the State aforesaid'.[19]

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[17]Hansen, *The Alamo Reader: A Study in History.* [Hansen provides several casualty lists from different dates, the earliest of which do not contain any Tejano names. On pp. 78 – 82, there is a list taken from *From Virginia to Texas, 1835: Diary of Colonel Wm. F. Gray.* (pp. 136 – 42) published in 1909 by Gray, Dillaye & Co, Houston. There is a list from the published account of Francis Antonio Ruiz, (the San Antonio Alcalde) at the time, published in the *Texas Almanac* 1860 pp. 80 – 82. Hansen also includes the list from the *San Felipe Telegraph and Texas Register,* March 24, 1836. All three accounts identify a Charles Despalier but none of the lists include the names of any Tejano dead. Amelia Williams' list from her 1931 dissertation is found on pp.315-317 where the two names are clearly distinguished. Seven of the Tejanos discussed in this chapter are included by Williams in her study of the survivors.]

[18] Hansen p.34.

[19] Espalier File in DRT archives.

The name of José Maria Guerrero was included by Seguín in each of the two lists for Reuben Potter. Williams also argued for Guerrero's inclusion on the basis of three separate land grant applications. She claimed to have examined them thoroughly and declared that they authenticated Guerrero's presence. Williams asserted that José Maria Guerrero, known as 'old one-eyed Guerrero' had died at the Alamo and she declared that he was a forty-three year old private from Laredo. The authenticity of Williams claim was later challenged by the Alamo historian, Jake Ivy, who argued that the land grants cited did not support her case.[20] One of the grants was awarded to a Juana de Dios Nieto, not on the grounds that she was the widow of a Tejano, but because she was resident in Texas resident on the day Independence was declared. The second grant awarded to Manuel Martinez y Musquiz was also made on the same basis that he was a Texas resident at the time. The third grant had been awarded by the Spanish government in 1767 to a Maria Josepha Guerra and it was re-granted to her descendants by the Texas Legislature in 1852. The 1852 document states that Maria Josepha was the sister of a José Maria Guerra born in 1770 which makes him older than forty three in 1836.

Ivey accepts Williams' assertion that a José Maria Guerrero participated in the Texas Revolution and served under Captain Philip Dimmitt.[21] In 1875 José Maria Guerrero submitted a land grant application which was supported by affidavits from Pablo Salinas and Ygnacio Espinosa, two other members of Seguin's original company. Their testimony supports the argument that this particular Guerrero was not one of Seguin's men who died at the Alamo. Ivey contends that it was a certain Brigido Guerrero who has the distinction of being the only Alamo defender to have survived. This claim that he was a survivor is supported by Walter Lord.

> One member of the garrison almost certainly survived – Brigido Guerrero, who talked himself free by claiming to have been a prisoner of the Texans. Both

[20] Jake Ivey, "The Problem of the Two Guerreros in *Alamo, Lore and Myth Organization.* Vol. 4 Issue 1. *(*March 1982), pp 1-6.

[21] The Handbook of Texas online has substantial information on Dimmitt, not least of which is that of attributing to him the design and manufacture of the 1824 flag that flew over the Alamo. See http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/DD/fdi19.html (accessed 10/2/2010).

> Almonte and Gregorio Esparza mention him, and he later made a good enough case to get a pension from Bexár County in 1878.[22]

Lord's claim is now accepted as reliable and it relies on the account of the Alamo found in the journal of Juan N. Almonte, a Mexican officer present at the siege. According to Almonte, there were seven survivors, five women, one slave, and a Mexican soldier who claimed to have been a prisoner of the Texans. In 1907, Gregorio Esparza's son, Enrique, stated in an interview in the *San Antonio Express* that Brigido Guerrero was "the only man who escaped and was permitted to surrender." Brigido had asked for mercy on the grounds that he was a prisoner of the Texans and was held against his will. The Mexicans believed his story and spared him.[23] Brigido Guerrero later testified to his being a survivor in applications he made for land grants and a pension. In a pension claim made in November 1874, Brigido declared that he had entered the Alamo under Travis' command and remained to the end. He claimed that "he had the good fortune of saving his life by concealing himself so that he and one other man, an American, were the only survivors of that awful butchery."[24] Guerrero's claim was supported by two character witnesses, Eugenio Munos and Juan Garcia who testified that Brigido was at the Alamo and that he escaped death. Brigido Guerrero was awarded a land grant and a pension on the grounds that he was resident in Texas on the Day of Independence. It was accepted that he participated in the siege of Bexár in 1835 and earlier had been present at the battle of Concepcion on October 28, 1835, but,

> (H)e never received land because of his fighting as a defender of the Alamo, because the law was phrased in such a way that only the families of those who had <u>died</u> [author's emphasis] there were eligible to receive property. No provision was ever made for survivors.[25]

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[22] Walter Lord, *A Time to Stand: the Epic of the Alamo* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961, Bison Book edition 1978), p.208.
[23] Ivey, p.2
[24] Ibid. p. 3.There is no indication as to the identity of the American survivor, assuming that there was one.
[25] Ivey p.3.

Further documents attest to Brigido's involvement in the daily life of San Antonio up to the end of the 1870s. It is believed that Seguín was trying to recall Brigido Guerrero's name in response to Reuben Potter's request for information about the Alamo participants. Seguín confused Brigido Guerrero with José Maria Guerrero. There is an argument that the Anglos failed to recall Brigido's part in the siege because his survival does not fit the cultural memory that there were no survivors. Brigido Guerrero represents the Tejanos and Mexicans who faced an extremely difficult ethical situation during the rebellion. They had to decide where their ultimate loyalty lay and trust that they would survive the choice they made. "This is one of the areas of study of the Texas Revolution which is virtually untouched, and some of the heroes of the Revolution remain unknown simply because they were not Anglo".[26]

Evidence for the presence of Damacio Jimenez (Ximenes) at the Alamo was unearthed in 1986 by Raul Casso in the form of an 1861 land petition.[27] The application was made by Damacio's surviving nephew and niece, Gertrudes and Juan Jimenez, but the petition fell void because they could not afford the fees involved. There was a supporting statement to the application signed by Juan Seguín who declared he knew Damacio and his family; "(T)he said Damacio Jimenes [sic] went into the Alamo with Col. Travis and the witness never saw him since but it was a public notoriety that he was massacred in the butchery of the Alamo".[28] This appears to be a further case of Seguín's memory failing when he supplied Potter with his two Alamo lists. A further deposition was made in 1861 by Cornelio Delgado who stated that he was a member of an Alamo burial party and recognised Damacio's corpse. He described Damacio as a widower whose only son had since died. We are again given the poignant ethnic description of Damacio as "a

[26] ibid, p.4.
[27] Raul Casso IV, "Damacio Jimenez: The Lost and Found Alamo Defender" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (The Texas State Historical Association), vol. XCVI, July 1952, pp. 87-92.
[28] The continuing role of Seguín in the affairs of Texas is supported by such signed statements which he made in support of Tejano claims for formal recognition of their relatives' participation in the events.

free white man of Mexican origin". In 1953, a year after the discovery of this evidence, Damacio's name was added to the official roster of Alamo defenders.

The presence of Gregorio Esparza and his family is well attested. Esparza is one of the nine Tejanos on both of Seguín's lists. His son, Enrique, later became a key eyewitness to the events inside the Alamo because Esparza took his family with him into the Alamo for safety when Santa Anna arrived on 23 February 1836. The family sought refuge because their friendship with the Anglo rebels would be seen as a sign of treason. Like Seguín, Esparza represents the political complexities and tensions experienced by the Tejanos at the time. His brother, Francisco, was a member of the local San Antonio militia who had served under the Mexican General Cós during the battle for San Antonio the previous December. After the Alamo siege Francisco Esparza obtained permission to locate Gregorio's body. Then with two other brothers, he interred his brother in the Campo Santo cemetery on the west side of San Pedro Creek. The Tejano, Brigido Guerrero was the sole surviving combatant and so, of all of the other defenders, the Tejano Gregorio Esparza was the only one to receive a Christian burial.

Of the nine Tejanos under discussion, Walter Lord argued that the name of Toribio Losoya had no place on the Alamo cenotaph. "Toribio Domingo Losoya was in Seguin's company at the storming of Bexár, but not in the Alamo".[29] This assertion went unchallenged until 1982 when Ivey claimed that Lord had confused Toribio Losoya with his uncle, Domingo Losoya.[30] Ivey had traced the Losoya family history back to the 1790 census of San Fernando de Bexár church. The census listed the family of Miguel Antonio Losoya which included his wife, Maria del Pilar Hidalgo y Losoya, and their three sons. Angel was born about 1770, Bentura was born about 1772, and José Domingo was born about 1783. José was active in the struggle for Mexican independence and was present at the battle of the Medina in 1813 when the Spanish inflicted a vicious defeat on the rebels.

[29] Walter Lord, *A Time to Stand: The Epic of the Alamo* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961, First Bison Book Printing 1978), p.213.
[30] Jake Ivey "The Losoyas and the Texas Revolution" in *Alamo Lore and Myth Organization.* Volume 4, Issue 1, March 1982, pp 1,2.

After the battle, José and other survivors fled to Louisiana and, while in exile, he joined the American army and fought under Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans.[31] He returned to Texas after Mexico gained its independence in 1821 and he sided with the Texans. In the turbulent 1830s, Domingo joined Seguin's volunteer brigade and participated in the taking of Bexár in 1835 but he did not participate in the Alamo. It was his nephew, Toribio who died at the Alamo. Just a short distance from the street which bears his name there is a statue to his memory. It is the sole acknowledgement of a Tejano presence in the Alamo. Unveiled on 30 November 1986, it was the work of William Easley, a Dallas based sculptor born in San Antonio.[32] The inscription by the side of the work reads:

> Toribio Losoya / An Unsung Hero of the Alamo / On March 6, 1836, Toribio Losoya died defending the Alamo, his birthplace and home. Rebelling against the government of Santa Anna for overruling the Mexican constitution of 1824, Losoya and other Hispanic Texans chose to take their stand at the Alamo and fight alongside Travis, Crockett, and Bowie. / This sesquicentennial gift to the people of San Antonio and Texas was commissioned and donated on November 30, 1986 by the Adolph Coors Company. / William Easley - Sculptor.

[31] Ivey, p.1

[32] The background to this event was obtained from contemporary newspaper cuttings in the DRT library in San Antonio: Bill Walraven, 'Research Reveals another unsung hero', *Corpus Christi Caller*, 8 January 1986; David Anthony Richelieu, 'Miffed Dallas was sculptor to re-create Alamo defender'' *San Antonio Express-News*, 14 September 1986; David Anthony Richelieu, 'Alamo defender to be unveiled on Sunday', *San Antonio Express-News*, 29 November 1986; David Anthony Richelieu, 'Upset sculptor lets Losoya melt', *San Antonio Express-News,* n.d.

Figure 13 Toribio Losoya

In contrast to the Alamo cenotaph, which is analysed below, the Losoya memorial provides a degree of reality, although it also has an element of a romanticised representation of the Tejano. The work was the subject of controversy but nothing on the same scale as that previously sparked by the cenotaph. When William Easley submitted his photographs of a miniature to the commissioning committee, there was some resistance to his proposals. Some committee members needed reassurance that the final work would be life-size. Comparisons were made to another San Antonio statue, that of Samuel Gompers the labour leader which had been unveiled four years earlier. Standing at a height of fifteen feet, Gompers' statue was described as "hideous" when it was

unveiled. Easley reacted to the criticism by leaving his wax model out in the sun to melt. The dispute was resolved and Easley created a second model that became the statue. There is no clear explanation as to why Losoya was chosen to represent the Alamo Tejanos. He is not as 'well known' as Gregorio Esparza whom one would have thought the more obvious choice. The only informal answer given by the DTR library staff during my research into the archives was that the choice might be linked to the belief that Losoya's family had lived in the Alamo compound in two small houses in the southwest corner of the original Alamo mission. In the one Alamo film that specifically identifies him, Toribio declares, "I was born in the Alamo and I will die in the Alamo".[33] Whatever the reason behind the choice, Losoya's statue is a public acknowledgement of the Tejano participation in the Alamo and the Texas Revolution. Unveiled 150 years after the event it serves as a reminder that it was not simply an Anglo affair.

The statue was unveiled by the Mayor of San Antonio, Henry Cisneros, on Sunday 12 January 1986, in an event that was attended by several thousand people.[34]The statue was a gift to the city of San Antonio from the Adolph Coors Brewery Company as part of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the siege. If Losoya's part in the Alamo was unsung, the same is true for his Tejano *compañeros*. Losoya's statue provides the opportunity to examine the limited place that the Tejanos have in the Texas cultural memory. The names of the Alamo Tejanos are inscribed on the cenotaph that dominates the Alamo Plaza and so, to a certain extent, they are a part of the public cultural memories of the Texas rebellion. But a more dominant memory overshadows the Losoya memorial and the Tejanos it represents. The Alamo cenotaph which dominates the Plaza was instrumental in establishing the framework of the Anglo cultural memory and it generated considerable public debate at the time of its unveiling in 1939.

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[33]*Alamo: The Price of Freedom,* Dir. Kieth (*sic)* Merrill, Bonneville Entertainment, 1988. [The Esparza family also appear to have lived in the mission and, it can be argued, Gregorio was better known as one of the Tejano defenders.]

[34]James Martinez, Staff writer, "Alamo hero Losoya monument unveiled". *San Antonio Light, January 1986.* [The item was a photocopy of the original article and contained no page number.]

The Alamo Cenotaph

The Alamo Cenotaph was the creation of Pompeo Coppini, a first generation Italian immigrant. Coppini first submitted his plans in 1910 when the DTR announced their intention to develop the Alamo site and to include a memorial as a central feature in a $400,000 building development. Coppini's plans were favourably received by the DTR but it would be over twenty years before the completed cenotaph was dedicated. The ground was broken on 10 March 1939 and when the dedication took place on 11 November the Cenotaph had become the subject of controversy.[35]

Coppini had arrived in the States in 1896 and eventually settled in San Antonio. In Italy he had graduated from the Florence Academy del Belle Arte in 1889 having studied under the renowned Italian sculptor, Augusto Rivalta. Rivalta had been the creator of a number of memorials dedicated to the leaders of the *Risorgimento,* including Garibaldi and the European style was adopted by Coppini. Coppini became naturalized in 1902 after moving to Texas in the previous year. He had previously received a commission for a statue of Jefferson Davies and others in a monument to the Confederacy erected in the state capitol grounds. Throughout his career, he created many works that depicted the history of Texas and the Confederacy. Coppini's cenotaph was conservative and traditional in both concept and design and it was this that led to the controversy. It has a clear, unmistakable Anglo-European appearance and the structure could be relocated to any major city or town in the western world seeking to commemorate a military event and it would not look out of place. It is this europeanisation that is the clue to the controversy Coppini's design triggered. *Newsweek* reported the controversy in April 1940 under the headline, "'Prettified' Alamo Memorial Tilts Noses in San Antonio". The thrust of the article

[35] This information is drawn from an unidentified newspaper article from the period. It is under the Associated Press by-line, Austin Texas. The headline of the article is "Hiring Coppini to Do Monument for Alamo Starts Another Row". The previous arguments identified by the article concern issues such as: whether the names of the Alamo heroes should be set in the floor of the Capital Building where they would be walked on; whether a nude female statue on the state college campus could faithfully depict the spirit of the female pioneer; and whether the names of various presidents and other dignitaries who did not participate in the battle should be included on a memorial to the battle of San Jacinto. The article notes, "In all these matters, the "nays" were victorious".

was that the Southwestern historian, J. Frank Dobie, had publicly expressed his disgust with the cenotaph. He had complained of the monument's lack of realism and had compared it to a grain elevator with a water slide facility. According to the article, Dobie was a close friend of the sculptor Guzton Borglum, who was later to gain his own notoriety with his creation of the Mount Rushmore monument. *Newsweek* claimed that Borglum had left San Antonio in annoyance after Coppini was awarded the commission. Dobie objected to what he called the "prettified" tough Texan heroes and set out his views in an article in the local press.

> Going around and looking at all these men intently and searchingly, a spectator, no matter how well he knows his Texas history, will learn something startlingly new in biography. He will learn that all these men came to the Alamo to have their pictures taken, to assist in erecting their own sad tombstones, and to anoint themselves as martyrs.[36]

Dobie took exception to the idea that the Alamo needed any monument other than the remaining site itself. He regarded the creation of the cenotaph as useful as lighting a candle in order to illuminate the sun. He argued that if a cenotaph was needed, then the task should have been given to an artist with a powerful and daring imagination. The decision to give the commission to Coppini had been taken by the Texas State Board of Control whose only previous experience in decision making had been in ordering "coffee, lard, flour and other supplies". Dobie stated that the figure of Crockett bore no resemblance to the historical character. The way Coppini had dressed him reminded Dobie of an old Texas cowboy he once saw in a coffin. As for Coppini's image of Bowie, it was so unnatural as to make it impossible to imagine him ever slicing a paunch with "old Bowie", his notorious knife. Travis and Bonham did not look like fighting Texans because every gesture looked artificial. Finally, the sculptor had included not one allegorical spirit but two: Columbia and the Spirit of Texas. For Dobie, the cenotaph was a product of the orthodox Italian school of ready-to-wear sculptural goods. Why use one spirit when you could have two? "The one good thing about the monument", wrote Dobie, "Nobody can

[36]*San Antonio Sunday Light*, 19 November, 1939. The source of the article was a photocopy in the DTR library.

see it from the door going into the Alamo". The cenotaph, Dobie argued, had prettified the Alamo defenders. To which it can be added that it also excised any Tejano dimension of the historical narrative.

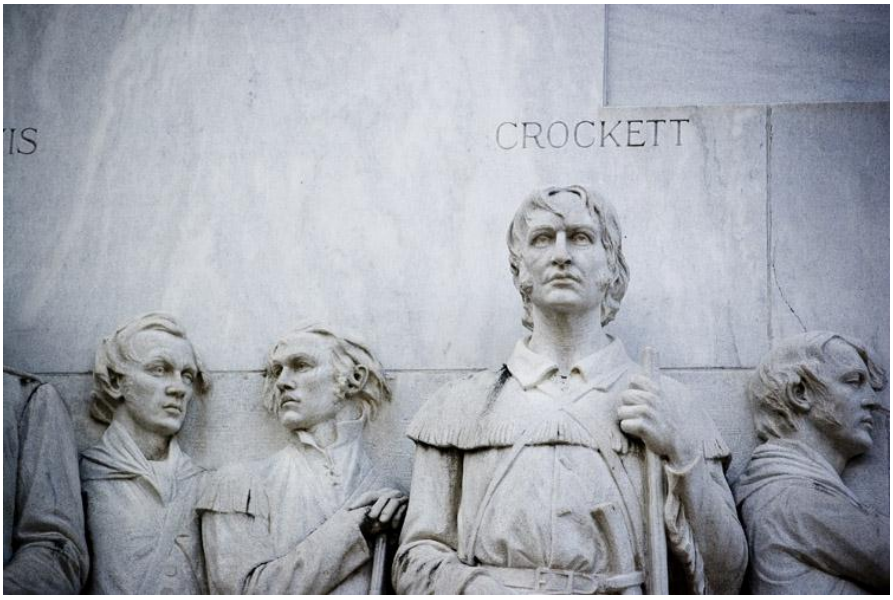

Figure 14(a) Alamo Cenotaph

Figure 14 (b) Alamo Cenotaph

Coppini responded to Dobie's criticisms in a local radio broadcast on 23 January 1941.[37] In his defence he argued that his objective in creating the work was to make amends for the barbaric treatment of the defenders whose ashes and bones had never been collected after their cremation and remained "unexhumed". Coppini was not aware that Juan Seguín had interred the remains in a public ceremony a year after the siege. Coppini informed the listeners that, after the First World War, cenotaphs had become a familiar form of public commemoration throughout Europe. The Alamo cenotaph had been deliberately created in that tradition and style. The sculptor hoped that, as was the case with cenotaphs elsewhere, there would be an annual ceremony of remembrance. The event would involve not just adults and "patriotic organizations" but also "our school children in mass, so we may be able to impress their young minds of the reward that they may expect for any sacrifice they may be called to make when grown up for the maintenance of our liberty and independence". Coppini insisted that his creation was a form of public textbook to be read by both the educated and illiterate. He believed that such patriotic memorials were the equivalent of school textbooks, prayer books and the Bible. His cenotaph offered an antidote to demagogic, subversive propaganda and he claimed that the work demonstrated his "proven love and almost fanatic admiration" for the Alamo defenders. [38] He stressed that in 1836 the Alamo mission was more than just the roofless, old ruined chapel that only played a part in the final moments of the siege. He intended that the cenotaph would serve as a reminder that the defenders died in the physical space where his creation stood.

Coppini explained his intentions behind the physical design. He had attempted to depict the moment when Travis drew his line in the sand and Bowie had asked his men to carry him across. Coppini believed in this mythic event and had set out his original ideas

[37] The talk was later published in May 1940, presumably for public distribution as, *The Alamo Cenotaph by Pompeo Coppini, Sculptor.* This analysis is based on a copy of the printed speech located in the DRT Library at the Alamo. The publication has no date or publishing details. It is presumed that it was printed shortly after the broadcast by Coppini.

[38] The quote is from the copy of Coppini's broadcast defence in the DTR library. There is no identified publisher.

in a letter sent to the Texas State Board of Control and its Centennial Division in 1937.[39] He maintained that the submitted drawings revealed a refinement from his initial idea where he had proposed to create two bas-reliefs. The first relief would have shown Bowie crossing Travis' line and the second the arrival of the Gonzales volunteers at the mission. The focal point was to be "an allegorical army caisson driven by horses and guided by the allegorical figures of Texas and Columbia". It was intended to represent the bestowing of military honours upon the remains of the defenders but Coppini was prevented from adhering to his original thoughts. So all he could do was to create a glorified portrayal of the Alamo heroes by "treating each individual separately" in order to display their character, feelings and their "sense of responsibility" through their faces and forms. He had taken a deliberate decision not to depict them as shabby, rough looking drunks, cutthroats from the lower orders. He believed that patriotism, idealism or the love of freedom could only emerge from those who represented the highest type of manhood. He asserted that many of the defenders were well educated, noble and cultured. There was no point of connection between Dobie and Coppini in terms of their respective views of the Alamo. Dobie wanted an authentic commemoration of the battle that displayed a commitment to realism. Coppini was from the European school of sanitization and Dobie was outraged that Coppini had been awarded the commission. It is Coppini's vision that not only dominates the Plaza. It has also dominated the tradition of remembering the Alamo and the extent of the sanitization of the memory becomes clearer as he developed his vision of the work in the broadcast.

On the West panel, Travis draws the line in the sand dressed in a uniform similar to those worn by United States officers in the 1830s. According to Coppini, Travis' face displays both his determination and his sense of responsibility towards his men. Crockett wears a 'Daniel Boone' frontiersman's costume in which he had been "more than once

[39] The original letter is in the DTR Library, dated February 10, 1937. In the letter Coppini refers to his working on the project for many years and actively with the addressees for one year. He concludes the letter with the statement that, "I want a very small profit as I am seeking a great honor".

immortalized in paintings". Between the two men, Coppini placed a group that represents the older mentors offering the young defenders comfort. They share with the young men their experiences of defending Texas against the dangers of enemy assault by "Indians, numerous 'white' criminals and *invaders*" (my emphasis).[40]One looks in vain for any hint of a Tejano presence at the battle. There is no recognition that at the time, Texas was part of Mexico, or that, from the Mexican perspective, the actual invaders are the Americans inside the mission.

On the East panel stands the figure of Bowie, and Coppini expressed regret that he had not been able to portray the man as he imagined him in the final hours of life. Instead, this is a strong and healthy Bowie, not the feeble, bedridden victim of typhoid. It is an heroic Bowie making his killers pay dearly. "(H)e stands before you at the time he was a well and happy respected man in the San Antonio community, having married the daughter of the Mexican governor, Verimendi".[41] The Italian-American has bought into the prevailing mythology that was beginning to surround the Alamo. This cenotaph stands as a physical companion to the popular histories, novels and films where the same myths are repeated.

In the radio broadcast the sculptor explains the significance of the two allegorical figures who dominate the north and south sides of the monument and about whom Dobie was so scathing. We are informed that the Spirit of Texas represents the new Texas republic of 1836 and the State of the Union. Coppini provides no explanation as to why he created this duality. The Spirit of Texas faces north in a display of gratitude to the Federal government that met the full cost of $100,000 for the work. It is a potent female figure,

> strong in body as in character, expressing determination, power, courage, dignity; capable of charity and justice, or restraint and super-intellectuality; beautiful enough to be admired and loved by all; holding the emblems of state and federal patriotism; adorned by the samples of the fruits of her land and of the grand Union of which she is so proud of now being a part.[42]

[40] Coppini's broadcast defence.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

The “Spirit of Sacrifice” that dominates the south side of the artefact is ‘Columbia’ who, since the early eighteenth century, has represented all the Americas but specifically the United States. She symbolizes the noble, heroic sacrifice of the defenders who enabled the birth of Texas. Coppini wrote a letter of explanation to the Board in which he informed them that he had put his “all” into the work. He expressed a sense of pride that the words of the inscription on the cenotaph are his own. “From the fire that burned their bodies rose the eternal spirit of sublime, heroic sacrifice which gave birth to an Empire State”.[43] Despite the controversy that his work caused, it was Coppini’s vision that prevailed, not Dobie’s demand for realism. The work dominates the Alamo Plaza and the religiosity of his vision of the Alamo has persisted. There is no place here, on this white granite Alamo, for a motley crew of Tejanos, Texans and American filibusterers driven by a questionable sense of Manifest Destiny. There is no hint that the defenders died after a thirteen day siege in a brief but vicious pre-dawn battle. The Alamo cenotaph excludes historical reality; it is a sanitized version set in marble; and it encapsulates the iconic myth-making memory that has dominated the historical narrative.

For most Texans and Americans, the cenotaph celebrates an iconic moment of victory, but, as we have seen, for others it can signify the experience of exclusion. The process of remembering involves the act of forgetting and the Alamo Cenotaph illustrates this in two ways. Firstly, the failure of the Alamo cultural memory is seen in the sanitization of the event and the participants. Frank Dobie’s criticisms at the time of the dedication of the cenotaph are still valid today. It has recently been argued that the Alamo was a long way from being the event of strategic importance that the Anglo cultural memory has shaped it to be.[44] There is no way in which every man present made a conscious decision to fight for a noble cause. It was, as Santa Anna described it, “a small affair”; a brief and bloody conflict that was later transformed by the cultural memory into a mythic battle. The actual final Mexican assault probably only lasted a few minutes. Seeking to separate fact

[43] Coppini.
[44] Phillip Thomas Tucker, *Exodus from the Alamo: The Anatomy of the Last Stand Myth* (Philadelphia and Newbury: Casemate Publishers, 2011), pp 1-9.

and fiction, Tucker reminds us that the Anglo participants were late-comers to Texas but were later transformed into "righteous defenders of a white bastion Anglo-Celtic civilization".[45]

There is still no substantial public awareness and recognition of the Tejano contribution. Memory and recall are random and selective. Not everything is recalled and not everything is forgotten but what is recalled and forgotten has a cultural connection. The public memorials celebrate the Texas story by offering a memory still focused on an artificial ethnic fault line that recalls the events as an Anglo versus Mexican divide. The Alamo story depicted by the cenotaph is repeated in the cultural technologies of popular histories, popular literature, and film and television. Novelists and film makers draw upon the histories as sources; screenplays are sometimes based on novels and popular histories. The discussion now moves to an examination of the three technologies. We begin with the Alamo films, the first extant of which was produced just seventy one years after the event. Given that the Alamo is the focus of this case study, the choice of the films is understandable. The concern is to examine the extent to which the Tejano involvement has been ignored or, if included, played down.

The Alamo Films, Novels and Popular Histories

> The International border – including the idea of the border – has played a vital role in motion pictures since their inception. This has certainly been true of American movies, which have continuously used the border as a primary theme, a compelling context, or even active character. In some cases the border itself plays a central role. In other cases the *idea* (author's emphasis) of the border informs the film or challenges the characters.[46]

Cinematically the U.S.-Mexico border provides a dramatic line of separation between antagonistic individuals and nations. It serves as the focus of a range of conflicting and

[45]Tucker, p.xi.
[46] Carlos E. Cortés, "International Borders in American Films: Penetration, Protection and Perspectives", in *Beyond the Stars: Studies in American Popular Film. Volume 4: Locales in American Popular Film,* ed. by Paul Loukides and Linda K. Fuller (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p 37.

contrasting perspectives on the part of individuals, groups and nations.[47] Two questions arise. First, how has American cinema used the Mexican border in the depiction of its history? Second, how has the border been used in the exploration of issues such as personal angst, intercultural relationships and international conflicts? The Mexican border has provided Hollywood with an ideal location for drama. It is a border that is geographically mysterious and threatening. Below the border there dwells a physically identifiable, linguistically challenging and culturally different people. In the Alamo films the U.S.-Mexico border is not the Rio Grande per se.[48] The walls of the mission become the border as the defenders await the arrival of Santa Anna's army. In the films the border functions as a fragile defence between two conflicting nations and the Americans die as they strive to keep it secure.

Each Alamo film reflects the political context in which it was produced and this has influenced its historical reliability. It is necessary to analyse the ways in which each film has represented (or failed to represent) the multicultural dimension of the event. The Texas rebellion was as much a Tejano event as it was Anglo. Both communities played their part in the process that led to Texas becoming an independent republic in 1836. In the analysis of each of the films, the key question is: how does this particular film ignore, or acknowledge and address this duality?

> We have always known a great deal of truth about the Alamo. There's a lot still clouded in myth and there's a lot we just haven't discovered yet. Movies completely ignore almost all of that.[49]

Each Alamo film has also claimed to be the most accurate but, as Thompson noted, no individual Alamo film provides the truth about the events because it is always about something else. Each film represents what its specific era wishes to invest in the events, but there has not really been a desire to represent the Tejano background

[47] Ibid. p. 38.
[48] The exception is *The Alamo* (1960). One of the film's inaccuracies is to locate San Antonio and the mission at the Rio Grande, not the San Antonio River.
[49] *The Alamo Documentary: A True Story of Courage.* No director identified. Delta Music plc. 2004. The comment was made in the documentary by the Alamo historian, Frank Thompson.

involvement in any substantial way. In *The Alamo Documentary*, Richard Flores argues that, whatever else we see in the films, it is not history. The films offer a mythologized version that arises from popular culture and Flores regards his role to be to challenge the false representations in the films. In contrast, in the same documentary, the Anglo historian, Richard Bruce Winders, opined that the Alamo films can serve as introductions to the history. A number of the Texas historians discussed in this chapter attest that their initial interest in the subject was sparked by either the 1955 Disney version or the John Wayne 1960 production even though neither film contained any substantial degree of historical accuracy.[50]

The majority of the films do not represent the Alamo as a shared Tejano and Anglo experience but a few have made a gesture in that direction. The films repeat the key elements of the Anglo myth visually. Visual representation is a more powerful medium for generating iconic images than other forms of popular culture. The Alamo films are closer to the public memorials and popular art than they are to the written word. This is the case with the first extant Alamo film, *Martyrs of the Alamo*.[51] It *w*as directed by Christy Cabanne but the production was supervised by D. W. Griffith whose controversial *The Birth of a Nation* was released in the same year. The title's extension was *The Birth of Texas* and the tone of the film has strong echoes of Griffith's dubious masterpiece, not least in its overt racism. The actor, Walter Long, who had played the role of a mulatto scallywag in *The Birth of a Nation*, depicts Santa Anna as a drug-crazed fiend, notorious for his "shameless orgies." *Martyrs* uses Griffith's device of having Negroes played by white actors in blackface, as is seen in the actor who plays Travis' slave.

The most blatant racism is seen in the film's representation of the Mexicans. They are arrogant, ignorant bullies who are inferior to the Anglos and who pose a serious threat to the purity of the American female. The Alamo defenders are white to a man and the only Mexicans to enter the mission are the enemy. There is no connection with the

[50] See Crisp pp.1-2,and the Frank Thompson and Richard Winders comments in *The Alamo Documentary*
[51] *Martyrs of the Alamo.* Dir. W. Christy Cabanne. Triangle Film Corporation. 1915.

political and social background to the events. The Texas rebellion was never about race although there were racial aspects lurking in the background. It arose from a political argument about the nature and constitution of the newly independent Mexican republic. Was there to be a centralized government controlled from Mexico City, or a confederation of states with a high degree of autonomy? The Texas rebellion was a struggle for Federalism supported by both Tejanos and Anglos. *Martyrs* represents the events as a racial conflict in which the Anglos are fighting to oust the oppressive Mexicans from Texas and defend the purity of their women. The film was of its time and illustrates the rise of Flores' 'Texas Modern' at the beginning of the twentieth century.[52] Its connection with Griffith's previous racist epic also links it with the growing American xenophobia of the time.

Before the battle, when not engaged in cockfighting and hat dancing, the Mexican soldiers threaten American women. Their cowardice is revealed in the final conflict as they attempt to flee from the battle only to be shot by their officers. "The most sensational vilification occurs in the mopping up scenes, when a Mexican soldier hurls a little blonde Anglo-Saxon girl against a wall, killing her instantly".[53] The historical inaccuracies and distortions have not fully addressed the film's abysmal failure to provide even a token sympathetic Tejano. The trinity of Bowie, Crockett, and Travis are not yet centre stage and a key protagonist in the film is based on Erastus (Deaf) Smith. Smith played a valuable role in the rebellion and had married a Tejana in 1822. The couple had four children but there is no trace of this multi-cultural element of the history. When the film was re-issued in the 1920s, under the title *The Birth of Texas,* a Mexican-American audience in a cinema in Baytown, Texas, walked out. They clearly did not share the cultural memory presented in the film.

[52] See Flores, *Remembering the Alamo,* Chapter 1.
[53] Don Graham, 'Remembering the Alamo: The Story of the Texas Revolution in Popular Culture' in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Volume 89, July 1985-April 1986, p.46.

Other Alamo films were produced after *Martyrs* but none of them addressed the issue of the Tejano participation. Only about thirty five minutes of the film *Davy Crockett at the Fall of the Alamo* still exists.[54] In the surviving section, Crockett's neighbours inform him that he has failed to gain re-election to Congress. His response is to lay aside his city-bought clothes, don his frontier buckskins and head out to Texas to assist the Texans in their fight for freedom. As with the Disney 1955 version, no historical exposition of the political context is given. The Texan struggle is simply to achieve freedom from Mexican rule and, like *Martyrs*, there is a simple paradigm. The Alamo is a conflict between Anglo-Saxons and Mexicans and while the racism is slightly less overt, it is still a strong element even to the point where one of the defenders spits on a Mexican soldier. The film's coda has an old man and his grandson reflecting on the bravery of Crockett and the Alamo defenders. Their sacrificial defence of the Alamo is the expression of the self-evident, self-explanatory fact that they are "Americans" and fighting for freedom is what Americans do.[55]

Heroes of the Alamo[56] has the distinction of being the first Alamo sound film but little else can be said in its favour when viewed from the perspective of the Tejano dimension. Its producer was Anthony Xyandias, a Texas businessman, who had produced the previous Crockett film. With poor production values it is the most inauthentic version but it does provide a reasonably accurate account of the Anglo political background to the conflict. There is a slightly more sympathetic depiction of the Mexicans. In the opening scene, a Mexican officer expresses regret as he turns away an American couple who have sold up everything to find a new life in Texas. The officer is simply obeying the

[54]*With Davy Crockett at the Fall of the Alamo*, Dir. Robert N. Bradbury, Sunset Productions. 1926.The surviving material is available on the DVD of *The Heroes of the Alamo,* discussed below.
[55] As with *The Immortal Alamo* it is possible to trace a link with the 1960 Wayne film. The director of *Davy Crockett at the Fall of The Alamo*, Robert N. Bradbury directed Wayne in a number of B westerns in the 1930s. Bradbury's son also had a role in the film as the courier, Pinky. He had been at University with Wayne and later became a star of B westerns in his own right as Bob Steele.
[56]*Heroes of the Alamo,* Dir. Harry L. Frazer, Sunset Productions, 1937. [A shorter version retitled as *Remember the Alamo* is included on the Delta DVD *The Alamo Documentary.* It is identified as an Eastin School Film.]

orders of his president, Santa Anna, who is, once again, the villain of the piece. The film insists that the Texas colonists' fight is with a tyrannical Santa Anna but there is no acknowledgement that Tejanos took part in the fight for independence. Once again, the defence of the Alamo is, purely and simply, an Anglo affair.

Other less significant film versions of the Alamo need not detain us long. *The Alamo: Shrine of Texas Liberty*[57] is based on a chapter from the popular history of Texas, *Blue Bonnets and Blood.* One looks in vain for any hint of a Tejano presence at the battle. It was made on a minuscule budget with the cast composed of local San Antonio dignitaries playing the key roles and unemployed Tejanos playing both defenders and Mexican troops. The later film, *The Man from the Alamo,*[58] opens with the Alamo siege, but it is not a major element in the plot. The narrative focus is on the protagonist, John Stroud, chosen by lot to leave the Alamo to assist the families of the Gonzales volunteers. From the perspective of this case study, the film deserves attention because there is a pro-Tejano aspect to the narrative. The villains are Anglo renegades masquerading as Tejano bandits (a tradition that could be traced back to the Boston Tea Party) and the only person who believes in Stroud's innocence and bravery is a young Tejano.

1955 saw the release of two key Alamo films: *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier*[59] and *The Last Command.*[60] The popularity and commercial success of the Disney film has become legendary. It generated a high level of product merchandising as coonskin hats became the essential juvenile fashion accessory. It also made Davy Crockett a household name on both sides of the Atlantic. It was originally a three-part television series but later released as a feature film. The narrative is divided into three parts but only the latter concerns the Alamo. The first part depicts Crockett's participation in the Creek Indian war of 1813 and the second deals with his time as a U.S. congressman. The final section offers a Disneyfication of Crockett's involvement in the

[57] *The Alamo: Shrine of Texas Liberty,* Dir. Stuart Paton. H. W. Kier Productions. 1938.
[58] *The Man from the Alamo.*.Dir. Budd Boetticher. Universal. 1953.
[59] *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier*. Dir. Norman Foster. Disney. 1955.
[60] *The Last Command.* Dir. Frank Lloyd. Republic 1955.

Alamo siege. Like the earlier films there is a lack of an authentic historical context, no exposition of the political background, or any attempt to explain the issues. There is no acknowledgement of the Tejano dimension and the Alamo is simply a place where Americans are fighting for freedom against Santa Anna's Mexican army. There are no Tejanos sharing in the defence. Crockett arrives at the Alamo with three companions: a fictional life-long friend, George Russel, a Mississippi gambler they have met on their journey, and a Comanche Indian called Busted Luck, who joins them after they reach Texas. The Disney version clearly belongs to the period of the Eisenhower administration with its confident optimism and simplistic view of the world. Crockett resigns from Congress out of disgust at its treatment of the Native Americans and heads for Texas where "freedom is fighting another foe". The new foe is a faceless Santa Anna threatening to evict the Americans from Texas. There is no explanation as to why the Americans are in Texas, let alone why they are fighting. Apart from Santa Anna's troops, the only Mexicans seen area refugee family from San Antonio who warn the trio against going to the Alamo. This Alamo is just an old mission in the middle of nowhere, miles from any town. A Mexican 1824 Constitution flag flies over the mission but there is no explanation as to its significance.[61] The film does not show us Crockett's death and its final image is that of Crockett's journal, "written by himself". Like Moses in the Pentateuch, this Crockett is great enough to record his own demise.

The Last Command has been castigated both on the grounds that Sterling Hayden's portrayal of Jim Bowie was wooden. It was also denigrated because it was produced on a small budget. The film deserves more recognition than it usually receives because it is the first Alamo film that does acknowledge a substantial Tejano involvement in the events. In that respect it can be compared to John Wayne's production of *The*

[61]This flag appears in other Alamo films but usually with little or no explanation of its significance. Sometimes the Alamo flies the Texas flag. In *Gone to Texas.* (Dir. Peter Levin. Friedgen Productions. 1986. [Also known as*, Houston: The Legend of Texas*], the flag above the Alamo is the Stars and Stripes. The one flag that the Mexicans took from the Alamo as a trophy was that of The New Orleans Grays.

Alamo.[62] Because of the fact that there are significant links between the two films they will be discussed together.

John Wayne spent a number of years attempting to produce a film about the Alamo .In the late 1940s while under contract to Republic Pictures, he employed the writer James Grant to prepare an initial script.[63]Herbert J. Yates, the head of the studio encouraged Wayne to pursue the project but disagreements arose between them. The arguments arose because Wayne wanted to expend a substantial budget on the project. The dispute led to Wayne leaving the company, but Grant's script legally belonged to Republic Pictures. (Grant later produced a further script for Wayne's film.) Republic had the script rewritten and it became *The Last Command.* Wayne's film focused on the usual Alamo trinity of Bowie, Crockett and Travis, but the Republic production centred primarily upon Bowie who was a Mexican citizen married into an influential Tejano family. It is because of this focus that *The Last Command*, despite its limitations in terms of scale and economy, offers a positive perspective on the Tejano contribution which is clearly represented as integral to the rebellion.

Another similarity between the two films is that they ignore the substantial evidence that Bowie was bedridden within a couple of days of the siege and played no major role afterwards. In both films Bowie is a key figure until he is seriously injured after he is crushed by cannon. Both films also provide a love interest. In *The Last Command,* Bowie's relationship is with Consuela de Quesada, the niece of Lorenzo de Quesada, a fictional member of the local Tejano elite. In Wayne's film the love interest is with a young Tejana, Flaca and the love interest is assigned to Crockett, not Bowie. Both films make us aware of a Tejano involvement in the rebellion. In *The Last Command*, Tejanos are engaged in the political debate and actively involved in the independence movement. The leading Tejano, Lorenzo de Quesada, is based on Juan Seguín. Three of the vaqueros

[62]*The Alamo.* Dir. John Wayne. United Artists. 1960.
[63] Randy Roberts, James S. Olsen, *A Line in the Sand: The Alamo in Blood and Memory* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.), pp. 254 -277.

acting under his orders supply intelligence about the location and movement of Santa Anna's troops. Wayne's film identifies the leading Tejano as Juan Seguín.

One notable difference between the two films is in the depiction of Santa Anna. The Wayne film gives us a threatening Santa Anna who stands apart from the events. In *The Last Command* he is Bowie's personal friend. Their first meeting occurs because Santa Anna wants his friend "Jimmy" to hear from him the news of his wife's death. Although the friendship is a conceit we are offered a recognizably human Santa Anna, very different from Walter Long's earlier drug addicted fiend. In the early stages of the siege, the General requests a meeting with Bowie in which he asks Bowie to persuade the rebels to surrender. This is a Santa Anna with more substance than Wayne's "virtually faceless" but ruthless tyrant.[64]The Santa Anna in Wayne's film is a signifier of the Cold War enemy but he could represent any one of a number of foes. He is a destructive force determined to annihilate everyone who stands in his way. Santa Anna is more than a nineteenth century Mexican dictator; he could be a model for Hitler, a Stalin, a Ho Chi Min, or a Saddam Hussein or any other 'threat to democracy'.

Wayne's motives behind producing the film were connected to his personal political perspective which is captured in the speeches Crockett delivers in the film. There is Crockett's hymn to the concept of a "republic" which he delivers to Travis; there is his personal philosophy of wanting "to hit a lick at what's wrong, or to say a word for what's right" in a speech to Flaca. When one of Crockett's Tennesseans questions why they should be involved in the Texas struggle on the grounds that, "It aint my ox he gored." Crockett develops the ox analogy into a Cold War metaphor. "Talk about whose ox is getting gored. Figure this. A fellow gets in the habit of gorin' oxes, it whets his appetite. He may come up north and gore yours."[65] Generally, the film's general representation of the Mexican/Tejano character is positive. Wayne made positive efforts to produce a non-racist account of the Texas revolution. In one of Bowie's speeches he declares his admiration

[64] Ibid, p.270.
[65]This analysis of Wayne's *The Alamo* draws on Randy Roberts' *A Line in the Sand: The Alamo in Blood and Memory* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), Chapter 9, pp. 257- 276.

for Mexico and its people who he regards as possessing dignity and courage. They are a people who are not afraid to die or to live. Nevertheless, the film was banned in Mexico. The major criticism of the Wayne film is that of all the Alamo "epics", it is so full of inaccuracies that historically and geographically it has little connection with the original events. It is also firmly locked into the cenotaph perspective of the Alamo heroics and imagery. But in that, Wayne's Alamo is not alone.

The same criticism applies to later film and television versions such as the television mini-series *Texas*[66] and the television film, *The Alamo: Thirteen Days to Glory.*[67] *Texas* was based on James A. Michener's novel of the same name while the second was ostensibly based on Lon Tinkle's study of the battle.[68]A comparison between the films and their respective sources allows us to explore the additional cultural technologies of the popular novel and the popular history. In the case of both films the source material will be examined first.

As with a number of his books, Michener's *Texas* is a doorstop of a novel but it draws on substantial research. Michener acknowledged his use of Tinkle's book and that of Walter Lord as well as interviews with experts and staff at the DTR library in San Antonio. The novel's narrative spans the history of Texas from the arrival of the early Spanish explorers to the 1984 Presidential election campaign between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. Michener's theme concerns the importance of memory and forgetting. What does an imagined community need to remember in order to affirm its identity? Michener uses the framing device of a gubernatorial committee appointed to produce a report on the Texas educational system. The committee is charged with addressing two crucial questions relating to the pedagogy, methodology, and content of the state's history curriculum. First: *how* should Texas history be taught in schools and colleges and, second, *what* should be taught? Naturally, the Texas rebellion and the Alamo are part of the narrative and the chapter, "Three Men, Three Battles' is Michener's

[66]*Texas,* Dir. Richard Lang. American Broadcasting Company. 1994.
[67]*The Alamo: Thirteen Days to Glory.* Dir. Burt Kennedy. Finegan/Pinchuk Productions. 1987.
[68] James A. Michener, *Texas.* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1985).

fictionalised account of the latter and, as the title suggests, the focus is upon the usual trinity.[69]

Michener offers a sympathetic portrayal of the Tejano experience through the Tejano, Benito Garza, whose two sisters are married to Anglos. Benito is committed to the 1824 Mexican Constitution and believes in the value of colonising Texas with Americans and harnessing their vitality. He declares himself willing to consider the creation of a new Texas that is half Anglo and half Tejano. However, despite his initial positive regard for the colonists, he comes to resent their arrogance and contempt for his culture shown particularly by newcomers who have been in Texas for less than two years. Garza's experiences lead him to side with Santa Anna and he crosses the Rio Grande to offer the President his services and his knowledge of Texas.[70]

The novel acknowledges the Tejano participation in the rebellion. Seguin and the nine Tejanos at the Alamo are identified by Benito for Santa Anna. Before the storming of the Alamo, Santa Anna quizzes Garza and asks if any Mexicans support the rebellion. He is informed of Seguín's involvement in the struggle and enquires to know if Seguin has any supporters. He is then informed of the nine Tejanos in the Alamo with Seguín, as Benito reads their names from a "grubby paper". Santa Anna's angry response is to demand that they all be hanged.

> Even as he gave this order one of the Mexicanos slipped out of the Alamo, but the other nine were determined to oppose the dictator with their lives in defence of a new Texas which would later have little use for their kind.[71]

Michener's affirmation of the Tejano character is free from the usual negative stereotypesbut the novel contains the stereotype of the exotic senorita. There is a conversation between Bowie and Benito's brother-in-law, Zave Campbell, in the Alamo. When Bowie learns that, like himself, Campbell has a Tejana wife, he drawsa third Anglo, Mordecai Marr, who also has a Tejana wife, into the conversation. The three men discuss

[69] Michener, pp. 349-472.
[70] ibid, p.320.
[71] ibid, p 327.

the virtues of their respective spouses and Bowie reflects that if every Anglo from the southern states had taken a Mexican wife then the gap between the two cultures would have been surmounted.[72] This might read like a plea for integration but the racial implications are difficult to avoid. This is a one-way integration between Anglo men and Tejana women and not the other way round. Despite this, the strength of Michener's novel lies in its positive depiction of the Tejano contribution to the events and the acknowledgement that at least nine of them gave their lives in the siege.

The novel became the source of a television mini-series but the series dealt only with the Texas rebellion and lost the novel's framing device.[73] The narrative covered the history of Texas from the arrival of Stephen Austin and ended with the death of Benito Garza (now a ruthless bandido) at the hands of the Texas Rangers. The positive representation of the Tejanos is retained and the series makes it clear that Texas possesses a Hispanic culture and history. As in the novel, Benito Garza represents the Tejano experience and the Anglos are depicted as newcomers. The narrative opens as Stephen Austin arrives in Texas in 1821 with a mandate from the Mexican government "to tame this wild land". The empresario, Austin, is seen recruiting only settlers willing to meet the two requirements laid down by the Mexican government: loyalty to Mexico and acceptance of the Catholic faith.

Tension grows between the Anglos and the Mexican government and, as in the novel, Benito joins Santa Anna in the belief that the General will sweep through Texas killing any Americans not married to a Mexican. He is made a captain in the Mexican army and becomes Santa Anna's confidante providing the President with the names of Seguín and the nine Tejano rebels with him in the Alamo. However, in the Alamo sequences, there are no Tejanos in the *mise-en-scene.* Much of the novel's subtlety has been lost and the bandido stereotype dominates with Benito Garza representing Tejano

[72]Michener, p 344.
[73]*Texas*. Dir. Richard Lang. American Broadcasting Company. 1994.

hostility to the Anglos. The 'war' between the two cultures only ends when Benito dies and all resistance to the Anglos domination is finally over.

13 Days to Glory: the Siege of the Alamo[74] is based on Lon Tinkle's popular history but the film is a fictionalization of Tinkle's account of the Alamo that conforms to the standard myths.[75] As with the TV version of Michener's *Texas*, it is useful to begin with a consideration of the film's source. To describe Tinkle's book as a "popular" history is not to denigrate its value as a source but it does have weaknesses.[76] Tinkle used a journalistic style in which he freely ascribes thoughts and feelings to the players in his narrative. It is a "fly on the wall" approach which ignores the fact that the survivors could not have observed every moment in such detail. The evidence (and sometimes the lack of evidence) he offers does not warrant some of the conclusions drawn and he sounds an 'heroic' tone as illustrated in the use of the word "glory" in the title. The book is another example of the sanitization of a brief, vicious, and 'small affair' that contributed little to the final outcome of the Rebellion.

Tinkle delivers a story of an epic battle by freedom loving Texans against the army of a wicked, ruthless dictator. In Tinkle's narrative the Tejanos provide an exotic background but they only make a limited contribution to the struggle. We are informed that Bowie relies on "his loyal Mexican scouts" but this is not an organised company under the formal command of Captain Juan Seguín.[77]Bowie makes use of any Mexicans who "could scout, forage, or spy", and Tinkle implies that their loyalty is based on the fact that Bowie, despite being an Anglo, knows and respects them. Bowie's marriage to Ursula Veramendis is said to provide him with an understanding of the complicated Tejano mind, even if he cannot explain it to his fellow Anglos. Moreover, according to Tinkle, Travis

[74]*The Alamo: Thirteen Days to Glory.* Dir. Burt Kennedy. Finegan/Pinchuk Productions. 1987.
[75]Lon Tinkle, 13 *Days to Glory: The Siege of the Alamo.* (Galveston: Texas A & M University Press 1958).
[76] Holly Beachley Brear, 'Creating the Myth of the Alamo' in *Major Problems in Mexican American History.* ed. by Zaragosa Vargas (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999.) p.118.
[77]Tinkle p. 7.

finds relaxation at the home of Ambrosio Rodriguez, another member of Seguín's Tejano Company, even though he mistrusts the Tejanos.[78]

Of the Alamo Tejanos, Gregorio Esparza and his family are mentioned and Tinkle acknowledges that Esparza's son, Enrique, was later a witness to the siege. Tinkle makes use of Enrique's testimony that he observed the arrival of Santa Anna in Bexár and was impressed by the aristocratic president's height. We are told that Enrique recalled the flourish with which the great man handed his horse's reins to a subordinate: "Enrique thought it must be wonderful to be a general".[79] Alamo historians dispute Enrique's age at the time: was he eight years old, or twelve? Tinkle squares the circle; he was twelve but looked eight. Tinkle only mentions one other of the Tejanos, Antonio Fuentes, but he provides no further background details about the controversy that was created when Bowie released Fuentes and another prisoner from gaol.[80]

Tinkle's discussion of the number of Tejanos at the Alamo reminds us of Travis' negative attitude towards them. As noted, Travis wrote to the President of the Texas Convention on 3 March 1836 complaining that there were only three 'Mexicans' remaining in the Alamo. He demanded that the others should be declared public enemies and their property seized to pay for the cost of the war. Ironically three days before on 29 February Travis had dispatched two other Mexicans defenders, Seguín and Antonio Cruz y Arocha, as messengers. Consequently, their absence from the mission was as a result of Travis' leadership. Tinkle's study acknowledges a small Tejano presence but does not accord to them the same status as Bowie or Crockett's volunteers. They are not the military equals of their Anglo comrades, merely scouts and foragers. The television adaptation reduced Tinkle's history into an inferior fictionalization of the events. The characterizations of Bowie and Crockett lack subtlety and Santa Anna is depicted as a man convinced of his

[78]Thomas W. Cutrer, "Rodriguez, Ambrosio", *Handbook of Texas Online.*http://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro49 (accessed 9/12/12 9/2/12).
[79]Tinkle, p.85.
[80] ibid p. 85.

military genius despite the evidence to the contrary. He is impatient and angry with the opinions and actions of his subordinates.

The final film to be considered is the 2004 version that has the same title as Wayne's 1960 version.[81] It was described in its promotional material as "the most authentic and accurate film made on the subject" and the producers' intention was to create an authentic representation of the siege; a Texan *Saving Private Ryan.*[82] The film gives us a San Antonio that is predominantly a Tejano community and where the Tejano involvement in the events is made visually obvious. The film acknowledges that there was a different motivation driving the Tejanos that contrasts with that of the Anglos who simply want to establish an independent republic. Seguín is a significant player within the film as seen through his relationships to Houston, Bowie and Travis. He commands the Tejanos in the mission and he promises them that he will return after he has completed his final mission as a courier. However, apart from Seguín, the only other Tejano clearly identified is Gregorio Esparza. Seguín and other Tejanos participate in the later Battle of San Jacinto and wear playing cards in their hats to distinguish them from the Mexican forces. The final caption of the film informs us that Seguín kept the promise to his men that he would return. "He buried the remains of his fellow defenders in San Antonio, where they rest today".

A tie-in novel was written by Frank Thompson, the Alamo historian, and it was based on the screenplay by Leslie Bohem, Stephen Gaghan and John Lee Hancock.[83]The novel is more than simply a novelization of the film script because it covers the whole of the Texas rebellion from the initial battle of Gonzales to the final victory at San Jacinto. Thompson can be said to demythologize the siege. He firmly acknowledges the Tejano contribution. Tejano citizens of Bexár are clearly among those who enter the mission in order to protect their families as the Mexican army draws near. The Esparza family again

[81] *The Alamo.* Dir. John Lee Hancock. Touchstone Pictures. 2004.
[82] Thompson, "Reprinting the Legend: The Alamo in Film, in *Why We Fought: America's Wars in Film and History.* Ed. Peter C. Rollins and John E. Connor (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky), p. 73.
[83] Frank Thompson, *The Alamo.* (New York: Hyperion Books, 2003).

represent the Tejanos. Having buried their silver in the dirt floor of their home, Gregorio escorts them into the Alamo. During the siege, Travis assigns Esparza, along with Captain Dickinson, to the artillery battery at the rear of the chapel because it places both men close to their families. Later, along with the rest of Seguín's men, Esparza watches as a number of Tejano civilians leave the Alamo during a truce. As he observes them bidding farewell to friends and loved ones, he reflects that, despite his pleading, his wife has refused to leave with the children. He observes "men he had grown up with, men he had loved and trusted – desert their posts".[84]

After this incident two other Tejano defenders, Menchaca and Garza, seek Bowie's advice on whether they should stay or leave.[85] Bowie advises them to leave if they have Travis' agreement because nothing will be gained from dying needlessly. Thompson makes this the moment when Antonio Menchaca leaves the Alamo while Garza chooses to remain.[86] Menchaca later explains his decision to Seguín. "Just because I did not want to perish in the Alamo doesn't mean that I do not believe in our cause," he says. "I want to defeat Santa Anna. I knew I could not do it from there. I thought maybe I could do it from here".[87] Thompson's novel conveys the fact that The Alamo was not an ethnic border dividing Mexicans and Anglos but a complex political conflict.

Popular Historiography

This discussion of Alamo films has led to the acknowledgement of links between the cinematic representations and popular accounts in literature and histories. Although a Manichean perspective has dominated the cultural representations, it is important to avoid the trap of producing an analytical catalogue of cultural artefacts to illustrate the point. However two further examples are included to illustrate how the Alamo myth enshrined in the cenotaph still finds its way into other popular texts. *The Texans* is a volume in the

[84] Thompson, pps. 149, 169, 231.
[85] ibid p. 255f.
[86] According to Hansen's *The Alamo Reader* p. 238, Garza entered the Alamo with Seguín but was sent out as a courier before the final assault.
[87] Thompson, p. 350.

respected Time-Life Books series, *The Old West.*[88] It illustrates how the original Anglo attitudes of the 1840s are still to be found in the post-1960s Civil Rights period. The book reflects a cultural memory that is still not free of the deficiencies of the Anglo cultural memory. In the book's introductory paragraphs we are informed that between 1736 and 1847, the influx of American and Europeans into Texas increased the population from 30,000 to 140,000.Under the title, "A special breed in a bountiful land" the book contains photographic images of early Texas celebrities and settlers including Stephen Austin.[89] There is not a single image of a Tejano and the written text contains little acknowledgement of the Tejano involvement in the rebellion. Nevin cites a letter Bowie sent to Governor Smith in which Bowie mentions his reliance upon a Mexican friend for information about Mexican troop numbers. The friend is described as "one of several Mexicans in San Antonio who risked their lives to spy for the Texans" but there is no suggestion that their roles were identical to those of the Anglo volunteers.[90] There is a reference to a San Antonian who survived because he was able to persuade the Mexicans that he had been held a prisoner in the mission. No name is supplied but this is surely Brigido Guerrero. The identification of an Alamo survivor was surely worthy of more attention, unless he happened to be a Tejano.

There is an inset panel in the book that provides a profile of Juan Seguín who is described as belonging to a prominent Tejano family and whose father, Erasmo, had welcomed Stephen Austin to Texas. Seguín is described as, "a Mexican aristocrat who fought for Texas". We are informed that Seguín used his influence to support the American immigrants and was the leader of a group of *rancheros* (guerrillas) during the struggle against General Cos' force.[91] Nevin also informs us that Seguín had been given a commission as a Texas regular army captain. Seguin's role in the funeral of the Alamo

[88] David Nevin, *The Texans* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1975).
[89] ibid p.6-14.
[90] ibid p. 85.
[91] ibid p. 91.

defenders in February 1837 is mentioned but there is no indication that among the dead there were Tejanos.

Mark Stewart's contribution to the *American Battlefields* series is intended for a younger readership.[92] The objective of the series is to explain to a young readership the causes of specific military conflicts and how they have influenced history. Stewart provides an account of the background to the battle and the outcomes that followed. The study contains no reference to a Tejano involvement in either the rebellion or the siege. The conflict is still defined in ethnic terms as a war between the Mexicans under Santa Anna, and the Anglo Texans. The concluding paragraph attempts to present a "balanced" view in its acknowledgement that there is an available alternative perspective. Stewart informs the readers that the traditional stereotype of the Alamo heroes as noble patriots battling against villainous Mexicans has been challenged by research that paints a more complex picture. Some of the Alamo defenders may have been "lowlifes" motivated by greed and ruthlessness and not by patriotism. Conversely, the Mexican soldiers are described not simply as barbarians but as young men without battle experience who were ordered to try and retain their land.[93] The paragraph reads like an afterthought and it fails to challenge the accepted traditional Anglo view of the event in any substantial way. However, there is one cultural text that seeks to redress the balance and it comes in the form of a graphic history.[94]

No examination of the cultural representation of the Alamo would be complete without the inclusion of this graphic account by Jack Jackson (Jaxon). It is one of a number of graphic Texas histories Jackson produced and which contains a high level of historical reliability. Jackson worked in a tradition that had been established in the 1920s by the *Texas History Movies*. These had nothing to do with film but were a popular educational resource that appeared in serial form in *The Dallas Evening News*. Both their

[92] Mark Stewart, *The Alamo: March 6 1836* (New York: Enchanted Lion Books, 2004).
[93] Stewart p. 29.
[94] Jack Jackson, *The Alamo: An Epic Told From Both Sides* (Austin: Texas Paisano Graphics, 2002).

appeal and their weakness were noted by James E. Crisp. “These teaching tools were not films or slides but cartoons – wonderful, whimsical, engaging cartoons”.[95] The series was the result of work of the artist Jack Button and the captions were written by John Rosenfield Jr. The cartoon strips were later made available to Texas schools in the form of a hard-back graphic history and the project was funded by the Magnolia Petroleum Company. The cartoon strips were far from politically correct or historically accurate. The negative representations of ethnic minorities led to the demise of the books. They romanticized the familiar Texas heroes but gave short shrift to Spaniards, Mexicans, and African-Americans. Jackson was influenced by them as a youngster and he later produced his own more historically accurate version.[96]

Although he worked in the tradition of the Texas History Movies, Jackson’s aim was to present a more reliable historical account of the events. He was concerned to represent the Texas rebellion as including the participation of Tejanos as well as Anglos. *Los Tejanos* is his account of the life of Juan Seguín and parts of the text had been previously published in two other of Jackson’s graphic histories: *Recuerden el Alamo* (Remember the Alamo) and *Tejano Exile.*[97] He is also the author of a historically reliable account of the Alamo siege.[98]

Jackson includes a number of the prominent Tejanos in his narrative.[99] Seguin is an active officer in charge of a cavalry company, Esparza is acknowledged as having responsibility for the artillery in the Alamo, and Fuentes is seen released from gaol by Bowie. Jackson does not mention the survival of Brigido Guerrero but Santa Anna is quoted as calling the rebels *banditti* and pirates. Jackson includes Travis’ resistance to the idea of Seguín leaving the Alamo on the grounds that he would be needed if complicated negotiations were called for. There is an empathetic response to Travis’ disgust over

[95] James E. Crisp p.7.
[96] Jack Jackson, *New Texas History Movies* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2007).
[97] Jack Jackson, *Los Tejanos: The True Story of Juan N. Seguin and the Texas Americans During the Rising of the Lone Star* (Stamford, CT: Fantagraphics Book Inc., 1982).
[98] *The Alamo: An Epic Told From Both Sides* (Austin: Paisano Graphics, Texas, 2002).
[99] ibid, pp12,42,108.

what he regarded as a lack of Tejano support. “But these people are between a rock and a hard place, and Travis should well know that the safety of their families comes foremost with them”.[100] In his concluding words on *The Alamo*, Jackson explains his perspective. While it is important to “remember” the Alamo, it is essential that the process of recalling the events includes the recognition that both Mexican and Anglo blood was shed, not just during the siege but throughout the Texas War of secession. Jackson’s graphic history calls for the acceptance of a fusion of the two communities that creates “a unique mosaic of one culture and one people – Texans, all of us proud of our past.”[101]

Conclusion

The concern in this case study has been to discover whether the cultural memory within the films, novels and popular histories repeats that depicted through the cenotaph. There, the Tejano contribution is barely acknowledged and the one public act of recognition, the Losoya statue, is located away from the Alamo. This discussion and analysis of the range of artefacts that recall the Alamo and the wider Texas rebellion has demonstrated that the myths of the Alamo still dominate the cultural memory. The myths have eclipsed the dual ethnicity of the Texas Revolution despite the fact that the struggle against the Centralist dictatorial rule of Santa Anna was as much a Tejano fight as it was Anglo. However, it was the latter community that obtained the political clout of the Texas borderlands and became the source of the economic and political decision-making. Thus it has been able to construct and maintain the dominant cultural history of the struggle for Texas independence.

Just as the Anglos seized control of Texas land in the 1830s, so, in the recalling of Texas history, it is the victorious Anglos who have written the history and shaped the memories. Remembering the Alamo has involved the forgetting of the key contribution made to the events by the Tejanos. Although there has been some reconstruction of the

[100] Jackson, (2002), p. 108.
[101] ibid p.171.

historical amnesia that blocked out the Tejano contribution, this has been limited. This is certainly the case with the novels and the popular histories discussed here. As for the Alamo films, there has been some shift in the representation that has brought the Tejano past into a somewhat clearer focus. *The Alamo* (2004) is on a different plane from *The Martyrs of the Alamo* (1915). It offers a different cultural memory from the historical inaccuracies of *The Alamo* (1960). But the fact remains that the cultural artefacts that claim to recall the Alamo are as much about forgetting the Tejanos as they are with remembering the Anglos. There is a discernible level of Hispanicism included in the cultural artefacts discussed but it tends to have a dark and negative hue. The only good Mexicans are the few who participated on the American side.

Consequently, a substantial element of the history of Texas has not been awarded the acknowledgement it deserves. A two-tier history has been constructed which sees the Anglo dominant and the Tejano the subordinate. Although the historiography of the Alamo has moved in a slightly more radical direction and has occasionally challenged the mythic misperceptions, it has remained chained to the traditional vision enshrined in the Cenotaph. The Tejano dimension continues to be forgotten. This is not an argument about setting the record straight, important though that is. It is to make the important point that the cultural memory has failed to contain or convey the complexity of the historical narrative. The consequences of this are that the cultural richness within that narrative has not been given its due acknowledgement. It is now necessary to consider how the process of cultural remembering and recall has impacted upon the history of the Californian *Frontera* during the same period.

Chapter 4: California, the Elusive Eden

> Once California belonged to Mexico and its land to Mexicans and a hoard of tattered feverish Americans poured in. And such was their hunger for land that they took the land – stole Sutter's land, Guerrero's land, took the grants and broke them up and growled and quarrelled over them, these frantic hungry men; and they guarded with guns the land they had stolen. They put up houses and barns, they turned the earth and planted crops. And these things were possession, and possession was ownership.
> The Mexicans were weak and fed. They could not resist, because they wanted nothing in the world as frantically as the Americans wanted land.[1]

Introduction

California's historical narrative differed from that of Texas and the difference is mirrored in the cultural constructs built upon the specific historical narrative of California. Two myths form the basis of California's sense of itself. The first is that of the 1849 gold rush that created the belief that California was the place where dreams could become reality. The second myth is one that paints the image of southern California as an Eden teeming with citrus, senoritas and vaqueros. It is the California of missions, ranchos and herds of cattle roaming its thousand hills. California took hold of the western myth of the big land and a new beginning and reshaped it to convey an image of itself as "gentle and therapeutic".[2] The reality of the historical narrative was more in line with Steinbeck's version of California's past.

The construction of the Californian Edenic motif has its origins in the historical narratives and it is embedded in the cultural artefacts that draw from the well of these narratives. This is a romantic image of California's past which stands in sharp contrast to the more aggressive narrative of Texas and the cultural myths behind that history. California's history was as violent as that of Texas but the selective cultural memory has repressed that aspect of its past. The romantic perspective on Californian history owes as much to the cultural representations of its history as it does to the labours of its

[1] John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (London: Penguin Books, Modern Classics, 1992),p.242
[2] James N. Gregory, 'The Shaping of California History' in *Major Problems in California History: Documents and Essays,* ed. By Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), p.18. [The extract used is taken from Gregory's article in *Encyclopaedia of American Social History volume II pp. 1121 – 1134.*].

historiographers. The California novels and stories of Gertrude Atherton; Maria Ampuro Ruiz de Burton's novel *The Squatter and the Don,* as well as Helen Hunt Jackson's more familiar novel, *Ramona*, have all contributed to the persistence of the idea that the Spanish and Mexican eras of Californian history represented the loss of a paradise. The loss was seen to be both tragic and inevitable because there was no longer any place for the values of that period in the assumed greater reality of Manifest Destiny. The romantic representation of the pre-American period in California's history hides a level of soft racism which was even used to market the Californian citrus industry.[3]

The process of idealisation is also found in the popular myths of the Californio bandidos especially the legends that surround the bandit Joaquin Murrieta. The process moves from the soft racism of the California Pastoral into more direct negative racial stereotypes. The ultimate image of the lost California is that of an historical Hispanic Lusitania of Zorro where the pastoral myth of a lost Eden merges with the romantic, swashbuckling adventures of a masked and cloaked crusader; the quintessential prototype of the popular American comic book hero.

The historical narratives and the cultural memory of a community connect and cross fertilise each other. The ways in which they do becomes more clear when we trace the links between the two. The historical narratives recount the past while the cultural technologies reframe it through the artefacts of popular culture. The process can be seen at work in the construction of the California Pastoral myth itself. "California Pastoral" is the title of a work by Hubert Howe Bancroft, the prolific American historian and Hispanicism is present in the construction of this romantic vision.[4] Bancroft used the term to describe his perspective on the cultural life of California in the period before its conquest by the United States in the Mexican War. The book even contains a chapter entitled "Lotus-Land Society" in which Bancroft paints the picture of the *Californios* as a gallant, demonstrative

[3]Henry Knight, "Savage Desert, American Garden: Citrus Labels and the Selling of California, 1877-1929" in *U.S. Studies Online: The BAAS Postgraduate Journal,* issue 12, spring 2008.
[4]Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral: 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888. [Kessinger Publishing's Rare Reprints Edition]).

people in their manners and customs. They are the essence of courtesy and politeness and the province was generously endowed by nature. This Eden is rich in gold, fruit and serenity and the *Californios* are a frank, good-natured people showing warmth and hospitality to all. They are devout hunters who take pleasure in the exotic fandango and at the gaming tables. The stereotypes are increased. Californios are primarily lazy in their religious devotions, their eating habits and their lovemaking. All this from one of the most respected historians of his day. The image is false and without any foundation in reality.

> Ironically, for their entire fixation on history, for all their vivid images of certain historic persons and events, Californians' understanding of their state's past is distorted by legend and myth. Most Californians see their state's history as a romantic anecdotal story featuring famous people and heroic events.[5]

The romantic image of the Spanish and Mexican past drawn by Bancroft became the basis of the California Pastoral and it soon became the orthodox view of the pre-American period of the state's state. The California Pastoral can be regarded as a form of Hispanicism. It is argued that the American materialists who gained control of southern California after 1846 embraced the myth of the California Pastoral to provide themselves with a cultural memory that filled a gap in their materialist culture. The hard edged materialism within Manifest Destiny needed something more and so the Edenic myth was embraced. It captured the Anglo-American imagination, seeped into their mythology and even became part of the school curriculum.

> Its images consisted of Indians learning civilization from kindly padres, of hospitable and genteel dons and happy-go-lucky peons, and of Anglos traders bringing liberty and the marketplace to all these charming backward people. This caricature of the reality of California history blossomed in California Days fiestas (without Mexicans), the rehabilitation of the missions (without Indians), and the rewriting of history (with the connivance of nostalgic Californios).[6]

A number of other sources nourished Bancroft's myth of the California Pastoral. The first Americans who arrived in California before the Mexican War adopted aspects of

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[5] Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California.* 3rd edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002). [The book is a college text and, interestingly, has a section dealing specifically with the Pastoral period of Californian history.].

[6] Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.260.

the Californio culture. Some of them married into prominent *Californio* families and became rancheros themselves. There was the contribution made to the myth by the process of historical selection and cultural forgetting. Aspects of the *Californio* past which failed to fit the myth were overlooked or ignored. The way in which a specific historical narrative is recounted tells us as much about the historiographers as it does about the events themselves. The California missions were romanticised as part of the white man's burden in North America from the end of the nineteenth century and through most of the last century. This romanticism led to the creation of a protective veneer hiding the racialism and ethnic violence in the period after the American seizure of the state.[7]

Americans either depreciate or fail to see anything of interest in the despised and dependent beings created by their economic system. Consequently they have rarely found in Mexicans, and their history, a worthwhile story to recite and celebrate. In this respect California echoes the Texas story in which the ethnically different are rendered invisible. It is possible that Americans secretly or unconsciously fear the differences that are seen in the other. For Californians the California Pastoral was a good story that was worth repeating and embracing and it has become the Californian story that has continued to be repeated since. The extent to which the California Pastoral embedded itself in the psyche of the Californian Anglos is contained in the phrase "Spanish Fantasy Past".[8] Deverell uses the phrase rather than Bancroft's 'California Pastoral', but the terms are synonymous. Deverell uses the analogy of the white-washing of adobe walls to represent the "painting out" of elements of the Spanish Mexican period from California's past. The cultural memory of the Americans became focused on a fantasy of pure Spanish rancheros and romantic caballeros who represent a racial purity untouched and untainted by the actual mestizo past. When it was founded in 1884, the Historical Society of Southern California urged its members to save everything they could from the 1880s.The earlier period of California's history was regarded as of little importance. Before it was

[7] ibid. p. 267
[8]William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its American Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, London, 2004).

seized by the United States it was only a geographic location and a period in history that was occupied by the Mexicans. Before 1846 southern California contained nothing but historical and cultural dross apart from this romantic world of the Pastoral. Deverell offers the experiences of a typical Anglo couple, Mr and Mrs Los Angeles to illustrate how this sanitised view came to dominate.

> When they think about the California past, and they do (they are barraged with mission motifs in everyday advertising, city signage, etc.), they think through the mist of romance. A cultural scrim hangs between them and the Southern California past, smoothing the painful edges of a sad and bloody history.[9]

The nature of the California Pastoral and the Spanish Fantasy Past will be examined in more detail. Three examples are offered to reveal the process by which Californians have structured their cultural memory. The use of public celebrations will be discussed first. The use of literary fiction in the construction of the romantic past will examine the California novels of Gertrude Atherton. The third example explores the construction of the myth of Joaquin Murrieta, the Californian social bandit.

The Celebrations of the California Pastoral

Two annual celebrations of the Pastoral, or Fantasy California, became part of the state's cultural memory for a period of time and each event illustrates the cultural bowdlerisation of the Californian past in practice. The first event was the Los Angeles *la Fiesta* which was a celebration of the city's imagined Spanish and Mexican history and culture of California before the American conquest. *La Fiesta w*as an annual city carnival connected with the city's rapid economic growth at the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The event was deliberately modelled on the New Orleans Mardi Gras and took the form of a week of parades. The parades consisted of highly decorated floats representing aspects of the perceived past. In its first years the week's events concluded with a night of carousing but this quickly became a source of controversy. This part of the Mardi gras model did not suit many Anglos who regarded the event as un-American. This

[9] Deverell, p.36.

was particularly so for those coming from the southern states who regarded New Orleans as the devil's template. The New Orleans aspect was felt to be an unwanted reminder of a Catholic, papist activity far removed from the purer moral requirements of Anglo Protestantism. The first *la Fiesta* was held in the spring of 1894 and took the form of a popular parade celebrating the rise of the city from its origins as a Spanish settlement to the present. It offered the participants more fiction than historical accuracy.

> It is a curious feature of the history of Southern California that the Los Angeles Fiesta belongs to the novelists more than the historians. Novelists often write about historical events of course, and they can do so with every bit as much accuracy as historians. But in the case of the Los Angeles Fiesta, historians have barely stepped into the ring. Fictional accounts abound which describe the citywide frenzy accompanying each springtime Fiesta in the last half decade of the nineteenth century. Taking their cues straight from the newspapers or their own eye witness observations, writers and the occasional poet added characters, situations and dialogue to the remarkable urban pageantry that made up this strange urban ritual called La Fiesta de Los Angeles.[10]

La Fiesta offered the city a nostalgic but unrealistic celebration of its past and it reveals the process by which the Americans purged the Spanish and Mexican cultural past of those elements which were not to their taste. There was no reference to the Catholic rituals and traditions. California's past was made more palatable and acceptable by expunging references to the role of such dubious activities as the fandango or Latino sexuality. *La Fiesta* was a precursor to the ways in which Disneyworld and other theme parks offered a whitewashed representation of America's past and culture. The public were given a sanitised version of the past that removed all traces of California's violent history.

La Fiesta had been the brainchild of the Los Angeles Merchants' Association. After the economic depression of 1893 and the collapse of the real estate boom in the 1880s, the Association saw the event as a way of promoting local commerce and business. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Association became the Merchants and Manufacturers Association better known as the 'M & M'. This was an aggressive, anti-

[10]Deverell, p.50.

union organisation which later played an unpleasant part in labour relations not only in the city of Los Angeles but in the southern region of the state. The Fiesta was an economic and a popular success. The only dark side to the event, for both its organisers and its critics, was the fact that the week concluded with the outbreak of rowdiness and drunken revelry. The consensus was that it should be repeated and it became part of the annual public celebrations in Los Angeles until the outbreak of the 1898 American-Spanish War, when there was a decline in the public's enthusiasm for the event and fierce criticism of the Spanish dimension. It was no longer seen as an appropriate activity in the public mood of intense nationalism sparked by the war. For a while Hispanicism had fallen from grace. There was an attempt to revive the event in 1901 as *La Fiesta de los Flores* which replaced the original pastoral fantasy with an Anglo-American event that ignored the Spanish elements. However, the romantic myth had become too embedded in the Anglos' consciousness to be ignored. It was not long before another cultural construct was established to fill the gap left by the demise of *La Fiesta*.

The replacement was John Steven McGroarty's *Mission Play* which had its premiere on April 29, 1912 at the San Gabriel Mission on what was said to be the largest stage west of Chicago. Like La Fiesta, McGroarty's *Mission Play* made a substantial contribution to the myth of the California Pastoral. The *Mission Play* continued the process of whitewashing California's history to perpetuate the Edenic myth. The play had a cast of over one hundred and after its initial success the play was staged annually for a generation. McGroarty, the creative force behind the play, was also the author of a popular history of California published in the previous year.[11] McGroarty came from a large Pennsylvania Irish family and he arrived in Los Angeles after various careers including teaching and law. He worked as a bookseller before he joined the *Los Angeles Times* where he rose to the position of editorial writer. McGroarty was also the editor of

[11]Interestingly, Gertrude Atherton also published a history of California in 1914, *California: An Intimate History.* It was written at the request of a friend, Elizabeth Jordan, an editor for Harraps. This was in the run-up to the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. It was believed that the sales of the book would benefit from the growing interest in the state as a consequence of the publicity the Exposition would generate.

the *West Coast* Magazine, a journal that made a further contribution to the fantasy past by its publication of material that depicted further representations of romantic Californian past. The *Mission Play* was a natural development of the whitewashing of the state's history, not only for McGroarty, but as an additional element in the selective cultural memory that was constructing this idyllic but unreal past.

To fund the first performance McGroarty established a Mission Play Association to raise the needed finance. He was something of a populist West coast Wagner in that he built a theatre to house the production at the San Gabriel Mission. In addition to the theatre, the Mission Playhouse boasted a replica of *El Camino Real*, (The Royal Highway) along which the Californian Missions had been built. The combination of a successful drama and a physical reconstruction of the past, increased attendance at the play and it quickly became a popular cultural experience and a key tourist attraction.

> In a short walkway, alongside an outside wall of the Playhouse – the Mission Walk – the state's twenty-one missions, each rendered in careful miniature, sat in geographical sequence. The mini missions were a brilliant interactive innovation, a triumph of cultural tourism and they rarely escaped comment. Playgoers could see the play, make a short pilgrimage on the tiny El Camino Real to look at all the missions, and thus experience the past, even, as they often reported, see it before their eyes.[12]

The play depicted, in a popular form, the imagined history of California in three acts each one representing a key stage in the history of Hispanic California. The play began with the arrival of the Spanish in 1769. According to the programme notes from the 1941 production, the central character within the play is Junípero Serra. In 1767, Serra was appointed head of the Californian missions after the Pope had expelled the Jesuits and given the responsibility to the Franciscan order. McGroarty's Juniper embodies the quality of selfless goodness and, as the first act closes, Serra asserts that he will never desert his beloved California. The second act commemorates the heroic achievements of Serra and the work of the missions. The final act brings the history up to 1844 with the arrival of the first Americans. As with the earlier *La Fiesta*, the Californian history is

[12]Deverell, p. 215.

depicted in a sanitised version. There was no reference to the violence and ethnic conflict that was part of California's history. Like the Alamo narrative, the play is an example of the whitewashing of American history but like the earlier Los Angeles *La Fiesta* the *Mission Play is* not reciting an Anglo story. These two cultural celebrations are telling a story of an Hispanic past, where there is not an Anglo presence.

The Mission Play became both a tourist attraction and a major cultural event in the city in its early years. A road tour took the production beyond the State's borders but it failed to achieve the same level of its popularity outside the state. Within California, it failed to sustain its popularity as an annual event. Attendance began to wane in the nineteen twenties and an effort was made to try and save the production. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce took over responsibility for its continuation but failed to halt the decline. By 1926, *Mission Play* had run into serious financial difficulties and the Chamber of Commerce established a committee to deal with the problems the production company was experiencing. The committee took the view that the play still had a substantial hold on the imagination of the region and there was a strong wish on the part of the public to see it continue as part of Los Angeles' cultural life. The committee reported that the play was still a profitable event with the potential to generate an income of twenty thousand dollars a year. In order to achieve that potential *Mission Play* needed to run for a twenty week season every year. The Chamber of Commerce set up a corporation to take over responsibility for the annual production from McGroarty. The committee's conclusion led to a wave of financial investment from local business men. Deverell argues that the reasons behind this rush to invest are not important but the fact that local business men wished to become involved was. The motivation of the Los Angeles business men can only be conjecture. One suspects the profit motive was strong but there was surely a level of emotional attachment to what was a major cultural event in the Los Angeles social calendar. It was a public relations move that demonstrates the place *Mission Play* had gained in the public's affections. The Spanish Fantasy had become a staged event and a financial commodity in the shape of a joint stock company. The *Mission Play* had become

more than just an annual event. It had become history itself.[13] California's historical narrative and its cultural memory had become as one.

A new theatre replaced McGroarty's original playhouse at the San Gabriel Mission but the audiences and the income failed to reach the levels needed for the play's continuation. The play's 3000th performance took place in February 1930 but the arrival of the Great Depression had inflicted the final cut and, by 1936, the end had arrived. There were further attempts to revive the play during the 1940s and 1950s, but its day was over. In its time, *Mission Play* had a substantial impact upon the Anglo community and had reinforced the belief in the Spanish Fantasy myth for more than twenty years. As it was with those who participated in the Los Angeles *La Fiesta* so it was for those who attended *Mission Play.* They had celebrated the myth of the California Pastoral.[14]

In addition to these public celebrations of California's imagined past, there were other cultural technologies engaged in constructing the Californian pastoral. These included popular literature and, beginning in the early twentieth century, the new medium of the cinema. The novels and stories of Gertrude Atherton did much to contribute to the myth that the Spanish and Mexican eras in Californian history had involved a loss of a paradise for which there was no longer any place. The process of idealisation is also found in the popular myths of the Californian bandidos and in particular with regard to the legends around the bandido, Joaquin Murrieta explored later in the chapter. The Fantasy past was used by the Californian writer, Gertrude Atherton. Almost forgotten today her work is worthy of rediscovery. A prolific writer, a number of her books use the background of the mythic, Edenic California as their setting. Atherton's California novels played an essential part in the construction of the California Pastoral.

[13]Deverell, p.235.
[14]ibid p.249.

Figure 15 Gertrude Atherton

An intriguing thumbnail sketch of Atherton's long career and character is offered by her biographer, Emily Wortis Leider.[15] It demonstrates the now neglected role she played in American literary circles. She was born in San Francisco in 1857, before the arrival of the cross-country railroad, and before the telegraph had connected the city to the rest of the United States. By the year of her death in 1948 the city had been transformed into a cosmopolitan, industrial metropolis with a world-wide reputation and image. She could remember the assassination of Abraham Lincoln but lived long enough to advise visitors attending the San Francisco United Nations conference in 1945 on what constituted the appropriate clothing to wear in the Californian climate. She moved from San Francisco to New York and then on to London in the 1890s. In the early 1900s she had made her

[15] Emily Wortis Leider, *California's Daughter: Gladys Atherton and Her Times* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

home in Munich but she returned to San Francisco in time to witness and write about the 1906 earthquake. As part of the research for her political novel, *Senator North*, she attended Senate debates and receptions at the White House in Washington DC during the presidency of William McKinley. She propagandized on behalf of the women's suffrage movement and campaigned on behalf of Woodrow Wilson. She also campaigned for Al Smith, when he was seeking the Democratic presidential nomination in 1932. During the First World War she was engaged in charity work to raise money for those wounded in the conflict. In recognition of her role in the care of wounded French troops she was decorated by the French government.

Atherton was a close friend of Ambrose Bierce and an acquaintance of Henry James. In her time she was described as 'the American George Sand' and was also regarded as having done for San Francisco what Edith Wharton did for New York. She was also emotionally cold towards her family, an irritating snob, and a fascist sympathizer. In 1938, when over four hundred American writers were asked to respond to the question, "Are you for, or are you against Franco and fascism", she was the only one to display any sense of a lack of equivocation, "…although I have no love for Franco, I hope he will mop up the Communists and send home, with tails between their legs, all these gullible Americans who enlisted to save Spanish 'democracy'."[16] Later, she also supported the Dies Committee[17] and claimed to have personally shopped the American Writers' Guild ("that stronghold of communism") to the House Un-American Activities Committee. She would have felt quite comfortable among the American neoconservatives.

Atherton was a prolific writer who was, initially, more popular in Britain and Europe than she was in the United States. Among her many novels and short stories a number were set in the California Pastoral era and in her autobiography she describes how her interest in this period was first kindled.

[16]Leider, p.343.
[17] The Dies Committee is better known as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). It was created in 1938 to investigate disloyalty and subversive organizations. It was initially called after its first chairman, Martin Dies, who set the pattern for its anti-Communist investigations.

> My interest (in writing fiction) was beginning to wane when I lit upon a paragraph that ran something as follows: "Why do California writers neglect the old Spanish life of the State? Never has there been anything so picturesque and romantic in the history of America and it is a mine of wealth waiting for some bright genius to pan out.
> I read no more. Forked lightning was crackling in my skull. It illuminated a dazzling vista. Bret Harte had barely touched on that period and its nuggets were mine.[18]

Despite this sudden new found enthusiasm for the period there is little indication that she had had any substantial previous awareness of the *Californio* period of the state's history, although there was some Hispanic background through marriage. She had spent her early childhood on her grandfather's ranch some sixty miles south of San Francisco. She had moved there when she was two years old after her mother's separation and later divorce from her father. Gertrude's mother remarried five years later and the wedding took place the same day President Lincoln was assassinated, thus explaining how Gertrude came to remember the event. Of her step-father, she wrote, "He was rotten to the core, but he must have had some lingering remnant of good in him, for he fell in love with and proposed to my mother who had not a penny to her name".[19]

Her step-father, John Frederick Ulthorn, was a habitual gambler whose business failed after a couple of years into the marriage. To avoid the social embarrassment created by this economic disaster, his family dispatched him to South America for a time but he later died alone in a New York hospital. Single, Gertrude's mother soon became the object of male attention again in the form of a George Atherton whose family resented his courtship of Mrs Atherton. Gertrude explains that the Atherton family's objections were based on the difference in age, (Gertrude's mother was fourteen years older than George.) and the fact that she was a divorcee and a non-Catholic. "The Athertons were Catholics, prided themselves on being the most exclusive family in California, and were frigid in their social morals".[20] George quickly transferred his attentions away from the mother to the daughter and Gertrude and George eloped in 1876 when Gertrude was

[18] Gertrude Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), p.185.
[19] Atherton, p. 20.
[20] ibid, p.55.

nineteen. George Atherton was a somewhat lacklustre individual but his mother, Dominga de Goñi, proved to be a fascinating character who came to exert considerable influence upon Gertrude. Dominga was Chilean and provided Gertrude with her first substantial encounter with Hispanic culture. Gertrude's marriage, however, did not last. In 1887, George undertook a business venture to Chile but died in New York of kidney failure before the journey had actually begun.

Some indication of Gertrude's initial attitude towards the *Californio* culture can be discerned from a comment she made about the domestic context of the Atherton household, "conversation, unless there was company present, was entirely in Spanish, which I thought rather rude as I could not understand a word of it". Unfortunately this gave me a dislike for the language and I missed an opportunity."[21] Gertrude's autobiography also reveals other racist tendencies which show that she was a woman of her time. On one occasion she uses the term "greasy Mexicans" to describe an encounter she and her husband had in a hotel in Jolon, California.[22] Yet, despite the hint of negativity towards California's Hispanic culture, a number of her novels and stories focus upon the California Pastoral period. This is particularly the case with four of her novels, *Los Cerritos, (1890) The Doomswoman* (1893), *The Californians* (1898), and *A Daughter of the Vine* (1899).There was also the collection of short stories initially published under the title *Before the Gringo Came* (1894) but later republished with additional stories as *The Splendid Idle Forties* (1902). An analysis of the books reveals a link between them, the Spanish Fantasy Past, and the ballad of Joaquín Murietta.

Los Cerritos is a tale involving a squatter conflict in central California and describes the impact of the squatting practice upon the personal lives, as well as the economic and social pattern inherited from the *Californio* period. The theme is similar to that of *The Squatter and the Don* and, like that novel, Atherton's narrative mirrors both the historical 'reality' of the practice and her own personal experience. On one occasion she

[21] Atherton, p.68.
[22] ibid, p.83.

had travelled with her husband, George, to one of the properties they owned, the Rancho Milpitas. George was involved in the legal process of seeking to evict squatters from the property. Part of the land had been settled on bother families. In both the novel and in the Athertons' experience, the squatters are both Anglo and *Californio*. Gertrude's biographer notes that, although the experience generated a degree of sympathy towards individuals who had their legal rights to ownership challenged by squatters, it did not trigger any reformist responses as was the case with Helen Hunt Jackson. Jackson's novel *Ramona* had been published six years earlier with the specific objective of challenging extant practices. In Gertrude's case her personal response was more in the form of a sense of *noblesse oblige* rather than a call for reform of the system. Although Gertrude had been influenced by the success of Jackson's novel she was, apparently, offended by the fact that Jackson, unlike herself, was not a native Californian. In Gertrude's own words, *Los Cerritos* was:

> the romance of a Spanish Californian girl who lived near the San Antonio Mission, on the (rechristened) Milpitas Ranch, and the owner, an unhappy millionaire who already had a wife. It did not amount to much, but I wrote it with certain fervour as it dealt with the wrongs of helpless squatters at the mercy of the rich.[23]

The novel's young protagonist is Carmelita, the fictional orphaned daughter of the *Californio* bandido, Joaquin Murrieta and Monica Alvarado whom Murrieta had abducted from her reclusive father's home years earlier.[24] Now an orphan, Carmelita is a creature of nature who is growing up within the restrictions of the *Californio* community where she lives with her uncle and aunt. Gertrude's use of the bandido Murrieta within the narrative framework of the novel links it to one of the other key components within the California Pastoral, that of the romantic bandido. However, Gertrude's chronology is hopelessly out

[23] Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, p.169.

[24] Joaquin Murrieta was, reputedly, a bandido who terrorised southern California in the period immediately after the United States conquest. The question of his existence and identity is the subject of dispute and discussion. The standard view is that he was killed by a unit of California rangers under the command of a Captain Harry Love in June 1851. Atherton's use of the character completely ignores the assumed chronology and information of Murrieta's career and death. The novel, however, provides a connection between this examination of her California novels and the later discussion of the Murrieta myth.

of kilter with regard to the 'known facts' of the Murrieta story. Within Gertrude's narrative, the notorious bandit has had a reward on his head for twenty years. It is believed that Murrieta was shot dead in June 1851, so Gertrude's time frame places the beginning of his career in 1833 when California was still a Mexican province and not during the bandido period of the 1849 gold rush. It provides an example of the process by which the Californian Hispanicism became romanticised.

Carmelita is ten years old when the novel opens and she had been brought to her Uncle Pedro's house by her father years before. When the main narrative thrust begins, Carmelita is just seventeen and, we are informed, three years earlier a mysterious but regular package of money sent by her father had ceased to arrive. "Then had come the report that one Harry Love had carried the head of Joaquin Murietta to the government, obtaining the long promised reward".[25] A further aspect of the California Pastoral is found in Gertrude's observation that Carmelita had a profile that indicated "the fine clear line of her Spanish ancestors. The lineage comes, not from her father but from her mother, Monica Alvaredo, the beautiful daughter of a former *commandante* of the presidio of Santa Barbara."[26] In other words, Carmelita is from a Criollo lineage not that of a mestizo.

In a preliminary foreword to the novel, Gertrude claims to have introduced a new dialect into American literature. There was a literary convention at the time of regional writers using local dialect in their fiction. The convention began with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* By the time *Los Cerritos* was published, both the *Uncle Remus* stories of Joel Chandler Harris's stories and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* were also in print, along with a number of other regional writers. Gertrude's explanation of her *Californio* dialect calls for two comments. First of all, one questions if the *Californios* would have used such a dialect when speaking within their own community and culture. It is reasonable to assume that Spanish would be the language of choice. Secondly, the

[25] *Los Cerritos,* p.49. Harry Love was the California Ranger supposedly responsible for Murrieta's death.
[26] ibid, p. 20.

dialect Gertrude constructed is quite stilted and has the feel of the stereotypical dialect used in more popular fiction and in later Hollywood representations of the "greaser".

The creation of this dialect is further evidence of a cultural reshaping of the past and gives *Los Cerritos* a feeling of artificiality that contrasts with *The Squatter and the Don* published five years before Atherton's novel.[27] The narrative in María de Burton's novel also concerns the experiences of the Californios during the initial period of American rule. However, unlike *Los Cerritos*, *The Squatter and the Don* is written from the perspective and experience of the Californios. It contrasts with the American view that the conquest of California was a natural, inevitable stage in the state's transition from the romantic but doomed world whose citizens were unable to adapt to change. *The Squatter and the Don*, in fact, challenges the myth that the American treatment of the Californio was the consequence of a liberator introducing a democratic process to a grateful people. Although Maria's novel was written in English, it arose from the perspective of a conquered people who were a marginalized minority despite the guarantees of citizenship written into the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848.[28]

María Amparo Ruiz de Burton was born in 1832 in Loreto, Baja California into a Criollo family. Her grandfather had been the Comandante of Baja California and her great uncle had served two terms as the commander of the San Diego Presidio.[29] In 1849, María married Captain Henry S. Burton whom she had met when the he had led a company of New York volunteers who had arrived in La Paz in 1847. The purpose of the military expedition was to occupy the province as part of the United States invasion of Mexico. After the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, a number of Baja Californians responded to the promises made by the United States by migrating north to Monterey in California Alta. María and her mother were among those who made the move, finally settling in San Francisco and obtaining American citizenship.

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[27]María Amparo Ruiz de Burton [C. Loyal],*The Squatter and the Don*, ed. by Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita, (Houston: Texas, Arte Público Press,1997). [The novel was originally published in 1885].
[28]Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita, "Introduction" to *The Squatter and the Don,* p.7.
[29] ibid, p. 10.

The wedding ceremony was performed in a Presbyterian church in Monterey and this was followed by a second Roman Catholic ceremony at Santa Barbara. Captain Burton's military career continued after the marriage and he served for a while in Monterey and later was stationed at San Diego. Before the outbreak of the Civil War Burton was assigned to the east and gained promotion, first to the rank of Major and then to that of brevetted Brigadier-General. He died in 1869 from malarial fever which he had contracted during the Civil War. *The Squatter and the Don* was not Maria's first literary venture. Prior to its publication María had written a five act play based on *Don Quixote* and a satirical novel set in the Civil War titled *Who Would Have Thought It.* The novel was published anonymously in 1872 but, according to Sánchez and Pita, it is listed in the Library of Congress catalogue under the names of H.S Burton and Mrs Henry S. Burton.[30] *The Squatter* was written after María had returned to San Diego following the death of her husband and it was published under the pseudonym of *C. Loyal.* The name is the anglicised form of the common Mexican practice during the nineteenth century, of closing off official documents with the Spanish phrase *Ciudadano Leal* (loyal citizen)."The English name, the indeterminacy of the author's gender and the designation of the author as a "loyal citizen" provide an ironic twist, considering that the work is severely critical of the political structures of U.S. society."[31]

A major theme of the novel is the impact of the Land Act of 1851 upon the conquered Californios.[32] The novel is written from the Californio perspective and the Don, Mariano, is the voice of that perspective. After the conquest of California, there was an increasing demand for land from the new Anglo American settlers who wanted to farm or to prospect in the new territory. The Treaty of Guadalupe–Hidalgo had included a commitment by the United States to guarantee legal protection for the rights of the Californios. During the Spanish and Mexican era various tracts of land, many of them quite large, had been granted to Criollo. The Treaty stated that Mexican 'residents' could

[30]Sánchez and Pita, p.12.
[31]ibid, p 13.
[32]ilbid, pp. 162-65.

either retain their Mexican citizenship or become Americans. In either case the Treaty guaranteed that their property rights would be protected. The controversial 1851 Land Act[33] proved to be something of a squatters' charter because it placed the burden of proof of ownership and entitlement to the land upon the Californio owners. It is not the case that the Act was biased against the Hispanics or that the claimants who had to prove ownership were predominantly Hispanics. The basic charge against the Law was that both Anglos and Californios were subjected to the experience of having their ownership of land challenged because it had been seized by squatters. This was the experience of Atherton's husband and the novel *Los Cerritos* makes the issue a substantial part of the narrative. The major consequence of the Act was the eventual loss of the original ranchos as a part of California's culture and economy.

The Act established a three-person commission to which all Spanish and Mexican titles had to be submitted in order for their owners to obtain legal recognition of their entitlement. The rancheros had to deal not with the bias of the commissioners so much as with the bias of the law itself. The Commission worked on the assumption that all titles were invalid until the claimant could prove otherwise.[34] This approach of "guilty until proven innocent" placed excessive stress upon the Californios who were, as a result of the Act, required to deal with an unfamiliar legal system rooted in an unfamiliar language and culture. Land rights claims, when they were based on lost documentation and/or a tradition of occupancy in which boundaries had only been informally noted, were difficult to prove. Californios also had to meet the substantial legal costs involved as they pursued lengthy hearings and appeals. This frequently resulted in their having to sell off their land and stock in order to meet their legal debts. The Act was also biased towards the new settlers rather than to the embattled Californios who were in a minority, ignorant of the Anglo legal system and consequently more vulnerable. Often the rancheros' land had

[33]Paul Gates, 'The California Land Act of 1851, in *California Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Dec., 1971), pp. 395-430.
[34]Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.203.

originally only been vaguely marked out and valid paperwork confirming the legality of the grant was not always readily available. Many rancheros were limited in their knowledge of English, especially legal English. Consequently the rancheros became dependent upon Anglo lawyers. The Californios' experience provides a sharp contrast to the Western myth of the nester or squatter plagued and victimised by the land hungry rancher. The Californio experience was the reverse. It was the ranchero who was plagued by the squatter and nester and who struggled to maintain his land before the Californian court. In *The Squatter and the Don,* Don Mariano expresses his disgust for a law that plunges him into the nightmare of seeking to protect the land he owns from squatters. He argues that the law should exist to protect public morality but instead it encouraged wrongdoing. Rather than provide protection for the rights of the recently conquered citizens, the legislators subject them to blatant injustice. He argues that, by casting aside the guarantees of the 1848 Treaty, the legislators have failed to respect their country's pledge to protect the property of the defeated.

> Congress *thought* we might as well be kicked and cuffed as treated kindly. There was no one to be our champion, no one to take our part and object to our being robbed. It ought to have been sufficient that by the treaty of Guadalupe the national faith, the nation's honor was pledged to respect our property. They never thought of that. With very unbecoming haste, Congress hurried to pass laws to legalize their despoliation of the conquered Californians, forgetting the nation's pledge to protect us.[35]

The passionate sense of injustice found in María de Burton's authentic understanding of the issues relating to California land rights reinforces the sense that, of the two, Atherton is the weaker writer. However, Atherton continued to mine the vein of the California Pastoral with a second Spanish Fantasy novel, *The Doomswoman,*[36] which she subtitled *An Historical Romance of Old California*. The novel falls clearly into the framework of her romantic representation of the period. It is set in the period in Californian history immediately before the American conquest. Much of the plot focuses on the

[35] Ruiz de Burton p. 162.
[36] Gertrude Atherton, *The Doomswoman: An Historical Romance of Old California*. (Teddington: The Echo Library Edition, 2008).

conflict between the *Californios* who are fearful of the threat posed by the United States territorial ambitions and those, represented by the protagonist, Diego Estenega, who are pro-American. “If I could put you to sleep and awaken you fifty years hence, when California was a modern civilization! God speed the Americans: therein lies our only chance.”[37] The background to the drama is the political, philosophical and cultural contrast between Diego and Chonita, the eponymous doomswoman, and, despite its pro-American perspective, the novel abounds in images of the California Pastoral. “A caballero serenaded his lady at midnight in Monterey. The tinkle of a guitar, the jingling of spurs fell among the strong tones of a man’s voice. “It reads like a film script full of the stereotypes of a California where the plaza is filled with a wealth of colour; where the women are dressed in “gaudy frocks, tawdry jewels, and spotless camisas” and where the reboso is “a coquettish device”. As for the men, they wear “glazed sombreros” and the caballeros ride “prancing silver-trapped horses. The young men have ribbons twisted in their long black hair, and silver eagles on their soft gray sombreros.”[38]

Unlike the sanitized versions of the Los Angeles public occasions of *La Fiesta* and *The Mission Play*, Atherton describes a cultural community that cherishes the exotic fandango and “black-eyed dancing girls; the decadence of gambling and horse racing”[39]. The Californio world is contrasted with Diego Estenaga’s embrace of the American philosophy of Manifest Destiny. Diego sees the California Pastoral as destructive, restrictive, and wasteful. He believes that it must be replaced by the dynamism of the Americans if it is to survive. He is scornful of the cultural traditions which have produced little of value and worth. The missions are rotting and have achieved nothing beyond terrorising or cajoling a few thousand local Indians into an ersatz civilized veneer. He regards the ranchos as a respectable effort to raise horses and cattle, and the hide and tallow industry as productive but, for the rest, he sees an indolent misuse of the land. Russians have monopolized the fur trade and the mineral resources lie untouched because the

[37] *The Doomswoman* p.11.
[38] ibid, p.3.
[39] ibid, p.6.

Californios waste their time on mere pleasure. To achieve the riches and resources nature has to offer needs an energetic people with a sense of destiny, not drones who simply tinker with a wonderful country.[40]

Estenaga is convinced that the United States acquisition of California is in the *Californios'* best interest. He is determined to personally benefit from the inevitable outcome of the American venture. He intends to petition Santa Anna, who is described as a friend of his father's, for the control of California as its governor. He confesses to Chonita that he will need to conceal his pro-American sympathies during his negotiations with the General if he is to succeed in his ambition. He will do so in order to achieve his plans to obtain greater power and to shape California's future in line with his pro-Americanism. He proposes to establish a college, staffed by American professors who, by teaching the students in English, will encourage them to think in English. Estenaga's dream is to become the dictator of California. He is motivated by a will to power. "With as little delay as possible I shall establish a newspaper – a powerful weapon in the hands of a ruler, as well as a factor of development".[41] He has plans to establish a superior court that will guarantee Californio subservience to his authority. He intends to encourage American settlement and will make it clear to the Americans that he whole-heartedly supports their ideology of Manifest Destiny. When the Americans move to acquire California, as he believes they will, it is his intention to hand it over to them without any bloodshed. "In a word, my object is to make California a great State and its name synonymous with my own."[42] In the character of Estenaga, Atherton gave voice to one of the key forces present in California in the period before its conquest. There were Californios who saw both their own future and the future of their province as lying in the hands of the United States. The consequence of that position is the theme of her third California Pastoral novel.

[40] ibid, p.14.
[41] ibid, p.66.
[42] ibid, p,66.

The Californians[43] is set mainly in the period after the conquest of California, but the narrative has its roots in the earlier period of the *Californios*. The novel describes the personal relationship and business partnership between the *Californio*, Don Roberto Yorba, and Hiram Polk, a New Englander who came to Monterey with Commodore Sloat's invasion fleet on 7 July 1846. The two men first meet at the reception organised for Commodore Sloat by Thomas O. Larkin, the United States' consul in California. The usual stereotypical elements of the California Pastoral are present in the novel, not least that of the indolent *Californio* who is given to serenading senoritas in the early hours of the morning and smoking his cigaritos during the day as he relaxes in his hammock. He spouts rhetoric but fails to comprehend when he is confronted by common-sense. The *Californio* "is too lazy to walk across the plaza, and too proud to work, and too silly to keep the Americans from grabbing what he's got."[44]

The novel describes how the relationship between Yorba and Polk and a third friend, Jack Bellman, develops over the years. When Polk and Yorba initially meet, the *Californio* is a widower and Polk is unmarried. Yorba marries Polk's sister and, after ten years, they have a daughter and name the child Magdeléna, after Yorba's sister who had married Polk. Polk's marriage is not a success and the couple separate. The third friend, Jack, marries a Bostonian and they also have a daughter, Helena. Helena and young Magdeléna become close friends. Yorba, like Estenega in *The Doomswoman*, embraces the American way with enthusiasm and becomes a leading businessman in partnership with Polk. Through his renunciation of his Hispanic culture Yorba becomes the antithesis of a *Californio* don.

> Don Roberto had escaped the pecuniary extinction that had overtaken his race. Of all the grandees, who, not forty years before had called the Californias their own, living a life of Arcadian magnificence, troubled by few cares, a life of riding over vast estates clad in silk and lace, botas and sombrero, mounted upon steeds as gorgeously caparisoned as themselves, eating, drinking, serenading at the gratings of beautiful women, gambling, horse-racing, taking part in splendid religious festivals, with only the excitement of an occasional war between rival

[43] Gertrude Atherton, *The Californians* (Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press, 1968).
[44] ibid, p.8.

> governors to disturb the placid surface of their lives,-of them all Don Roberto was a man of consequence today.[45]

Don Roberto does not share the fate of many of his fellow *Californios* and prospers because of his willingness to hitch his *cartera* to the rising star of Hiram Polk's financial ambitions. He embraces a false consciousness and believes himself to be an American despite his ethnic roots. Atherton describes his physical appearance as quintessentially Hispanic and provides him with the stereotypical *Californio* dialect. He despises everything that reminded him of his origins. He is so anxious to be seen as an American, and we are told that if it had been possible, he would replace his blood with "galloping American blood". It disturbs him that he is unable to lose his accent and, in order to sound more American, he makes excessive use of expletives.[46] The novel's climax comes when Don Roberto has to face the reality of who he is and what he has become. His self-delusion that he has become a fully integrated American is shattered. He hangs himself in his study where Magdeléna and her fiancée find him at the end of the novel. The final irony is that he has hanged himself with the American flag.

The last work of Atherton's California Pastoral to consider is the collection of short stories, *Before the Gringo Came*.[47] The stories are all linked both by the California setting and by Atherton's use of recurring characters within them. Like the first two novels discussed above, some of the stories are set in the Spanish Fantasy period prior to the Mexican War. Other stories take place during the Bear Flag Republic and the Mexican War. There is a contrast between the mood of the two historical periods and it is best seen in the change of title between the two editions. The earlier collection was published as *Before the Gringo Came* and the stories deal with *Californio* perspectives on the threat of the coming invader. When the stories were republished, the title was changed to *The*

[45] *The Californians,* p. 9-10.
[46] ibid, p. 58.
[47] Gertrude Atherton*, Before the Gringo Came* (New York: Selwyn Tait, 1894). The collection was revised and republished in 1902 under the title, *The Splendid Idle Forties: Stories of Old California*, (New York The Macmillan Company ; Ltd., 1902).

Splendid Idle Forties and additional stories were added. The new title is another example of Atherton's continuing mining of the idyllic but doomed California Pastoral.

Atherton's novel, *A Daughter of the Vine*[48] also contains elements of the California Pastoral although the novel is mainly concerned with a doomed love affair between Nina Randolph and an English aristocrat, Dudley Thorpe. Set primarily in San Francisco in the 1860s it deals with the themes of illegitimacy and alcoholism. Nina is the daughter of Yorkshire parents who have settled in San Francisco where her father has become a successful business man. In his youth he was a close friend of Branwell Brontë who gave him a portrait of Randolph's grandfather which he still possesses. Together the young men frequented the same hostelry in Keighley where Randolph's wife was a barmaid. She tricked him into an unhappy marriage and she is now an alcoholic. Atherton's perspective is based on the assumption that alcoholism is genetic and in the novel Nina, like her mother, succumbs to the disease. Nina and Dudley become separated, Nina gives birth to a son who dies after ten days and, in her grief, she agrees to marry her cousin. She and Dudley do not meet again until she has become widowed and has ruined her health through her "secret". Dudley nurses her in the last hours of her life. Although it has a melodramatic plot there are echoes of the California Pastoral found in the previous novels discussed. Characters from both *The Californians* and *The Doomswoman* appear in *A Daughter of the Vine* such as Diego Estenega who in *The Doomswoman* had plotted to become the autocratic governor of California susceptible to Manifest Destiny. Once again he makes known his scorn for his fellow *Californios.* When Estenega is questioned by Thorpe about the *Californios*' ability to indulge in week-long fiestas, he responds by saying that, when it comes to pleasure, they are made of elastic. "If they had to work six hours out of twenty-four, they would be haggard and weak at the knees".[49]

[48] Gertrude Atherton, *A Daughter of the Vine* (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1904).
[49] ibid, p.160.

When Atherton began her career, the myth of the California Pastoral had already taken shape. Its definition came from the imagination of the historian Bancroft, and was later reinforced through cultural artefacts such as the Los Angeles *La Fiesta* and McGroarty's *The Mission Play*. Atherton's literary predecessors were Helen Jackson Hunt's *Ramona* and Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*. The latter dealt with the same subject of the activities and experiences of Californian squatters as did Atherton's *Los Cerritos*. Gertrude Atherton is a neglected author today but her contribution to California's Pastoral myth is beyond doubt. She helped to create the cultural memory of the state as it was believed to be in the period before the American conquest. In the current climate of confusion and hostility towards that historical past and the cultural contribution made by the *Californios*, a rediscovery of Atherton's work is timely. However, one further aspect of the California Pastoral needs to be explored because it too came from Bancroft's shaping of the historical narrative. It is the ballad of the *Californio* bandido, Joaquin Murrieta, already romanticised in Atherton's *Los Cerritos.*

The Continuing Myth of Joaquín Murrieta[50]

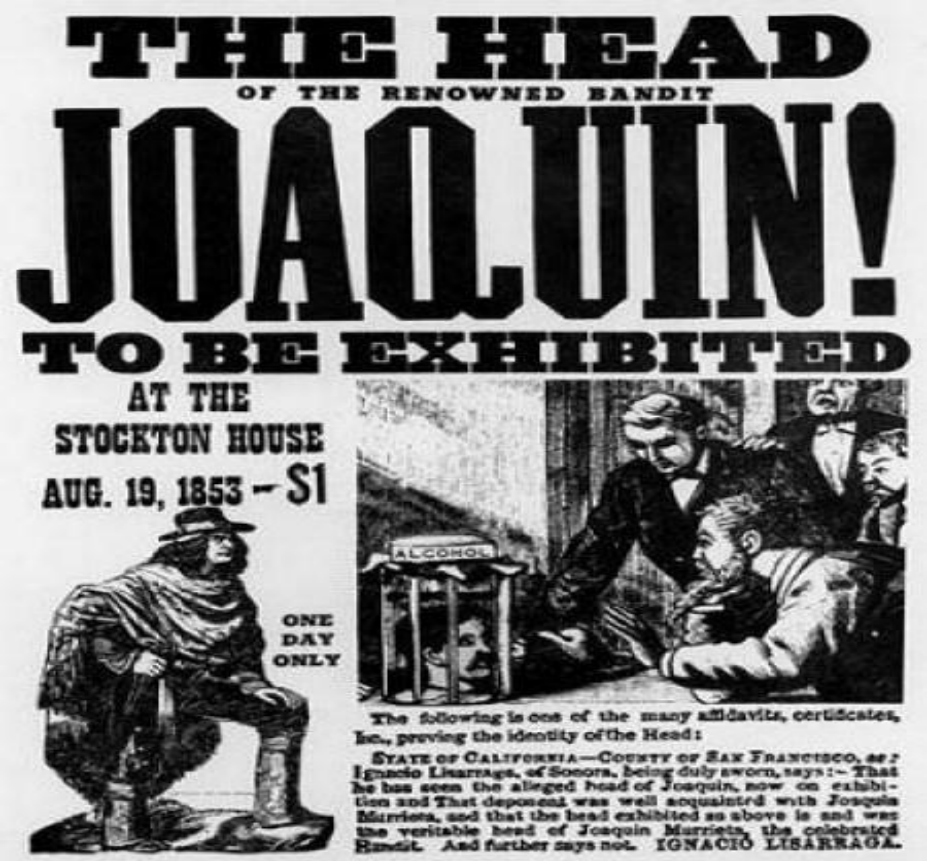

Figure 16 Joaquín Murrieta

In the immediate aftermath of the Mexican War, the newly acquired territory of California, soon to become a state, quickly became a region of lawlessness, banditry, and racial violence. This was a period of political, social, and economic upheaval as the new masters began to make their presence felt. The tensions were aggravated by the discovery of gold in 1848 when California saw a rapid influx of prospectors from many parts of the world. Hordes of adventurers poured into the gold fields and boom towns to make their fortune. As well as Americans from other states and from above the northern border, there arrived Europeans, Australians, Mexicans, Chinese and other Latinos who

[50]Two different forms of Murrieta's name are found in the various accounts of his life. "Murrieta" and "Murieta". The most frequent is the former and that is the one used here. "Murieta" is used in citations where the author has used the second form.

had all caught the fever. Many native *Californios* were now, as a consequence of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, defined as American citizens who had full protection of their rights under the Constitution guaranteed. The Anglos who regarded California as a prize of war quickly came to resent the presence of non-Americans in the gold fields. Vociferous complaints were soon heard that these foreigners were taking the Americans' gold. The newly formed Californian legislature quickly imposed a tax on foreign miners. Non-American prospectors were required to pay a licence fee of $20 a month to work the gold-fields. Violence erupted when those who were required to pay the tax protested. The law was repealed a year later[51] but the damage was done. Racial and ethnic violence had become part of the culture of the gold field.

> By the end of 1849, when 80,000 Yankees, 8,000 Mexicans, 5,000 South Americans, and several thousand Europeans had arrived to seek their fortune, all Spanish-speaking people connected in any way with mining, whether Peruvians, Chileños", Mexican immigrants or resident California Mexicans were lumped together under the term *greasers* and treated accordingly – that is to say, in the worst possible way.[52]

In such a climate, banditry soon became part of Californian life. Robbery, rustling, claim-jumping, violence and murder were part of the social fabric. Local news-sheets and newspapers regaled their readers with shocking accounts of the criminals' deeds. This was the time of the ruthless bandidos and newspaper accounts described a plague of villainy that threatened the peace, stability, and security of the Anglo community. One bandido who began to feature in the broadsides was a shadowy figure with the name of Joaquín Murrieta. Despite the paucity of reliable information about him and his origins, he quickly grabbed the attention and the imagination of the readers. The original picture painted by the press was that of a vicious bandido who was the elusive leader of a large outlaw gang. He was soon given the status of a social bandit by the *Californio* community.

[51] It was reinstated again in 1852 at the lower rate of $4 a month.
[52] Robert F. Heizer & Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920.* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), p. 144.

As defined by Eric Hobsbawm,[53] a social bandit is an individual regarded by the authorities as a criminal, but viewed by most of the citizens as a hero. Despite the lack of reliable information about him, Murrieta's impact on the popular imagination was immediate and continuing. He acquired, and has retained, a significant place in Latino and Chicano culture. 'Joaquín' was a fairly common Mexican name and there were other Joaquíns at the time who were also identified as bandits. As well as Murrieta, the broadsides reported on the deeds of Joaquín Carrillo, Joaquín Valenzuela, Joaquín Bottilier, and Joaquín Ocomoreña. All of them were soon linked to stories about Murrieta and identified as members of his gang. Before exploring the creation of the myth of Murrieta, it is necessary to consider the limited reliable information on which it was built. As Varley notes in his 1995 study of the bandit's life, there is a dearth of detail about both the man and his career.

> That Joaquín was a thief and murderer, who victimized *gringo* and countryman with equal aplomb, seems certain. Just as unmistakeable is the company he kept – Salomón Pico, poor dead Pedro with no last name, Jesus Senate, and those homicidal Hermosillians, the brothers Claudio and Reyes Feliz. What Murrieta's leadership role was; exactly which incidents he participated in; like Reyes Feliz, he might have been facially-scarred or possessed a hand with missing fingers; which Mexican village he claimed for a birthplace, and whether any woman besides Ana Benitez might ever have smoothed his careworn brow at the end of a larcenous day – all this must, of necessity, be left to conjecture.[54]

What is known is that, in response to the anxiety of Anglo-Californians to the growing inventory of crimes and murder ascribed to Murrieta by the press, the California legislature took action in 1853. It proposed that a 'dead or alive' reward of five thousand dollars be offered for the capture of 'Joaquín'. A member of the legislature observed that placing a reward on the head of someone who had not been found guilty in a court of law was contrary to the principle of innocent until proven guilty. He also commented that, since no one seemed to know what Joaquín looked like, any Californio could be brought in as the bandido. The outcome of the debate was that the legislature agreed to authorise

[53] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).
[54] James F. Varley, *The Legend of Joaquín Murrieta: California's Gold Rush Bandit* (Twin Falls, Idaho: Big Lost River Press, 1995), p.39.

Harry Love, a former Texas Ranger now living in California, to raise a company of no more than twenty California Rangers. Their objective was to seek out 'the party of robbers commanded by the five Joaquíns'. The law needed to authorise the mission was passed on 11 May 1853 and Love and his Rangers set off on their quest. They had been given a period of three months in which to complete the task. John Bigler, Governor of California, offered an additional reward of one thousand dollars for any Joaquín captured or killed and so the search for Joaquín began. The outcome was a foregone conclusion.

> What more natural than that Love and his men should do what by law they were authorized to do? They rode out and they rode about, and they rode back again with a head preserved in a bottle. You do not claim a reward for an unnamed head; so much is obvious. Wherefore the head was duly "recognised" as belonging to one of the Joaquíns, namely Murieta.[55]

On 25 July, Love and some of the Rangers encountered a small group of Mexicanos and exchanged fire with them. In the ensuing gunfight, two of the bandits were killed and two others taken prisoner. The Rangers claimed that one of the dead was Murrieta and the other was his henchman, Manuel Garcia, also known as Three-Fingered-Jack. It has been claimed that the first bandit was identified as Murrieta simply because Murrieta's name was at the top of the list of wanted Joaquíns. The bandit's head was removed and preserved in a large jar of alcohol. Three Fingered Jack's head was also removed along with his mutilated hand, but the Rangers abandoned the head because it had been badly damaged by gunshots it had received. However, his hand shared the same fate as Murrieta's head and for the next fifty years the two notorious jars were exhibited throughout the state before they were apparently lost in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

The earliest account of Murrieta's life and career was published in 1854. The author was John Rollin Ridge whose Cherokee name of Yellow Bird[56] appeared on the

[55] Joseph Henry Jackson, Introduction to John Rollin Ridge (Yellow Bird), *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta, The Celebrated California Bandit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), p.xxv.

[56] Jackson provides an outline of Ridge's life and career in his introduction to the book. He suggests that the bloodthirsty nature of Ridge's account can be explained by the acquaintance with violence experienced by Ridge as a consequence of his grandfather's involvement in inter-tribal

title page of the first edition. Ridge's account of the Murrieta story provided the foundations on which the myth of Joaquín Murrieta was laid. Later accounts of the story used Ridge as the template for the prose ballads of the bandido's life. The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft relied heavily on Ridge's account in his book *California Pastoral*. There are also identifiable links between the Ridge narrative and later Chicano perspectives on the Murrieta story. In most social bandit legends it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the original source but this is not the case in the story of Murrieta. Ridge took the original sparse narrative and created a needed fiction at a time when California was seeking legends of its own.[57]

An early example of the influence of Ridge's book is found in a plagiarised version published in the *California Police Gazette* in 1859. Given the title, *The Life of Joaquín Murieta, Brigand Chief of California* it was published in ten parts and was a clear reworking of Ridge's book. Some name changes were made, but the same narrative structure was followed and some of Ridge's original dialogue was retained. The serial was accompanied with illustrations by Charles Christian Nahl, a popular artist of the time, and the episodes were later published as a paperbound book. This version can be regarded as the point where the representation of Murrieta moves in opposing directions. The first direction continues the negative bandido stereotype and reinforces the myth of Anglo superiority over the Californio. It is repeated in a dime novel published by Robert M. de Witt, in 1865.[58] The novel is poorly written and varies from Ridge's account in a number of ways, not least in the fact that here Joaquín does not die at the hands of the Rangers, but in a boating accident. Williams' version is more overtly racist in tone and ascribes strong pro-American sympathies to Murrieta. Through his experiences in the Mexican War, Murrieta saw the nobility of the American character with its vitality, bravery and passion for

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conflict among the Cherokee. Ridge's grandfather was murdered as a result of the tribal conflict. It is also possible to argue that Ridge's sympathy towards Murrieta can be explained in terms of his own encounter with Anglo- American racism.

[57] Jackson, Introduction, p.xii.

[58] Harry Llewellyn Williams, *Joaquín (The Claude Duval of California); or, The Marauder of the Mines.* (New York: Robert M. De Witt, 1865) The novel was originally published anonymously but has since been ascribed to Williams who was a popular writer of the time.

liberty. He also became aware of the stupidity and cowardice of his fellow countrymen. This is a Murrieta consumed with anger because he was not born an American.[59] In this he mirrors the motivation of Don Roberto Yorba in Atherton's *The Californios* but Murrieta's rage does not end in suicide but in acts of vengeance.

The second direction taken by the myth draws upon the general perspective offered by Ridge which sees Murrieta as a noble social bandit who is the innocent victim of an unjust society. Murrieta is forced into a life of crime before being finally destroyed by his oppressors. This is the perspective that finds its way into the history books, school texts, novels and films. It forms part of the cultural tapestry of the Chicano movement and is celebrated in the border corridos that carry Murrieta's name. As we have noted, the historian who bought into Ridge's account of Murrieta as a social bandit was Hubert Howe Bancroft. Bancroft was a prolific writer on California and Pacific history and also a contemporary of Atherton. He incorporated Ridge's narrative of the Murrieta story into his book, *California Pastoral* which provided the original source for the myth of the California Pastoral. Bancroft's account of the Murrieta myth accepts the incidents contained in Ridge's book as fact even though it is tinged with fantasy. Bancroft describes Murrieta as the Fra Diabolo of Eldorado and even compares him to Napoleon. "In the canons of California he was what Napoleon was in the cities of Europe".[60] According to Bancroft, Murrieta was born in Sonora, Mexico and came to California in 1849. He was then just twenty years old and his bandit career lasted less than three years. Bancroft even provides us with a physical description of the bandido although he does not cite the source of his information. Bancroft's Murrieta was of medium height, slender and athletic, with large black eyes. In Mexico he had fallen in love with a local girl, Rosita Féliz who, we are informed, was of "Castillian descent". Rosita's father objected strongly to the affair and Murrieta fled to California for his own safety. Rosita followed him and, later, so did her brother Reyes who became a member of Murrieta's gang. Murrieta first settled in Los

[59] Williams, p.7.
[60] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral: 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), [Kessinger Publishing's Rare Reprints edition n.d.]), p.64.

Angeles where he led a blameless life until his rebellious nature brought him into conflict with the authorities and his experiences at the hands of the Anglo triggered a sense of injustice.

> Murieta had higher aims than mere revenge and pillage. His continuous conflicts with military and civil authorities, and armed populace, would in any other country of America have been dignified with the term revolution. He had been educated in the school of revolution in Mexico. Where the line between rebel, robber, pillage, and patriot have been to a great extent obliterated, it is easy to see that he regarded himself as a champion of his country rather than as an outlaw.[61]

According to Bancroft, in the spring of 1850, Murrieta and his wife, Rosita were working a mining claim along the Stanislaus River. They were visited by some half dozen American desperadoes who demanded that the couple vacate their workings. On refusing, Joaquin was beaten unconscious by the men, and when he came to, discovered that Rosita has been raped. The couple then moved on to a further claim in the Calaveras Mountains and once again they were driven off by other Anglo prospectors. For a while, Murrieta worked as a card dealer in local gambling saloons. The final straw that pushed Murrieta into his life of banditry occurred when he was attacked by a mob of drunken miners who claimed that the horse he was riding had been stolen. They rejected Murrieta's claim that the horse belonged to his half-brother and they dragged him to his brother's rancho where they hanged the brother. They stripped Murrieta, tied him to the same gallows tree, and proceeded to flog him. Bancroft describes for us the cinematic moment when Murrieta renounces his previous admiration for Americans and their institutions. He vows to take his revenge. As the whip bites into his back, Murrieta memorises the faces of his attackers before he loses consciousness. Left for dead, the young man vows to seek revenge on all Americans for the injustice he and his family have experienced.[62]

[61]Bancroft, p. 646.
[62] ibid, p. 657.

So began the trail of vengeance. Sometime later one of the mob responsible for Murrieta's treatment is brutally murdered and the others are killed in turn. Robberies follow when Murrieta becomes the head of a highly organised band of outlaws. Bancroft lists other exploits committed by Murrieta in order to justify the claim that the bandido stood head and shoulders over all the "knights of the road in California" and was even the "superior to the most famous leaders of highwaymen recorded in the annals of other countries." If, as Joseph Henry Jackson argues in his introduction to Ridge's account, California needed a folk hero, then Ridge was the creator of the Murrieta legend but it was Bancroft who took the tales as historical fact. All that was needed was someone to sell the tale to a wider public.

The man was Walter Noble Burns who, in 1932, updated Ridge's original account to meet the needs of the American public during the Great Depression when representations of social banditry resisting the machinations of the wealthy and powerful were welcome.[63] *The Robin Hood of Eldorado* was one of a number of popular fictional histories Burns wrote about the West. As del Castillo notes in his introduction to the book, it fits into the popular literary genre of the time. It used a journalistic style and technique to retell existing historical narratives. The book is not an academic study and it contains neither citations nor references. There is no index or bibliography, but we are informed that Burns conducted a substantial amount of research by drawing upon the oral histories of surviving members of the generation of the 1850s. Burns interviewed those who claimed to have known the bandido and while he was uncritical about the reliability of their memories he insisted that his book represented historical truth.

> At times in his narrative, Burns reminds his readers that he has consulted living sources for this history and that it is not just a product of his imagination. Yet imagination is what moves every page and brings the characters to life.[64]

[63]Walter Noble Burns, Foreword by Richard Griswold de Castillo, *The Robin Hood of Eldorado: The Saga of Joaquin Murrieta, Famous Outlaw of California's Age of Gold.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,1999).
[64] Del Castillo, Introduction, p. xi.

The book was primarily an entertainment and it was not surprising that it was soon transferred to the screen.[65] The part of Murrieta was played by Warner Baxter, who had already brought the character of the Cisco Kid to the screen on three occasions, so it was a natural transition from playing one romantic Mexicano bandit to playing another. As we will see in Chapter 5, the creation of the Cisco Kid as a positive Mexican stereotype transformed the original character in O Henry's short story, *The Caballero's Way.* Burns' representation of Murrieta and the *Californio* character is fairly positive, given the level of racial stereotyping that existed in the United States at the time of the book's publication. Del Castillo regards the book as an antidote to the political context of the 1930s when hundreds of thousands of Mexicans were enthusiastically deported across the border by police and immigration officers. Burns gave his readers an alternative, less familiar, but positive perspective on Mexican character and culture. The fact that it was written by an Anglo provides an important focus on the construction of Murrieta as an iconic social bandit who resisted American imperialism. The Anglo miners are painted as violent racists consumed by an intense dislike for Mexicans, whereas Murrieta is sensitive, bright and courteous. The victim of injustice who sees his wife and brother murdered, he plans revenge and the act is applauded by Burns.[66]

The film version of Burns' study also contains a sympathetic perspective on Murrieta. Warner Baxter was not a Hispanic and was clearly too old to play the part of a twenty-year old *Californio, yet* the narrative remains true to Burns' view. The racism of the Anglos is the key factor in leading the bandit on the search for revenge. His treatment at their hands and his wife's rape are dealt with sympathetically. The film, however, takes a substantial liberty with the idea of Murrieta as 'the Robin Hood of Eldorado' and provides him with a band of outlaws to match the Merrie Men of Sherwood. The film also eschews the killing of Murrieta at the hand of Harry Love's California Rangers. Murrieta finally dies of gunshot wounds at the grave of his wife, with his head securely set on his shoulders.

[65] *The Robin Hood of Eldorado.* Dir. William Wellman. M.G.M. 1936.
[66] Del Castillo, p xii.

In addition to the use of oral histories, Burns followed Ridge's original narrative line and incorporated major parts of Bancroft's account. He also drew on a Mexican account of Murrieta's career, published in 1904 and ascribed to Ireneo Paz.[67] Paz was a prominent Mexican writer and journalist, although his name did not appear on the title page of the original edition. An English translation was first published in 1925[68] and del Castillo suggests that this version had a greater influence on Burns than Burns realised. It is Paz who insists that Murrieta was born in Sonora, Mexico. The introduction to the 1925 English version describes Paz's account as simply a rehash of the earlier accounts. The main difference between Paz's version of the story is that Paz identifies Murrieta as a Mexican and not a Californio. This version is the first example of the way in which the Chicano movement began to reclaim Murrieta as their icon. In the original Spanish language version, Paz includes the word *sonorese* in the title but it does not appear in other versions that were translated from either French or from English.[69]

It is with the adoption of Murrieta as a victimised Mexican that we find the bandit becoming an important component of the Chicano and La Raza movements. The story of Murrieta is used to establish and narrate the story of Chicano identity. A key text here is Rodolfo Gonzales' poem *I Am Joaquín: Yo Soy Joaquin* which was written as an historical search for understanding the essence of the Chicano experience.[70] *I Am Joaquín* was written as a revelation of myself and all Chicanos who are Joaquín".[71] The book quickly became an influential text within the Chicano movement and was used as the script for a short film directed by Luis Valdez in 1969. Among the many references made in the poem

[67] Ireneo Paz, *Vida y aventuras del más célebre bandido sonorense Joaquín Murrieta: Sus grandes proezas en California.* (Publisher not known.)
[68] Ireneo Paz, Introduction by Luis Leal, translation by Francis P. Belle, *Life and adventures of the celebrated bandit Joaquín Murrieta: His exploits in the state* of *California* (Houston: Texas, Arte Público Press, 2001).
[69] ibid p. Xxxv.
[70] Rodolfo Gonzales, *I Am Joaquín: Yo Soy Joaquín: An Epic Poem.* (London: Bantam Books, 1972), p.44.
[71] See Gonzales, Introduction for the poet's exposition.

to the key stages in the Chicano sense of history, Gonzales incorporates the legendary life of the Californian bandidos as one of importance.

I rode east and north
As far as the Rocky Mountains
and
all men feared the guns of
Joaquín Murrieta.
I killed those men who dared
to steal mine,
who raped and killed
my love
my wife[72]

Another Chicano account of Murrieta's life is in an essay included by Pedro Castillo and Albert Camarillo in their study of Chicano bandits.[73] Drawing upon Hobsbawm's study of social banditry they argue that the concept is crucial to an understanding of the social context to the five case studies in their work. They claim that, while the primary American perspective is that these men, including Murrieta, were outlaws and criminals, the Chicano perspective takes an alternative position. These men, including Murrieta, were not anti-social. They were the victims of the Anglo-American invasion of Northern Mexico. These bandidos were individuals who refused to submit to the consequences of that invasion and so they were honoured as heroes by their own people. Writing about the Californian experience of American imperialism Castillo and Camarillo describe how quickly the Californios became the victims of oppression. The gold fields were used as the base from which to attack the Mexicans. Initially the objects of the violence were the rancheros who had tried their hand at mining, then, when they had been driven back to their ranchos, the next victims were the mestizo miners from Mexico and when they had been driven from diggings, the covetous Americans desired something more. They wanted the land.[74]

[72]Gonzales, p.44.
[73] Pedro Castillo and Albert Camarillo, eds., *Furia y Muerte: Los Bandidos Chicanos.* Monograph No. 4. (Los Angeles, University of California, Atzlán Publications, Chicano Studies Center, 1973).
[74] Castillo and Camarillo, p.4.

The authors made use of an academic source which they insist makes it no longer possible to regard Murrieta as a fictional character. They claim that the man was real. The same source was used also by Chris Strachwitz for background notes he wrote for a CD collection of border corridos issued in 1994.[75] Two of the corridos on the disc celebrate the life of Murrieta. The source used was an unpublished 1927 Master's thesis submitted to the University of Berkeley.[76] In fact the thesis simply repeats uncritically the original narrative used by Bancroft, and Burns. There is still room for uncertainty about the historical reliability of the legend. But the legend's potency remains still strong and Murrieta continues to bewitch us through the cinema, the arts and the novel.

In addition to the film version of Burns' popular biography, the International Movie Database lists fifteen other film and television productions that offer a representation of the bandit, although not all of them have used Murrieta as the central character. Two films that do are the Spanish production, *Joaquín Murrieta*[77] released in 1965 and *The Desperate Mission*[78]released four years later in 1969. The Spanish production was directed by the American director, George Sherman and starred two recognisable Hollywood actors. Jeffrey Hunter played Murrieta and Arthur Kennedy was his nemesis, Harry Love. Basically the narrative follows the accepted storyline. Murrieta, a young Mexican, and his wife arrive in the California gold fields where they soon experience the racism of the American miners. Murrieta forms a friendship with a sympathetic Captain Harry Love. While working his mining claim and supported by his wife, Murrieta is attacked by three Americans who beat him unconscious. They rape and murder his wife and trigger a thirst for revenge on Murrieta's part. The familiar plot unfolds as Murrieta searches for the killers as he moves around the mining camps working as a card dealer.

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[75] Chris Strachwitz, *Corridos y Tragedias de la Frontera: An Introduction.* (El Cerrito, California: Arhoolie Productions Inc., 1994), p.34. [This is the information booklet supplied with this double CD version of *corridos*.].
[76] The full details of the dissertation are: Richard R. Mitchell, *Joaquín Murrieta: A Study in Social Conditions in Early* (Unpublished Dissertation, Berkeley: The University of California, 1927).
[77] *Joaquín Murrieta (aka Vendetta)* Dir. GeorgeSherman. Prot-Artis Iberíca. 1965.
[78] *The Desperate Mission*.*(aka Joaquín Murieta (sic))* dir. Earl Bellamy. Twentieth Century Fox Corporation.1971 [1969 according to the film credits.].

He is arrested after meeting up with the three men responsible and is placed in a cell with Three-Fingered-Jack Garcia and Garcia's companion, Claudio. Together the three men escape just before the arrival of a lynch mob. They join up with a large gang of bandidos and Murrieta quickly assumes the leadership. For a while they wreak havoc among the gold fields until Murrieta is severely wounded. While he is recovering, Garcia takes over as the leader and under his control the gang embark on a reign of terror which is ascribed to Murrieta by the press. When Murrieta recovers and learns what has happened, he insists that he and his men surrender to the law. On their way to give themselves up they are surrounded by Love and his Rangers. In the gun battle that ensues, Murrieta is killed by Love. In the final scene of the film we see the bandit's body being carried away by Love and his men. Murrieta's friend treats his body with respect and there is certainly no beheading.

The second version was made for American television in 1969 but released theatrically in 1971. This time the bandit was played by the Mexican born actor, Ricardo Montalban. Unlike the previous Spanish version, the film has little connection with the key elements of Ridge's book or any of the later variations of the myth. This Murrieta is a wealthy ranchero who returns home to find that his wife has been murdered and his rancho destroyed by bandits. The revenge theme is replaced with a narrative in which Murrieta participates in a venture with Americans to escort the wife of a wealthy Spanish grandee safely to San Francisco. There is some attempt to locate the narrative within the historical context of the period. The film's foreword informs us that:

> In the later 1840s, California belonged to anyone who could claim it. The Spanish Grandees were being swept back to Spain. Order was non-existent and "justice" was on the side of the strong. For the invaders the prize was land and gold…For the invaded the penalty was extinction. There were some like Joaquín Murieta – who lost everything – land, family…a way of life.

This California has very little connection with the historical reality of the time. In fact it is an unrecognisable country. It is as close to events of the California Pastoral as the recent Zorro films in which Zorro's apprentice is the brother of Joaquin Murrieta and

Harry Love is a former American army officer who is now a mercenary working for Zorro's arch enemy. By the late 1840s there were no longer any Spanish grandees, since in 1846 the Americans had seized the Mexican province. There is no reference to the impact of the Mexican War. This is a Murrieta who is simply the protagonist in a routine western that bears some similarities with the plot of *Vera Cruz.*[79] There are references to the cultural and ethnic tensions between Americans and the Californios but there is no real connection with the history of the period. This Murrieta is the moral and cultural superior of the American bandits with whom he associates. He is multi-lingual and offers sympathy to the Franciscan padres who have been deprived of their lands by the Americans. At the end of the film the final title assures us that this Murrieta "will come back when we need him".

In addition to the representations of Murrieta we have discussed, the character has also found a place in Latino literature generally. The adoption of Murrieta in Chicano literature and studies has already been noted but there has been a wider Latin American use of the bandido as representative of the non-Anglo New World identity and culture. The Chilean writer, Isabel Allende's novel *La Hija de la Fortuna* draws on the Murrieta myth.[80] Allende's Murrieta is neither a Californio nor a Mexican but a young Chilean named Joaquín Andieta. Andieta migrates to California to seek his fortune in the gold rush. He leaves behind his pregnant lover, Eliza Sommers, who undertakes a quest to find him. The impact and significance of Murrieta still continues to resonate. Murrieta, originally a negative stereotype, still plays a part in the search for cultural significance and ethnic identity. The image can be said to have matured since the original events on which the myth was built and their journalistic accounts. The process of maturation began with John Rollin Ridge's original romantic narrative. The legend has been transformed from the racial stereotype created in the Anglo broadsides of the 1850s into an icon of the Latin American resistance to *norte Americano* imperialism.

[79] *Vera Cruz*. Dir. Robert Aldrich. United Artists.1954.
[80] Isabel Allende, *La Hija de la Fortuna. (The Daughter of Fortune*) translated by Margaret Sayers Peden (London: Harper Perennial, 2008).

Murrieta is also the focus of Chilean poet Pablo Neruda's play *Splendor and Death of Joaquín Murieta.*[81] As was the case in Allende's novel Murrieta is again depicted as a Chilean. In the forward to his play, Neruda claims to have proof that Murrieta was Chilean but insists that his purpose is not to confirm history or to violate fantasy. "On the contrary. Between the fantasy and the history of things I have interposed my personal identity".[82] Neruda uses the incidents and characters associated with the original legend. Three-fingered Jack and Reyes are both Chilean prospectors who join Murrieta's company of bandidos. The outlaw's wife, called Teresa in the play, is raped and murdered and, again, Murrieta embarks on a career of revenge against all gringos. Ultimately, Murrieta is killed by his enemies and has his head removed. It is this barbarous act which is the focus of the drama. Neruda uses techniques of Japanese Noh theatre as well as those of melodrama, opera and pantomime. The stage directions make it clear that the play is in the Brechtian tradition of drama. The dynamic of the play seeks to address the impact of United States economic and political imperialism upon its southern neighbours. Here the myth of Murrieta has come full circle. Initially, he was the epitome of the ruthless bandido who terrorised California in the 1850s. The image became softened and he has become a social bandit whose activities gained the appreciation of the down-trodden. The social bandit trope was taken up initially by the Chicano and La Raza movement and he came to represent the movement's struggle to assert the rights and dignity of the Mexican-American. The final stage in his changing iconography was his adoption by all Latinos as the symbol of resistance against the unacceptable face of American capitalism.

Conclusion

The chapter has investigated the ways in which the cultural technologies have used California's historical narrative to create a past and an identity that contrasts with that of

[81]Pablo Neruda, (translated by Ben Belitt) *Splendor and Death of Joaquín Murieta* (London: Alcove Press, 1973).
[82]Neruda in the unnumbered foreword to the play.

Texas. We have investigated the part played by the public commemoration of the myth of the California Pastoral and the Spanish Fantasy Past through the annual Los Angeles Los Fiestas and John McGroarty's *The Mission Play.* The use of the same myth in the novels and stories of Gertrude Atherton was also analysed and, finally, the place of the legendary bandido, Joaquin Murrieta, in the Californian sense of itself was investigated. California has remembered its history differently from Texas. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Texan recall of its past was very different. There was no romantic fantasy celebrating an idyllic period under Spanish or Mexican rule. The Texas cultural memory recalled and remembered its past as a fight against tyranny and for freedom. By way of contrast California has treasured its Spanish Mexican past as a romantic Eden to be recalled and cherished with affection and nostalgia. For this cooptative change in the hegemonic myth to occur there needed to be a reconstruction of the historical narrative. This could only happen by ignoring the reality of the impact of gold fever upon ethnic relations. The memories of the violence and conflict had to be airbrushed out or transformed into white adobe walls. The reality of the violence is still traceable in the persistence of the Murrieta myth. Like the Texas myth it is possible to detect in the cultural memory a reshaping of the historical narrative to fit the dominant hegemony. The next stage of the project is to analyse how this process of recalling the historical narrative through the cultural memory has expressed itself in the case of Arizona. To what extent does it reveal the same process? This is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Arizona: Where the Badmen Are.[1]

> The Spanish empire was never able to conquer Arizona. With the aid of steamships and freight wagons, nineteenth-century industrial America completed the task in three and a half decades.[2]

Introduction

The choice of Arizona as the third case study is not an obvious one. During the historical period that forms the focus of this study, Arizona was not a specific province of Mexico. It had not acquired a distinct name or an identity of its own during either the Spanish or the Mexican period. In this way, it stands in sharp contrast to Texas and California, both of which not only possessed an identifiable past and history, but which, as we have seen, had constructed distinct Hispanic cultural memories. A more natural choice for further exploration and discussion of the nature of *la Frontera* and the border interaction between the two countries would seem to be New Mexico, the third province seized by the United States through the Mexican War. However, in the current political debate regarding the borderlands within the United States it is the sharp contrast that Arizona provides that makes it worthy of consideration.

If the Texas experience demonstrates a selective cultural memory in which the Hispanic dimension is viewed in terms of conflict, and the Californian experience reveals a state that has romanticised its Hispanic past, then Arizona provides an amnesiac memory where the Mexicano dimension has been, in many respects, forgotten. There is little celebration of the Spanish and Mexican heritage within the cultural artefacts and popular representations of the state's past. The main focus of its history is that of the struggle with the Apache in the second half of the nineteenth century. In carving out a separate territory and, later, a state, from the former Mexican province of New Mexico, the evidence

[1]The words come from a popular song in the soundtrack of my childhood. *Out in Arizona/where the badmen are./And the only thing to guide you is the evening star/the roughest toughest man by far is Ragtime Cowboy Joe.* (Grant Lee, lyrics, Lewis F. Mair and Maurice Abrahams, music.) Interestingly it was composed in 1912, the year Arizona joined the Union.
[2] Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History.* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), p.63.

in this chapter is that Arizona has excised most of its Spanish and Mexican past and this is reflected in contemporary attitudes towards its Mexican-American population.

Today the Arizona border with Mexico is the location for restriction, restraint, exclusion and closure. Arizona is the state which, in 2010, placed Senate Bill 1070 on its statute book and now finds itself in conflict with the United States' Supreme Court as a consequence.[3] In the same year, the Arizona House of Representatives passed House Bill 2281 which proposed radical and bizarre changes to the State's schools' curricula. School districts or charter schools are currently forbidden to deliver any course or class that is deemed to promote the overthrow of the United States Government. The Bill makes specific reference to any educational programme that can be regarded as inciting resentment toward a race or class of people or is believed to be designed primarily for students from a particular ethnic group. (Federally funded programmes for African American students are excluded from the Bill, so the targets of the legislation are specifically Spanish-speaking students.) The Bill also 'outlaws' the advocacy of ethnic solidarity rather than the treatment of all students as 'individuals'.[4]

The controversial Senate Bill 1070, passed in April 2010, placed a responsibility for the aggressive policing of immigration law into the hands of State authorities. It immediately faced both a federal challenge and substantial opposition within Arizona and beyond. Despite the protestations of Arizona's elected representatives, its Governor, the State Senators and heads of its law enforcement agencies, Senate Bill 1070, was challenged on the grounds that it usurped the Federal government's constitutional responsibility for the protection of the nation's borders. Before examining this contemporary dispute in more detail, it is necessary to explore the process by which Arizona became an identifiable geographical and political entity and to consider how it has acquired such a fearful approach to the borderlands. Using Martinez's model of the developmental growth of borderlands, what has happened to the Arizona border since

[3] State of Arizona Senate Bill 1070, *Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act.* (Forty-ninth Legislature, Second Regular Session 2010), p.16.
[4] State of Arizona House Bill 2281, (Forty-ninth Legislature, Second Regular Session, 2010), p.1.

9/11 can be understood as a regression to an "alienated borderlands".[5]The populist pressure in Arizona calling for the sealing off of the border represents an inability to acknowledge that its past possesses an Hispanic dimension. This chapter proposes that the region that became southern Arizona after the Gadsden Purchase has always been regarded by the Anglos as an alienated frontera.

The Birth of Arizona

One suggestion regarding the origin of the name, Arizona, is that it has its roots in the Tohono O'odham language where *Ali shonak* which means "small springs".[6] Whatever the origin of its name, Arizona was not officially recognised by the United States as a distinct territory until 1863. Prior to that it was part of New Mexico. The Mexican secession of land to the United States in 1848 excluded the region below the Gila River while the area north of the river was part of the province of Nuevo Mexico. Arizona's original inhabitants were primarily the Apache plus several other tribes (such as the Tohono O'odham). In the early period of its history when it was part of New Spain, the region was known as Apachería and the name speaks for itself. It was a poorly settled border region subjected to domination by the Apache and other Native American tribes. Neither Spain nor Mexico had established definite boundaries around New Mexico or California. The drawing of clear boundary lines was an American concern. It was left to the United States to finally provide the political definition of these regions. It was in 1850 that the three territories of New Mexico, Utah, and California were established in order to formally recognise three distinct areas in the region of the Upper Rio Grande. In addition to New Mexico the territories also included the Wasatch Oasis where the Mormons had settled after 1847, as

[5] See Chapter 2.
[6] The Tohono O'odham are a Native American people whose traditional lands were divided after the Gadsden Purchase of 1854. They were also known as the Papago.

well as the Californian coastal valley.[7] California was quickly brought into the Union as a state the same year.

The United States did not initially regard the region which later became the state of Arizona as one of the desired prizes from the Mexican War. As far as the area was concerned, the 1848 Treaty drew an arbitrary line west from the mouth of the Rio Grande. The line crossed the eastern tributary of the Gila Riva and left Tucson well within what is still part of the northern borderland of Mexico. The territory that lay south of the Gila River did not become part of the United States until the Gadsden Purchase of 1854. By then the region had become regarded as valuable real estate necessary for the building of a potential southern transcontinental railroad. It is my argument that when the historical narrative of Arizona is compared with the constructed narratives of Texas and California, Arizona created a history which, for the most part, ignores the Spanish and Mexican past. Consequently, Arizona's Hispanic past has not been given the same level of attention when compared with that of Texas, California, and New Mexico. When Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, Alta California and New Mexico entered the United States of Mexico as distinct provinces. The region that later became northern Arizona was then still under the control of the "wild tribes". The region that is now southern Arizona and which lies below the Gila River and north of the current border remained part of the state of Sonora.[8] It did not possess a specific political or geographical identity but, rather, formed part of the region known as the Pimería Alta.

At the time, the region, that would eventually become the forty-eighth state of the union in 1912, was inhabited primarily by the Apache and several other Native American tribes. Its small Hispanic population was augmented by both legal and illegal immigration during the period of Spanish rule up to 1821. Arizona can be said to have gained a self-

[7] D. W. Meinig, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).
[8] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p.25.

image that defines itself as a frontier state with a rich tradition of individualism and an individualistic culture. Arizona is "a relatively new state but also a state that is out of the American mainstream".[9] It will be argued that Arizona's sense of itself as being apart from the mainstream, places it within the Turnerian concept of the frontier as an East-West movement. Arizona's sense of being different and distinct can be traced to the initial and limited impact of the Spanish upon the region. As was the case with the Spanish expansion into both California and Texas, a major factor in the attempt to colonise the area was through the establishment of a system of missions.

The Christianisation of the region began in March, 1699 under the leadership of the Franciscan priest Eusebio Francisco Kino. The Pimería region, as it was called, covered what is now the northern part of the Mexican State of Sonora and southern part of the state of Arizona. The Tohono O'odham Native Americans (also known as the Papago), were the primary focus for the Franciscan missionary endeavours and the Franciscans founded eight missions in the region with two of them located in what became Arizona. These were the missions of San Xavier de Bac and San José de Tumacácori. There was a further Spanish influx into Pimería after the discovery of silver near modern Nogales and the mining camp that was established was given the name of Arizonac. However, the inhospitable nature of the region and the hostility of the natives led to the missions being abandoned for a time until 1732.

By 1821 Tucson was the northernmost point of the Hispanic presence in the future state of Arizona but it is estimated that there were then only about 100 *gente de razón* in the region.[10] The full exploitation of Arizona's mineral resources had to wait until the Americans had taken control of the region but there were various mining ventures near Tubac and Guevavi between the eighteenth century and the Mexican war. The mines produced primarily silver, gold and small amounts of copper. Between 1827 and 1829

[9] David R. Berman, *Arizona, Politics and Government: The Quest for Autonomy, Democracy, and Development* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p.xxiv.
[10] *Gente de razón* was the term used by the Spanish to identify Native Americans who were believed to be capable of conversion and acceptance into the Spanish communities.

there was a wave of resentment among the Mexicans towards Spaniards who had remained in the Mexican Republic after independence. They were expelled from the territory, leaving the missions manned by just a few priests. At the same time hostile Indians drove out the Mexicans from the same frontier. By the 1830s, the ranchos and the farms had been abandoned and only one land grant was awarded in the region after 1833.

> Mexicans remained only at Tucson and Tubac in 1848 and later that year Apaches forced the complete abandonment of Tubac. Unlike Texas, New Mexico, or California the number of gente de razón fell rather than rose in the Mexican era.[11]

For a brief period after Mexican independence the region was part of Occidente, the Free State of the West. The constitution of Occidente did not contain any reference to Arizona in the text. The name of Arizona was included in an English translation of the constitution prepared under the editorship of Odie B. Faulk.[12] Although Faulk includes the name 'Arizona' in the title of the publication, the name is absent from the original Spanish constitution which defines Occidente and its territory as consisting of "all the towns embraced in what before was known as the intendency and political region of Sonora and Sinaloa".[13] Faulk claims that although the constitution of Occidente contained the seeds of the new state's destruction, it later made a significant contribution to the legal framework of the American state of Arizona. According to Faulk, Arizona has a stronger link with Spanish and Mexican civil law than with the heritage of English Common Law that is enshrined in the legal systems of many other states. Given the popular perspective in Arizona that its Mexicano population is alien this is, to say the least, somewhat ironic.

Further Apache raids began again in 1826 and the attacks threatened the life and livelihood of the few remaining settlers. The Apache burnt ranches and killed vaqueros. They stole horses and seized the cattle herds. It was during this time that the first Anglos began to make their appearance in the region frontier, but they came, not as an invading

[11] Weber. p.184.
[12] Odie B. Faulk (translator and editor), *The Constitution of Occidente: The First Constitution of Arizona, Sonora, and Sinaloa (1825-1831)* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, 1967).
[13] Faulk, p.9,

army or land hungry settlers, but as trappers looking for pelts and furs. Like the Mexican ranchers and miners, the Anglo trappers also became the focus of Indian raids. It was because of this background that the region was never seen as a prize to be seized as the United States thrust westwards. It was seen as a hostile land peopled by hostile savages. During the Mexican War the region was crossed several times by a number of United States army ventures between Santa Fe and San Diego. Kearney's Army of the West made the journey but it avoided both Tubac and Tucson. The Mormon battalion under the command of Philip St George Cooke used the same route and encountered Mexican troops but without any military engagement.[14] The only action seen by the battalion was "the Battle of the Bulls" when their wagons were attacked by a herd of feral cattle previously abandoned by the Mexicans and used by the Apache as a source of meat. One of the battalion members was gored, along with one of the mules. The trail created by the battalion's march became known as the Gila Trail and was used by 'forty-niners' as a route from Santa Fe to the Californian gold fields.

After the Mexican War, the territory that was ceded to the United States though the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo included the region north of the Gila River. Part of it would later become part of Arizona territory but this did not, at the time, as noted, include the region south of the Gila. Its acquisition required further negotiation that led to the Gadsden Purchase of 1854. Neither Spain nor Mexico had drawn up clear boundaries around the northern territories. It was not part of the culture of *La Frontera.* It took the further political extension of the northern neighbour's territorial greed to complete that task.[15] Before then the territories of California, New Mexico and Utah were formally established in 1850 for the purpose of creating a threefold division between the three areas of settlement seized from Mexico.

The United States' purchase of the region south of the Gila radically changed the nature of the territory of Arizona. Texas immigrants moved in to establish cattle ranches

[14] Sheridan, p.50.
[15] Meinig, p. 20.

with the objective of taking control of the cattle trade with California. The newcomers did not see themselves as needing Hispanic Santa Fe for legitimacy and began to think in terms of a new territory. President Buchanan initiated fresh negotiations with Santa Anna in 1853 and made use of the services of James Gadsden, a railroad speculator from North Carolina.[16] Gadsden was authorised to make a range of financial offers to Santa Anna, depending upon how much Mexican territory he was prepared to sell. The most generous offer was $50 million if Santa Anna would be willing to include Baja California and much of Sonora, Chihuahua, and Coahuila. The hunger for land-grabbing that had led to the Mexican War had not yet been satisfied. Santa Anna finally settled for $10 million and, in exchange, parted with some thirty thousand square miles of desert along with the inclusion of the townships of Tucson, Tubac and Tumacacori. The United States Congress ratified the deal on 29, June 1856. All that was needed was agreement on where the border lay.

The previous 1848 Treaty had drawn an arbitrary line between the two republics that had left Tucson still located well within the Republic of Mexico. The Gadsden Purchase changed the nature of the territory of New Mexico. The new boundary was designed to allow the United States to control the key elements of the already existent trails. After the acquisition of this additional land, more Texan migrants moved into the region, establishing cattle ranches and assuming control of the trade with California. For the period between 1850–1863, Arizona was still formally part of New Mexico territory but soon the new settlers began to challenge Santa Fe as the focus and basis of their emerging power.

> This agitation for a separate territorial unit began almost immediately upon ratification of the annexation treaty. In 1854 a petition from Tucson called upon Congress to create a new unit – “Pimeria”, “Gadsonia”, or “Arizona” – out of southern New Mexico, and similar efforts were generated from there and from Mesilla during the next few years.[17]

[16] Sheridan, p. 53.
[17] Meinig, p. 23.

The citizens of Tucson began to agitate and petition for separate territorial status in the mid-1850s. Early in the Civil War, Confederate forces claimed Arizona as part of the Confederacy. Given that the recent influx of settlers were predominantly from Texas and other southern states, it is no surprise that the region was sympathetic to the Confederate cause. The region was invaded and annexed by Texan confederate troops. The seizure of Arizona was a reassertion of Texas imperialism as well as an expression of the Confederate desire to acquire further Mexican territory from Sonora and Chihuahua. An additional further objective behind the Confederate invasion was the desire to open a Confederate port in California. Although the residents of the Gadsden strip had declared themselves to be an Arizona territory, separate and distinct from New Mexico, in 1860, it was not formally given Federal recognition until 1863. A year later, according to the 1864 census, the new territory of Arizona had a total population of 4,187 Hispanics and Anglos.[18] Any political influence the former Mexican citizens may have had soon began to disappear after the 1870s. As was the case in California and Texas, the former Mexican citizens experienced a process of social and political exclusion. The protection supposed to have been offered to the conquered Mexicans by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was ignored in Arizona as much as it was in the neighbouring states.

Despite the erosion of its Hispanic past, Arizona's Mexicano culture has been retained since the creation of the southern border in 1854 both through the continuing process of immigration from below the border and by the continuing family and cultural links with the neighbouring country. While New Mexico has clearly celebrated its continuity with its Spanish, Mexican and Pueblo past this has not been so with Arizona. While the Gila Valley region was part of historic Sonora, the historical narrative has been dominated by the encounters with the Native Americans. There was only a limited Mexicano presence in the region and even less of one on the part of the Anglos before the Gadsden Purchase. There were now less than one thousand Mexicans and Christian Indians living in the neighbourhood of Tubac, Tucson, and San Xavier. There was some further Mexican

[18] Berman, p.26.

migration into the Mesilla Valley after the United States victory in the Mexican War but with the Gadsden Purchase they were also ignored by the dominant Anglos.[19]

During the period 1831-1849, the Mexican government had not been able to deal adequately with the menace posed by the Apache and other Native American tribes.[20] The continuing struggle between the Federalist and Centralist factions within Mexico had drastically reduced the resources available to provide an appropriate level of economic and military support to the region. In Article XV of the 1848 Treaty, the United States had undertaken responsibility to prevent the Apache and other tribes, who were part of the newly acquired area, from raiding in Mexico. This commitment overlapped with the period when the Mexican state of Sonora drew upon the services of "professional" scalp hunters.[21]To deal with the problem, Sonora passed a law on 7 September, 1835 that established a bounty system of payment for Indian scalps. The going rate was one hundred Mexican pesos per scalp. In 1837 the state of Chihuahua passed similar legislation but introduced a variable rate of remuneration. One hundred pesos was to be paid for the scalp of a warrior and there was the lesser price of fifty pesos per squaw and only twenty-five pesos for a child. The legislation created a popular and lucrative trade. The period provided Cormac McCarthy with the background for his novel *Blood Meridian*.[22]

> Many companies were headed by Mexican empresarios but the most spectacular money makers were Americans. These were mostly ex-Texas Rangers and ex-forty-niners who found "scalp mining" more remunerative and honorific than sloshing about "wash bowling" for a few yellow grains.[23]

Against the background of this distinct historical narrative, the image of Arizona that came to dominate its cultural memory is one that combines the myth of a continuous

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[19]Berman, p.31.
[20] Robert C. Stevens, "The Apache Menace in Sonora, 1831-1849" in *Arizona and the West.* Volume 6, no. 3 Autumn, 1964. pp 211-22.
[21] Ralph A. Smith, "The Scalphunter in the Borderland, 1835-1850" in *Arizona and the West.* Volume 6, no. 1, Spring 1964, pp. 5-22.
[22] Cormac McCarthy, *Blood Meridian; or The Evening Redness in the West* (London: Picador, 1986).
[23] Smith, p.18.

war with the devilish Apache, with the image of the upright Western lawman bringing order and civilization to violent western towns such as Tombstone. One searches in vain for any substantial portrayal of Arizona's past as containing a Mexicano history. Yet, today, the state has become central to understanding the issues arising from the borderlands. Arizona is the focus of the fierce and intense debate over the border, immigration and national security. In this debate the image of the Mexican as the marauding bandido who threatens the American way of life has once again come to dominate and distort the discussion. The belligerence of the American Right towards the borderlands has also contributed to Mexico's continuing perception of the northern neighbour as a potential threat to the country's stability and security. The key issues that have generated this new border of conflict will be examined through a study of the role of Sheriff Joe Arpaio, the self-styled, toughest sheriff in the West. His populist attitudes and law enforcement priorities have seen him achieve five election successes and become a nationwide figure. His views have become mainstream in the state as the recent introduction of the controversial legislation such the State Bill SB1070 and House Bill 2281 have shown. The former bill is concerned with the enforcement of immigration law while the latter has sought to introduce controversial changes to aspects of the State's education curriculum as it relates to the issue of ethnic awareness.

Arizona has been described as a stratum of three cultures: Native American, Mexicano, and Anglos.[24] Between 1848 – 1854, it is estimated that around 100,000 Mexicanos were given protected citizenship rights, initially through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and, later, by the Gadsden Purchase. "Hispanic culture has been nourished and maintained by the continuous immigration from Mexico and by constant contact with the neighboring country".[25] Since the 1870s Mexicanos have been excluded from Arizona politics in a manner that contrasts sharply even with the experience of Mexicanos in California and New Mexico. There was only one Mexicano delegate in

[24] David R. Berman, *Arizona Politics and Government: The Quest for Autonomy, Democracy, and Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 16.
[25] ibid, p 17.

attendance at the Constitutional Convention in 1910 when the proposed constitution of the new state was drawn up.

> In making the constitution, the delegates showed little concern for the culture of the large segment of the population with Mexican ancestry. Nor were the framers (of the state constitution) especially concerned with the economic welfare of the Mexican and other alien workers. Nearly a third of the delegates were farmers or ranchers, and half-a-dozen or so additional delegates were mine owners with an interest in keeping wages low.[26]

Against this background of a blanking-out of the Spanish/Mexican dimension of Arizona's historical narrative, it is not surprising that the search for appropriate cultural artefacts has been frustrating. The search has, however, produced some valuable materials that support the thesis that Arizona has shown a cultural amnesia with regard to its representation of its historical narrative. The following analysis focuses primarily upon films and television because they are the primary source of cultural technologies. However, the discussion begins with a consideration of two classic novels that, at first sight, do not seem to contain material regarding Arizona's cultural memory. They have, in fact, proved to be valuable resource material.

The Arizona Novels.

Willa Cather's novel, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, is based on the life of Jean Bapiste Lamy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of New Mexico and his companion and friend, Father Machebeuf.[27] The novel is set initially in New Mexico during the period immediately after the Mexican War. At the time the region that would later become Arizona territory was subsumed within the former Mexican province of New Mexico. The region below the Gila River remained part of Mexico for a further six years. Cather's novel is clearly based in *la Frontera.* The novel celebrates the Mexican American past of Arizona as much as it does that of New Mexico. The novel's prologue takes place in

[26] ibid, p.35.
[27] Willa Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop.* (London: Virago Press, 1981). [See also, Paul Horgan, *Lamy of Santa Fe: His Life and Times* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1975).].

Rome in 1848 where the papal decision is taken to create an Apostolic Vicarate in the territory recently seized by the United States after the Mexican War. The intention behind the Vatican's decision is to revitalise the Catholic Church which, after three centuries of neglect has declined and deteriorated. The missions are in ruins and the few remaining priests are lacking in discipline, education, and influence.

> If the Augean Stable is not cleansed, now that the territory has been taken over by a progressive government, it will prejudice the interests of the Church in the whole of North America.[28]

In the novel we are told that the population of the region consists of some thirty Indian tribes and Mexicans. The tribes still cling to their own culture and are frequently warring against each other as well as raiding the Mexicans. The Mexicans are described as a devout people struggling to hold on to their faith but who, because of their ignorance, are in need of pastoral care and instruction. The task is given to a thirty-five year old French priest, Jean Marie Latour, who has been labouring for nine years in a parish on Lake Ontario. Latour who was trained as a Jesuit is accompanied by his friend, Father Vaillant. For the next thirty years they work together seeking to fulfil their mission. Cather celebrates the Hispanic and Mexican past of the province of New Mexico and deals with the history of the aftermath of the Gadsden Purchase when the Catholic Church did indeed seek to address the consequences that arose from the sale of the region to the United States.

The two priests arrive in the province just three years before the Gadsden Purchase. After the conclusion of the Purchase the newly appointed Vicar has to deal with the fall-out from the sale through his negotiations with the Mexican Catholic bishop of Sonora. His companion, Father Vaillant, takes on the responsibility for organising the parish boundaries and for caring for the 'lost' Catholics in the area around Tucson. Vaillant is concerned about the hundreds of poor families who have been deprived of their priests and who have absorbed the Indian superstitions around them. He describes them as being like children who have played with their religion. "The more I work with the

[28] Cather, p.7.

Mexicans, the more I believe it was people like them our Saviour had in mind when he said, unless you become as little children".[29] There is an echo here of the romantic perspective found in Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*. Both these novels made a contribution to creating the myth of the California Pastoral discussed in the previous chapter. However, Cather's novel is a solitary example of any romantic perspective on the Mexican origins of Arizona. The next literary artefact offers a darker side to the State's historical background and the superstition of the *mestizos.*

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre[30]

This novel contains a fascinating reference to the Hispanic history of the border between Arizona and Mexico. The novel's protagonists are not portrayed as adventurous heroes exploring a new frontier but rather as filibusterers seeking to exploit the resources of Mexico. The author includes a meta-narrative concerning the lost mine of Agua Verde located somewhere in the Arizona-Sonora *Frontera*, "right at the international line of Arizona and Mexico".[31] The old prospector, Dobbs, describes how La Mina Agua Verde was first discovered in the seventeenth century by the Spanish who then exploited the local Indians to work the mines. At first the Spanish, like the monks before them, attempt to convince the natives that working in the mine was required of them if they are to retain the salvation they have been given through baptism. The Indians soon realised that they were being exploited and left the workings. The monks then sold the mine to the civil authorities who tortured the Indians and forced them to work the mine. The cruel treatment by the Spaniards led the Indians to burn down their own villages and move away.

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[29] Cather, p. 206.
[30] B. Traven, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*. Hill and Wang 1967. [I am indebted for this insight to Jack Marlin Beckham II, *Demythologizing Mexico: Counter narratives in Twentieth Century American Literature and Film.* (A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English.) University of California, Riverside, 2009.p.39ff.].
[31] Traven, p.53.

The Spanish responded by seizing and hanging local women, children and old men as a warning against any further disobedience on the part of the natives. In retaliation, the Indians killed every European they could find and destroyed the mine in such a way that its location was lost to subsequent expeditions. Then, sometime in the 1870s, when the region was part of the United States, three college students who were wandering around Arizona were given hospitality by the priest of a local Mexicano village. The students discovered a number of historic maps of the region in the priest's home and one of them identifies the location of the lost mine. The students question the priest who, although he told them the history of the mine and its curse, advised them not to look for it. The next day, they ignored the priest's advice and, when they were alone in the priest's house, made a copy of the map and organised an expedition to find the mine. The expedition proves to be a disaster but one of the students survives and takes his wealth home to Kansas. Thirty years later, Tilton, the survivor, has recounted the story to his neighbours and he is subjected to physical and emotional pressure to reveal its location. He is tortured and his farm buildings burned. Eventually, he sells up and leaves Kansas. "Harry had to sell out for half the money the farm was really worth, for he knew he could no longer live there".[32] A major theme in Traven's novel concerns the exploitation of the region by American capitalist imperialism and this meta-narrative serves to reinforce the historical aspect of that exploitation. When this theme from *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* is combined with the theme of Cather's novel, we are reminded of the part played by European exploitation in shaping the cultural memory of Arizona. Nonetheless, the two novels provide sparse literary sources. It might be assumed that the cinematic field could offer a richer yield. This is not the case.

[32] Traven, p.66.

The Arizona Westerns

According to the *Companion to the Western,* between the introduction of 'talkies' in 1928 and the book's publication sixty years later, thirty-two westerns with the name 'Arizona' in the title were produced.[33] Only a few of the films throw much light on the historical narrative and the cultural memory of the state. The number of 'Arizona' film titles increases considerably if one uses the International Movie Database website which also includes films from the silent era as well as titles issued after 1988. However, most of the films are B westerns which have little or no connection with historical reality, at least if the outline synopses are anything to judge by. The films analysed below, like those in the previous case-studies, purport to represent the historical narrative of Arizona.

The range of cinematic cultural artefacts providing any useful representation of the historical narrative has proved to be limited when compared with those available for the previous case studies. There is no shortage of westerns that draw upon the clashes between the Anglos and the Native Americans as source material. Nor is there a lack of films that depict the lawlessness of Arizona mining towns during the same period. There are a number of films that specifically focus upon the lawlessness of the Arizona town of Tombstone. In terms of the number of 'Tombstone films made from the historical narrative of the time, Tombstone can be regarded as Arizona's equivalent to the Alamo, certainly when considering Tombstone's presence in the cultural forms of popular fictional and cinematic representation.[34] 'The town too tough to die' has come to represent an essential aspect of Arizona's frontier myth. Historically, boom towns, like Tombstone, drew upon migrant labour, not least from south of the border. In terms of the economic 'push and pull' factors, it was the rapid rise of the mining industry in Arizona, as much as the rise of the cattle industry that drew Mexicans and Mexican-Americans into the region, just as surely as agribusiness lured them to California. Consequently, film narratives

[33]Edward Buscombe, ed., *The BFI Companion to the Western.* (London: Andre Deutsch/BFI, 1988.), p.56.

[34] The descriptor, 'Tombstone films' is my own and it is applied to a range of films that deal with the same historical events in Arizona's history. It allows for a comparative analysis of the films discussed in this chapter similar to that used in the Alamo case study.

depicting Arizona's territorial experiences during that period of its history have been included in the discussion. The films include those that have represented the role of the Earp family during their time as law officers in the territory. Attention has been given to the television western series, *The High Chaparral*, which, as we shall see, provides a positive representation of Mexicano-Anglo interactions. The starting point is to examine two films each with the name *Arizona* in their title and which both purport to tell its history. As with the previous case studies, the analysis of the films is concerned to identify and discuss the inclusion of an Hispanic presence within the narratives, the *mise-en-scène*, and the characterisations.

In Old Arizona.[35]

In Old Arizona was released in 1929 and offered the first screen representation of the Mexican bandido, the Cisco Kid. The role of the Cisco Kid was played by Warner Baxter who received the Oscar for best actor. The screen play was based on the O Henry short story, *The Caballero's Way* in which the character called the Cisco Kid first appears. In the original story the Cisco Kid is not Mexican but an Anglo named Goodall. The story first appeared in a collection of short stories published in 1907 entitled *Heart of the West.*[36] The location of the original story is the borderlands of Southern Texas between the Rio Frio and the Rio Grande. The narrative concerns the deadly rivalry between the Kid and a Texas Ranger who has been charged with bringing him to justice. The Cisco Kid is wanted for killing six men "in more or less fair scrimmages". He has murdered twice as many more and wounded an even larger number.[37] The Kid's motivation for his murderous life style is a quick temper and a sadistic pleasure in killing. We are informed that most of his victims were Mexicans who possessed a greater fear of the Cisco Kid than they did of the law. "It had been one of the Kids' pastimes to shoot Mexicans 'to see

[35] *In Old Arizona* dir. Raoul Walsh and Irving Cummings, Fox Film Corporation 1929.
[36] O. Henry, *Heart of the West.* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1912).
[37] *Heart of the West* p. 187.

them kick'".[38] Unlike the images in the film *In Old Arizona,* O Henry's original story creates a very different image than the romantic portrayal of a Mexican bandit. In fact, the story trades on racist stereotypes of the Mexican. The twist in O. Henry's tale is that, despite his hatred of Mexicans, the Cisco Kid is not superior to them because he is just as capable of the devious treachery that was assigned to the usual stereotype of the Mexican bandido .

The screen play of *In Old Arizona* used the original narrative of the O. Henry story, but changed both its location and the character's ethnicity. The title of the film implies that it is set in a pastoral period of Arizona history similar to that of the California Pastoral. The opening images of the film reinforce such a view as we see and hear the ringing of mission bells and are shown the depiction of an Hispanic community. However, the film is set in the later years of the Arizona Territory not its early years. It is made clear that the historical background is that of the McKinley presidency through the references made to the President's Cuban intervention of 1898. The Texas Ranger of the original story has become an Arizona Ranger but the Arizona Rangers were not established until 1901 and were disbanded in 1909. The Cisco Kid in the film contrasts sharply with other traditional stereotypes of the bandido. The Cisco Kid is a *caballero* and in the film and its first sequels, the character as played by Warner Baxter is a boisterous, swashbuckling western Robin Hood who robs the rich and, sometimes, gives to the poor.

> These light-skinned Castilian gentlemen played leads and title roles, often in the process mocking or snubbing their darker hued brethren. While no match for Anglo heroes, when permitted to operate within the parameters of their own race they tower far above the mixed-blood mestizo.[39]

The original plot of O. Henry's story remains. The Kid and the Ranger fall in love with the same *señorita.* The Ranger seeks to make use of her as a decoy, but when Cisco discovers the Ranger's plot he sacrifices his love to escape arrest or worse. The film does

[38]Ibid p.189.
[39] Arthur G. Pettet (edited with an afterword by Dennis E Showalter), *Images of the Mexican American in Fiction and Film* (Austin: Texas A&M University Press 1980.), p.138 [It can be argued that part of the Cisco Kid's persona is that he is frequently more than a match for the Anglo.].

convey an Hispanic Arizona that is not dominated by the threat of Apache raids but the cultural memory it contains seems to belong more to the California Pastoral than the Arizona desert. Of all the western films that use the name of the state, it might be thought that one that was nominated for the Academy awards might provide a more authentic view of the State's history but this is, sadly, not the case. The second film that boasts the State's name also portrays an Arizona that has an Hispanic dimension but the dominant motif is still of the threat posed by the Apache.

Arizona[40]

Arizona is an epic western directed by Charles Ruggles who had previously directed the Academy Award winner, *Cimarron* in 1931.[41] Based on Edna Ferber's novel of the same name, *Cimarron* received seven Oscar nominations and gained three awards, including that for Best Film. Epic westerns had become a popular western sub-genre during the silent cinema following the success of *The Covered Wagon*[42] and *The Iron Horse.*[43] The popularity of epic westerns continued after the coming of sound and the awards gained by *Cimarron* led to Ruggles being given the task of directing *Arizona.* Like other epic westerns, the film offers a Turnerian view of the westward expansion of the United States. The common theme in the epic western was that of the inevitable westward advance made by hardy, fearless and determined pioneers. Muncie, the hero, is informed by the wagon train scout, as they arrive in Tucson, that there is "always legroom in the West". The film is a classic example of the genre but it also provides a degree of historical accuracy and visually conveys a sense of authenticity.

The opening titles inform us that the year is 1860 and that an endless stream of families and their wagons are moving westward into the new land of Arizona territory. Despite the hardships experienced in crossing the physical barriers of mountains and deserts, resisting the scourge of Indians, and avoiding the perils of hunger and thirst, the

[40] *Arizona.* Charles Ruggles Dir. Columbia Pictures Incorporated, 1940.
[41] *Cimarron.* Charles Ruggles Dir. RKO Pictures 1931.
[42] *The Covered Wagon.* Dir. James Cruze. Paramount Pictures. 1923.
[43] *The Iron Horse.* Dir. John Ford. Fox Film Corporation. 1924.

pioneers are determined to achieve their destiny. The opening intertitle of the film sets the scene. “These were the people who would shape the destiny of a new territory - ARIZONA”. Filmed on location in southern Arizona the black and white photography adds a sense of realism and it is almost possible to taste the dust.[44] A wagon train arrives at Tucson having travelled all the way from Missouri. The wagons are pulled by oxen and mules rather than inappropriate horses that were not suitable for the level of stamina required. We are informed that not all those who began the trek to the new territory have survived the journey. Tucson is shown as an ethnically diverse community. There are Papago Indians who, we are informed, hate the Apache as much as the Anglos.[45] The Spanish language fills the air as Mexicanos extend their town with new adobe buildings. Anglos, too lazy to make their own bricks, recycle those from the town’s walls. The representation of the Mexicanos continues as we see the men plough their fields and the women wash clothes in the stream in the traditional way.

The level of reliable historical references continues when the film deals with the impact of the Civil War upon the territory. When war is declared, the commander of the Union army base at Tucson receives orders to destroy his garrison facilities and withdraw his troops from the town to join the fight in the east. The residents regard this withdrawal as an act of official abandonment by their government. One resident makes the claim that the military withdrawal constitutes a declaration by the United States government that Arizonans are considered as enemies. “Who could believe that we would be cast aside by our own government”, one citizen exclaims. Because of this feeling of abandonment and the attendant sense of being unprotected, the citizens declare allegiance to the Confederacy. The Stars and Stripes is lowered while the feisty heroine muses, “I guess they have a right to do that when the North’s run off with the only flag we know”. There is no discussion of the causes of the Civil War but the film does convey a feeling of tension between Union and Confederate sympathizers in the new territory. In the end, the local

[44] The location site of Old Tucson was built for the film just outside Tucson and it still serves as the base for the production of films and television series.
[45] Papago was an alternative name for the Tohono O'odham.

community prevails and again it is left to the female protagonist, Phoebe, to place the film's political stance into perspective. "I don't care who we declare for, so long as there's an Arizona territory".

In response to the residents' plea for protection, the Confederacy sends a handful of troops to Tucson and they are seen working to preserve order in the territory. After a few months, the southern soldiers are also called away to defend their own soil and their withdrawal allows lawlessness once again to threaten the growth and development of the territory. The threat ends when Union troops return, but the citizens feel uncertain as to the treatment they will receive as a consequence of Arizona declaring itself for the Confederacy. The issue is not developed any further as the film resumes its conventional epic narrative in which stability can only be restored when the hero and antagonist face each other in the final gunfight. The next Arizona film to be discussed had challenged the tired conventions of *Arizona* in the previous year.

Stagecoach.[46]

The classic western *Stagecoach* was based on Ernest Haycox's short story, 'Stage to Lordsburg'.[47]Like the original story, the film is set sometime in the 1880s when the territory was the base for Geronimo's resistance to the Anglo presence. The travellers' final destination is Lordsburg in New Mexico, and, as the passengers board the stage in Tonto at the beginning of the film, we are informed that the coach had begun its journey in Bisbee.[48] Founded in 1880, Bisbee became the centre of the Arizona mining industry and the region was the location of Geronimo's final resistance between 1881 – 1886. The film's status as a classic western was due to its combination of two narrative themes: the journey through dangerous territories and the quest for revenge. The film provides visual representation of a Mexicano presence in the territory, but uses stereotypical humour to

[46]*Stagecoach,* Dir. John Ford. United Artists. 1939.
[47] Available from Feed bookson http://thenostalgialeague.com/olmag/haycox.html(accessed 8/12/11).
[48]For an analysis of the complex route taken, see Edward Buscombe, *Stagecoach.* (London: BFI Publishing, 1992) p 46.

do so.[49] The obvious example is that of the stage driver, Buck, who, married to a Mexican, is required to feed her large, feckless family. By way of contrast there are elements in the film that challenge the implicit racism.

The stagecoach stops for a while at Apache Wells, a way-station, manned by four vaqueros and managed by a Mexicano, Chris. Chris has an Apache wife who is a member of Geronimo's tribe and the marriage provides Chris and the station with a degree of protection. Chris is played by the Mexican character actor, Chris-Pin Martin who later would play side-kick to the Cisco Kid in the 1940s. At first glance Chris displays a number of the stereotypical traits assigned to Mexicans. He is obese, nervous and cowardly, and he invariably ends his sentences with the words, "I theenk". The film challenges this stereotype by revealing his obvious concern and compassion for the travellers. He provides the hero, the Ringo Kid, with valuable advice and information, as well as a horse with which to make an escape.

There is an additional anomaly in the film's depiction of Chris' Apache wife, Yakima, because although the narrative makes it quite clear that she is an Apache, ethnically she looks and sounds Mexican. This is not surprising given that she was played by the Mexican singer and actress, Elvira Rios. It was not unusual for Mexican actors to play Native Americans as evidenced by the careers of Anthony Quinn and others. The film includes a strange narrative break when Yakima, accompanied by the four vaqueros, sings a plaintive Spanish song. Buscombe provides both the original lyrics and a translation and notes that the song links the experience of exile with that of a lost love. When Yakima ends the song, the vaqueros steal away from the station, taking the spare horse with them; Yakima follows later taking her husband's horse. As Buscombe argues:

> For an Anglo audience, the song in Spanish is a reminder of the alien culture which surrounds the little island of "civilisation" in the stage station, and for a brief moment the voice of the Other forces its way through.[50]

[49] Buscombe, p.52ff.
[50] ibid. p.54.

This is a pertinent observation because the scene does indeed create a sense of discontinuity both with what has gone before and with the events that follow. It remains the case that the film is firmly set within the genre conventions of the classic Hollywood western narrative where the dominant culture is Anglo and the Mexican is subordinate. In that respect it highlights how the earlier film *In Old Arizona* is something of a deviation from the norm. *Stagecoach* serves as a signifier of a mixed culture in which, although not dominant, the Mexicanos have a place that arises from their history just as much as the Anglos and the Native Americans

The Tombstone Films

The same sense of a mixed culture is found in John Ford's *My Darling Clementine* which is a romantic retelling of the Gunfight at the OK Corral.[51] The booming township of Tombstone is represented as a kaleidoscope of Mexicano, Native American, as well as Anglo communities. A Mexican band plays in the saloon, vaqueros and Indians man the way stations. Ford resorted to the stereotype of the female, half-breed, bandit Amazon for the role of the saloon singer, Chihuahua, but she is allowed a dignified end. Despite Ford's romanticising of the Earp/Clanton feud, the film conveys a sense of realism through the visual images of a multi-ethnic town and territory where both Mexicanos and Anglos have a place. It provides a visual perspective on Arizona's past that finds a limited place in later versions of the same events, even though the later films all claim to be closer to the actual events.

John Sturges directed two films that purported to reconstruct the events surrounding the gun battle. *The Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* dealt with the events leading up to the shootout which formed the climax of the film.[52]The final gunfight extends well beyond the few seconds that the actual shoot-out apparently took. But this is a Tombstone with very little sign of a Mexicano presence and it contrasts visually with the boom town of

[51]*My Darling Clementine.* Dir. John Ford. United Artists, 1946.
[52]*The Gunfight at the O.K. Corral.* Dir. John Sturges. Paramount Picture 1957.

Ford's *Clementine*. At one point Earp refers to the need for the Clintons to return rustled cattle back to Mexico, at least suggesting that Tombstone lies close to the border. Sturges' second Tombstone film, *Hour of the Gun,* opens with a somewhat more authentic representation of the event but it focussed on the events after the gun battle.[53]Neither film contains any substantial references or images that convey any sense that Arizona had been previously part of the initial Hispanic empire and later the Mexican republic. As a boom town the Tombstone shown in both of Sturges' films fails to convey any sense of a multi-ethnic community.

Later films depicting the same events have also been locked into a non-Mexicano narrative. Frank Perry's revisionist view on the event, *Doc,* features an opening sequence where Doc Holiday is cheated by a Mexicano saloon owner.[54] It is so obviously a stereotype that it throws the revisionism into question. Apart from that we are still in a frontier town that fits the Turnerian trope. There is an interesting opening sequence in a later film, *Tombstone*.[55]The opening sequence shows the Cowboys, (as the Clanton gang was called at the time), committing a massacre at a Mexican wedding. The killings are in retaliation for a previous shooting of one of the cowboys by Mexican rurales. The incident makes it clear that there is a crossable border nearby. In *Wyatt Earp* there is a reference to the fact that the outlaws depend on Mexico as the location from which they rustle their cattle.[56] Otherwise both films are set firmly in the conventions of the Turnerian thesis of the settling of the West. They depict the East-West perspective rather than that of the West as *La Frontera.*

The extent to which the Anglo norms of the Western genre have prevailed and persisted can be seen in a comparison between the two versions of *3.10 to Yuma.*[57] As with *Stagecoach,* the source for both films was a short story but the later version also

[53]*Hour of the Gun,* John Sturges dir. Mirisch Corporation, 1967.
[54]*Doc.* Dir. Frank Perry. F.P. Films. 1971.
[55]*Tombstone,* George P. Cosmatos dir. Cinergi Pictures Incorporated, 1993.
[56]*Wyatt Earp.* Dir. Lawrence Kasdan. Warner Bros. Pictures. 1994.
[57]*3.10 to Yuma.* Elmer Daves Dir. Columbia Pictures, 1957. *3.10 to Yuma.* Dir. James Mangold. Lionsgate. 2007.

made use of the script from the original film.[58] The original story makes it difficult to pinpoint the precise year of the events. This is because it does not provide any specific time references. The location of the story is Contention City, Arizona. In the process of extending the original story both films place the initial location of the action in Bisbee. This is where the outlaw Ben Wade is initially arrested. Located in South Arizona, Bisbee is depicted in both films as a small Anglo community experiencing drought and whose main industry is clearly ranching. The protagonist, Dan Evans, owns a small ranch and is finding it hard to keep up with his payments on the property. He undertakes the task of escorting the outlaw, Wade, in order to obtain money to support his family until the rains come. The actual Bisbee in Arizona was established in 1881 and became a major mining centre for copper, gold and silver. The first gold and silver claim was registered in 1877 by an army officer, Lieutenant J. A. Rucker, and a government scout, Jack Dunn.[59] By 1880 the number of registered claims around Bisbee had reached over two hundred and its mines produced more gold and silver than any other mining district in the Arizona territory. The Copper Queen mine was the richest in Arizona and as a thriving mining community; Bisbee became involved in the industrial and racial disputes of the time.[60]According to Sheridan: "in the early 1880s, Anglos and Mexicans joined together to drive the Chinese off the railroads and out of the mines".[61] In 1957, *3.10 to Yuma* presents a Bisbee that is a small Anglo community without a serape in sight. The only reference to mining is in the fact that the outlaws rob the Butterfield stage for a gold shipment.

The second film version of the short story retained the basic narrative framework of the earlier film but it extended both the narrative events and character motivation.[62] Dan Evans is a disabled Civil War Union veteran whose land is under threat from a local

[58]Elmore Leonard, *Three-ten to Yuma and other Stories.* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2006), p.46-70.
[59] Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History.* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), p169ff.
[60] Lynn I. Perrigo, *The American Southwest: Its people and Cultures.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), p. 299.
[61] Sheridan p. 169.
[62] The 1957 version was filmed on location in Arizona while the 2007 remake was filmed in New Mexico.

carpet-bagger. Evans is also the object of derision by his primarily federal neighbours. There is an added generational tension between Dan Evans and his eldest son. Bisbee remains predominantly an Anglo town. So too does Ben Wade's outlaw gang, although one of them is described as "a Mexican sharpshooter". Not a great deal has changed in the fifty years between the two films in terms of the representation of cultural memory. For an alternative perspective on the nature and complexity of Arizona territory in the early years of its history one turns to a particular American western television series from among the many that thrived in the 1950s – 1960s.

The High Chaparral

The High Chaparral is an example of the 'empire' western where the dramatic focus is upon a patriarchal or matriarchal family rather than upon a lone individual.[63] The executive producer of the series, David Dortort, had previously created the similar *Bonanza* where a ranching family consisted of the father, Ben Cartwright, and his three sons, each from a different wife (none of whom had survived the delivery of their respective son). The Cannon family in *The High Chaparral* was even more complex. The series was set in southern Arizona during the 1870s, where Tucson is the nearest town, The Cannon family consists of John Cannon and his brother Buck, his son by his first wife, Blue, and an assortment of ranch hands, including a Mexicano named Vaquero. In the opening episode Cannon's first wife is killed by the Apaches and in the second episode he marries a Mexican, Victoria Montoya, in a marriage of convenience.

A constant theme throughout the series is the need for Cannon to maintain a delicate balance of peace between his empire and the Apache. To do so Cannon is obliged to create an alliance with the Mexican ranchero, Sebastian Montoya. Cannon's marriage to Montoya's daughter is the guarantee of trust between the two men. A further element in the alliance is that Victoria Montoya is accompanied to the Cannon ranch by

[63] *The High Chaparral.* David Dortort. Executive Producer. NBC Productions, 1967-1971.

her brother, Manolito, in order to assure Victoria's safety. As the marriage gradually becomes one of love and respect, Manolito becomes a member of Cannon's ranch, the High Chaparral. Just as in *Stagecoach* where the historical reference to Geronimo places the narrative in the 1880s, the reference point throughout the *High Chaparral* is the Apache chief, Cochise, although, in fact Cochise's guerrilla activities were over by the early 1870s.

In the series' opening double episodes, Cannon is warned by a U.S. army patrol that Cochise is terrorising the area in revenge for the murder of his Uncle, Mangus Colorado. Cochise surrendered in 1871 and then fled the reservation the following year for a brief period before he returned to die on the Chiricahua reservation in 1874.[64] Throughout the series, the Native Americans were assigned a common humanity by Cannon and his family. The same is so in the relationships between the Cannon and Montoya families. In the first episode, in addition to the problems caused by Apache hostilities, the Cannon ranch is also subjected to the theft of cattle by Mexicano vaqueros from Don Montoya's ranch over the border. Cannon and his men leave the ranch to retrieve his cattle and in his absence his first wife is killed in an Apache raid. Realising that he cannot deal with enemies on two fronts, Cannon meets with Montoya to seek an alliance. The relationship between the two men and their cattle empires was another key narrative element in the series. In contrast to the other representations discussed of the role of the Mexicanos in the territory's history, *The High Chaparral* constructs a multi-ethnic Arizona. This is a frontier where three communities need to find a way to create an integrated borderland with space for all. The series not only celebrates an Hispanic past but made it a key element in its narratives. It stands in contrast to the pattern of recall we have identified in the other cultural artefacts discussed above. However, there is a sense in which the series is the exception that proves the rule. The cultural representation of Arizona's history primarily excludes the Hispanic dimension. This is the product of a false

[64] Cochise County, Arizona is named after the Apache chief and Bisbee is the county seat. Tombstone is also located in Cochise County.

memory which is still to be found within the contemporary context of Arizona politics. An examination of that context reveals the development of the potent cultural construct of an Anglo perspective on Arizona history. It provides us the opportunity to explore the creation of a contemporary ballad that represents the continuing amnesia of Arizona regarding its past.

The Ballad of Joe Arpaio

Arizona has been described as a state that lies outside of the American mainstream and it regards itself as the locus of an individualistic culture. This self-image arises from its sense of being a frontier state in the Turnerian sense which encourages Anglos to see themselves as part of the East-West republic and not as people within North-South borderlands. Those who see the frontier in terms of the latter perspective are regarded as aliens, literally and figuratively. They tend to hold a hostile view of the outsider. It is the case that Arizona has gained a reputation over the years for its perceived racism and intolerance. The presidential campaign of Senator Barry Goldwater in 1964 reinforced the image, although Goldwater's conservatism was far removed from the religious fundamentalism that arose later to dominate the right wing generally and neo-conservative Republicanism in particular. Arizona's racist image was further reinforced when Governor Evan Mecham (1987-1988) cancelled a paid holiday in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King Jnr. for state employees. Two further attempts to establish a Martin Luther King Jnr. Day were also rejected in 1990. It is against this background that the current issues affecting (or infecting) Arizona politics need to be seen.

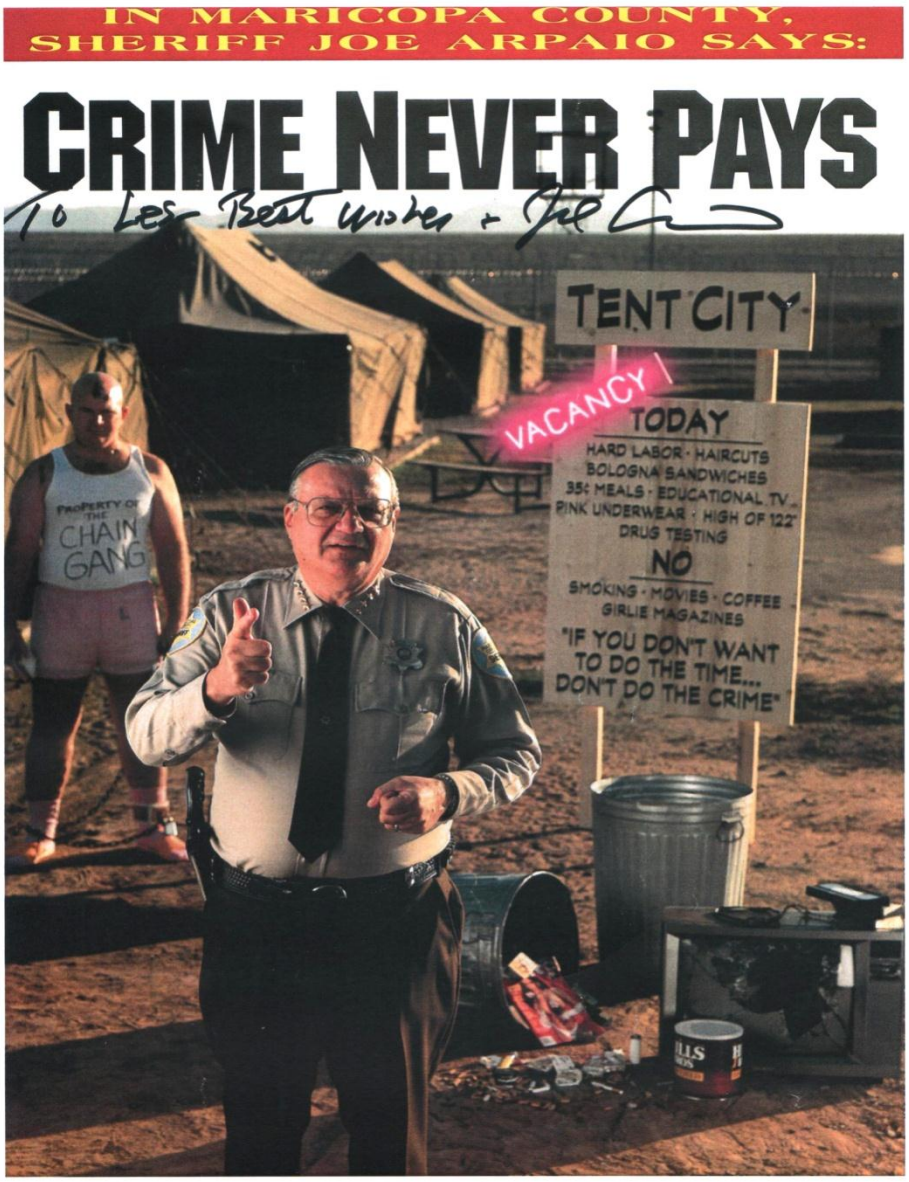

Figure 17. Sheriff Joe Arpaio: 'The Toughest Sheriff in the West'

These key issues are explored in the following discussion of the influence and character of the current sheriff of Maricopa County, Joe Arpaio. Sheriff Arpaio embodies for many Arizona citizens the cultural myths that have dominated the Anglo-American view of the West and the Westerner. He perpetuates a law enforcement culture that is driven by the conviction that the Mexican border is the source of threat to the security and stability of America. It is possible to imagine him as the subject of a border ballad in the sense that he represents a specific political and cultural constituency which sees him in a

heroic and mythic light. He is also the focus of substantial media attention and experience which he has both created and courted. Traditionally, the border ballads celebrate the social bandit rather than the Western lawman but there is no reason why the focus of a cultural ballad cannot be upon the latter. Between 1955-1961, the U.S. television series *The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp* introduced the viewers to its opening credits title song, *The Legend of Wyatt Earp.*[65]As yet there has been no ballad penned to celebrate the character of Joe Arpaio, the Sherriff of Maricopa County, Arizona but there is no doubt that he sees himself in the same tradition and is viewed as such by many of his fellow Arizonans and Americans. There are others who see him as the epitome of the negative individualism of the Westerner.

"Oh, you're heading for the scary place", was the observation made by a fellow passenger in the Wells Fargo Building lift in Phoenix, Arizona as it ascended to the nineteenth floor. On entering the lift the passenger had noted that I had previously pressed the button for this particular floor which is the location of the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office in Phoenix, Arizona. On 16 February 2010, I arrived for an interview with Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who describes himself as "the Toughest Sheriff in the West". The previous month the Sheriff had been re-elected for a fifth term of office. A controversial figure, not only in Arizona but in the wider world of law enforcement in the United States, he is the subject of considerable media attention. Immediately before my appointment he had been interviewed by a team from the BBC. The journalist Erwin James, who had previously served a life sentence before becoming a journalist, recorded his reaction to a meeting with the sheriff in 2005.[66] "I expected an abrasive, unapproachable man who would have no time for the likes of me. Instead I found a charming character with a solid handshake and a ready smile". I gained the same impression during my interview, which followed immediately on from the interview the Sheriff had just completed with a BBC

[65]*The Legend of Wyatt Earp.* Music: Harry Warren, Lyrics: Harold Adamson.
[66] Erwin James, "A Life Again", in *The Guardian* 5 September 2005.

producer.[67] The Sheriff was bemused by the fact that he appeared to be of interest to the British on that day.

The purpose of my interview was to gain insight into his views on what has been described as "the three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars".[68] The three wars are: the war on immigration, the war against drugs, and the war to secure the U.S.-Mexico border. Before the appointment I had identified seven specific areas for discussion with him. As part of my preparation for the interview I had also read the book, *Joe's Law* which the Sheriff co-authored.[69] In the book he draws a vivid account of his background in the world of law enforcement; he gives an account of his own immigrant origins; and sets out his views on the current debate about immigration in the United States.

Arpaio was born in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1932 to Italian immigrant parents. Before he was first elected as Maricopa County Sheriff, Arpaio had spent much of his working life in various federal drug enforcement agencies. Prior to beginning his career as a law enforcement officer he had served three years in the U.S. Army. This was during the Korean War although he did not actually serve in Korea. He was located in France with an army medical unit. After his military service he went to work for the United States Narcotics Bureau. During his time as a narcotics agent he served abroad and was located variously in Turkey, Mexico City and Panama. Arpaio was a narcotics officer in the Nixon Administration's 'Operation Intercept'. Launched in 1969 the purpose of Operation Intercept was to stem the flow of drugs into the United States from Mexico . It was part of Nixon's efforts to present himself to the electorate as an effective law and order president.

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[67] I believe that the purpose of the BBC visit was to prepare for Sheriff Arpaio's participation in a TV programme concerned with the issue of elected law enforcement officers, presented by Michael Portillo later in 2010.

[68] Tony Payan, *The Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security* (Westport: Texas, Praeger Security International, 2006).

[69] Sheriff Joe Arpaio and Len Sherman, *Joe's Law: America's Toughest Sheriff Takes on Illegal Immigration, Drugs, and Everything Else That Threatens America* (New York: American Management Association, 2008).

> At the time I was based in Baltimore, serving as the deputy regional director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD), one of several bureaucratic forerunners of the modern Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA).[70]

In the interview, Arpaio stated that, because of his background, he was not unsympathetic to the experiences and problems of economic migrants. He emphasised that, as the child of Italian immigrants who came to the States in search of a better life, he felt compassion for other people trying to cross the United States border for the same reason. He stated that his parents came to the country legally, just like millions of others who left their homes to find new opportunities, new freedoms, and new futures.[71] However, the Sheriff said that the focus of his law enforcement policy was upon undocumented immigrants, though he prefers to use the term *illegal* to describe their status. Because non-documented migrants have this status of illegality, he believes that they should be punished for their 'crime'. Arpaio also identified what are, for him, a number of other significant differences between legal immigrants as represented by his parents and those he pursued as illegal immigrants within his jurisdiction. He regarded the differences as the source of the problems and issues with which his department has to deal.

Firstly, he believed that immigrants such as his parents and others like them came to the United States holding on to certain hopes and truths about becoming American citizens. It was the acceptance of these values that, for him, placed them in a different category to the Mexican immigrants, whether legal or illegal, with whom he has to deal. His parents' generation came to the United States without any idea of returning to their place of origin and this distinguishes them in the sheriff's mind from the Mexicans and other Latinos. These, he claimed, frequently return south of the border after working in the United States. He commented that this practice of taking their earnings back to their home and family is encouraged by the Mexican government and he takes the view that there existed a semi-organised economic milking of the United States. It was an example of a

[70]Arpaio and Sherman p.70.
[71]ibid p. 48.

‘sojourner prejudice trope where the other is denigrated because it is believed that they have less psychological commitment to the new community. There was no recognition of the cultural and historical links that still remain strong among Mexican-Americans. It also fails to acknowledge that many European immigrants, including Italians, did return to their original homeland, despite the presence of the Atlantic. Many others did send home remittances to sustain members of their family not able to join them but the sheriff did not appear to be aware of this aspect of the European migration experience.

He drew a further contrast between his parents, other European immigrants, and the contemporary Mexicano migrants. It related to the concept of ‘homeland’. Unlike the Mexican migrants with their sense of ‘Raza’ the sheriff argued that voluntary migrants did not regard any inch of American soil as being ‘Italian’. Like his parents they may have established ghettos such as the “Little Italys” in the cities where they settled but they did not define themselves as anything other than American. In contrast, he argued, there is a growing movement among Mexican nationals and even some Mexican-Americans that insists that the territory that is now California, Arizona and Texas was stolen from Mexico by the United States. Along with this perspective he voiced his opinion that further massive immigration over the border would speed up and guarantee the *reconquista* of the southwest. What the sheriff clearly implied was that the border had to be controlled in order to prevent its return to Mexico. The sheriff did not seem to possess any awareness that, historically, this is what happened. The United States had plundered the land from Mexico and so the Mexican historical narrative was, for them, a valid response to the events that had occurred between 1835-1854.

Arpaio made a further interesting distinction between the pattern of European immigration and the situation he believed he had to address through his law enforcement responsibilities. This distinction related to what he saw as an exceptional concentration of Mexicans in the Southwest which he contrasted with the smaller ethnic communities such as the Little Italys that are found in the cities. He said he could not understand why there was such a large Mexican presence. He showed little awareness of the historical events

that created the region and there was an unwillingness to concede that this large Mexicano concentration in the Southwest was a direct result of the Texas rebellion and the Mexican war. Another distinction he drew between the experience of his own parents and that of the Mexicanos was that his parents and others like them were 'legal' immigrants whereas Mexicans and Latinos had broken the law through the persistent illegality of their actions. He appeared to hold a presumption of guilt in the contemporary context that was based on ethnicity. The Sheriff argued that the scale of Hispanic immigration was unprecedented when compared with the previous immigrant groups who, he claimed, had arrived in relatively small numbers from across an ocean. In contrast, he firmly believed that substantial numbers of illegal Mexicanos and others were crossing the U.S. – Mexico border. He claimed that, historically, specific immigrant groups only sought a home in the United States for short periods in response to a crisis in their homeland. He cited the example of Irish immigration during the nineteenth century which took place as a response to the Irish potato famines. Once these homeland crises abated and the specific, domestic crisis was over, then the demand for immigration ceased.

In Sheriff Arpaio's opinion, illegal Mexican immigration only began in the 1960s and, he argued, it will continue to be a growing problem unless firm action is taken. In other words the sheriff saw the U.S.-Mexico border as presenting a form of immigration essentially different from the earlier European immigrations. He understood the strategy he was advocating solely in terms of law enforcement and did not see it as requiring cooperation between the two governments. He was not aware of the Bracero Programme that ran from the mid-1940s until the mid-1960s and which, whatever its faults, weaknesses and failings, was a cooperative effort to address the problem of border migration. When the basics of the programme were explained to him, he made it clear that he did not feel that such a programme, or any similar U.S. and Mexico joint venture, could resolve the current problems. He showed little awareness of the history and tradition of either formal or informal migration along the borderlands. It was not a process with which he was sympathetic. Interestingly in the interview he made reference to "the scholar and

author, Samuel P. Huntington" in support of his views.[72] Like Huntington, the sheriff sees the crux of the problem as the Mexican Americans' refusal to become 'Americans'. Arpaio did accept that his arguments are generally regarded by his opponents as an expression of negative attitudes towards the Mexicanos.

In his book he insists that his perspective on immigration and legality does not mean that he views Mexicans, per se, as an enemy, or that he is calling for an end to all Mexican and Latino immigration. He argues that it is necessary to understand what the current situation is regarding migration and it is also important to address the underlying pressures that push people to behave in certain ways. When this understanding and grasp have been obtained then, he argues, it is important to deal with the information intelligently and forcefully. He claimed that he had the positive support of the local Mexican-American community for his department's policies and insisted that without Mexican-American support he would not have been successful in his re-election as the County Sheriff. He stressed that he has always striven to serve and protect their homes, businesses, and neighbourhoods with just the same determination as the sheriff's department serves and protect the homes, businesses, and neighbourhoods of all Maricopa County residents.[73]

He claimed to have received 80% support from the Maricopa County electorate and regards this with a sense of pride. However, even at the time of the interview, there was evidence that that his support rate was falling considerably. *The Washington Post* carried an article on February 28, 2010, which stated that Sheriff Arpaio's latest approval rating was only 39%. He was facing a Federal grand jury examination of allegations against him on the grounds of abuse-of-power. A further second federal investigation is considering claims that he focuses excessively on the enforcement of immigration legislation to the exclusion of other areas of law-enforcement for which he is responsible.

[72] See Samuel P. Huntington, *Who are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2004), pp. 221ff. [Although the sheriff did not cite this text specifically, Huntington's perspective is compatible with those he expressed in the interview.]
[73] Arpaio and Sherman, p. 49.

Arpaio strongly opposes the legalization of drugs but he did indicate that, if the decision was taken to legalise their use, he would not have a problem with the change. It was interesting to learn that he believes that the demands for a Border wall are a non-issue because any wall, regardless of its height is surmountable. I cited the statement ascribed to the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano, that sooner or later a wall of any height will be matched by a taller ladder. The sheriff claimed that he had made the comment to Ms. Napolitano when she was Governor of Arizona and she took the dictum from him. Sheriff Arpaio believes that the issue is not about walls, but about what to do with the immigrant who has entered the United States without legal authorisation. He firmly believes that jail-time is needed as a punishment rather than simply returning the immigrant to the border. In other words, if crossing the border without documentation is illegal, then any perpetrator is a criminal and has to be punished. When it comes to punishment, Sheriff Arpaio claims to have the ability to think outside of the box and cites his creation of the Tent City and its controversial regime.

He described his Tent-City jail and the penal regime he administers as evidence that he take a radical approach to law enforcement and this is the key to understanding the popularity (or notoriety depending on your political perspective) that surrounds his name. A major clue to the sheriff's reputation arises from controversial changes he introduced into the Maricopa county jail system shortly after his initial election. The Tent City Jail first opened on 2 August 1993. He made a point of specifying the time - High Noon. The County Jail was replaced by a tented camp located in the desert area outside the city. Not only are the prisoners placed in a non-air conditioned facility, he also introduced other controversial changes. Prisoners are issued with pink uniforms and subjected to a basic, inexpensive diet. They have limited access to television, and are not allowed 'girlie' magazines. With regard to allowing the prisoners only limited access to television the sheriff had originally banned all access to television until he was advised that, under federal law, his prisoners had the right of television access. However, they are restricted to just two channels: the Disney Channel and the Weather Channel and Sheriff

Arpaio explained his reasoning for the choice of the Weather Channel. It is available so that the prisoners can be kept aware of the weather they can expect in Arizona. In April 2010, after my field-trip, the sheriff introduced exercise bicycles linked to a generator within the prison as an additional form of punishment. The idea was that prisoners who wished to watch television would have to exercise in order to produce the electricity needed to power the television sets. One hour of exercise would produce one hour of viewing.

The controversial practices do not end there. The sheriff employs the use of chain-gangs to undertake work in the community and there are male, female, and juvenile chain-gangs. Arpaio justifies the use of female chain-gangs on the grounds that it is a feminist issue. The major difference between these and the original chain-gangs is that those in Maricopa County are formed entirely from volunteer prisoners. According to the Sheriff, some prisoners volunteer in order to provide themselves with something to do while others volunteered because they believe they would benefit from "a dose of constructive discipline".[74]

In addition to the extreme penal regime, the Maricopa County Sheriff's Department also maintains a substantial posse system. The posse is iconic to any viewer of westerns and their genre conventions. There is often the familiar scene where the sheriff calls upon the local citizenry for volunteers in the pursuit of the lawbreakers. The system used in the Maricopa County Sheriff's Department is more formally structured and originated long before Sheriff Joe arrived. In 1941, the County established a range of posses that made regular use of volunteers on the basis of their particular expertise. Under Sheriff Arpaio's reign the posse system has been substantially developed and extended. There is a total membership of over 3,000 men and women organised into 55 specialised posse units. The units are drawn together either on an area basis or because of the specific needs, capabilities, and technical skills within a posse. The complexity of the system can be gauged by the range of tasks and responsibilities given to the volunteer units. Among the

[74] Arpaio and Sherman, p 97.

various posse units within the department there is an underwater divers unit, a motorcycle unit, an airplane unit, a Jeep unit, and a helicopter unit.

> The posses cost the county nothing. Nothing. The volunteers pay for everything they wear, every tool they employ. And it's not cheap. Shirt, pants, boots, baseball cap, badge, belt, belt keepers, chemical spray, flashlight, flashlight holder, name tag, whistle, whistle lanyard – it adds up fast. If you complete the whole training course and become QAP, a qualified armed posseman, ready to patrol beside a sworn deputy (and we have almost a thousand QAPs) then you can add in the price of a handgun, duty holster, ammunition pouch, three magazines, cleaning kit – everything except bullets. We provide the bullets.[75]

The iconography speaks for itself and the popular media representation of the sheriff places him in the tradition of the western lawman. The epithet, "the toughest sheriff in the West" is self-applied and his own views and attitudes about this image were fascinating. Now in his fifth term as a sheriff in Arizona, he has made it clear he has not ruled out the possibility of seeking a further term. This is in spite of the number of controversies that surround him and his office. In response to my specific question as to whether or not he viewed himself as a westerner, he drew attention to the fact that he was wearing what he described as 'an FBI style suit'. He also pointed out that he did not ride a horse. Yet, as his self-promoted image makes clear, he has constructed it in such a way that it resonates with the traditional iconic elements of the sheriff's role. He enjoys media attention and, in his book, draws upon the Western imagery. He describes his first law enforcement role when he joined the Washington D.C. police in 1954 in terms of the mythology of the Western lawman. He served in the capital for four years and, despite his avowal that he does not regard himself as a Westerner, there is an interesting comment about his self-image during the time. "I was the boss where I walked – In a way, maybe it was my first take on being sheriff, the lone lawman striding down the main street at high noon, taking on all comers".[76] He is proud of the fact that, in 1957, he was awarded the title of "Most Assaulted Cop in D.C". The award was made on the basis of the claim that

[75] Arpaio and Sherman, p.115.
[76] ibid, p.133.

he experienced a grand total of eighteen serious encounters while on duty – "not a little pushing and shoving, not a couple of taps and it's over, but full-out battles."[77]

After his time in Washington D.C. he moved to the Las Vegas Police Department and worked there for a while before joining the federal agency, the Bureau of Narcotics. He relates that he was initially based by the Bureau in Chicago because of his Italian background. The Bureau needed Italian agents to work the Italian neighbourhoods in order to penetrate the Mafia. Arpaio notes, with a sense of drama, that he had never previously done undercover work, and was not given any training for this work. Apparently the lack of training was not a problem as he was willing to learn on the job. He spent four years in Chicago before the Bureau moved him to Turkey where he claims that he was one of the first six bureau agents sent to work abroad."I was solely responsible not just for Turkey, but for the entire Middle East".[78] He spent over three years in Turkey, working throughout the Near and Middle East. In his book he frequently describes himself as a lone operative relying on his own discretion and judgment. According to Arpaio the measure of his success is seen by the number of awards he received. He received the Exceptional Service Award from the head of the Turkish National Police as well as a Special Service Award from the U.S. Treasury Department and a Superior Performance Award from Treasury. He describes himself as a player in the destruction of the French Connection, because Turkey was the source of the drugs smuggled into the United States from Marseille.

Arpaio returned to the United States in 1964 and was first located in San Antonio where he was given responsibility for the Bureau's work in an area that ranged from the Texas - Mexico border to Waco. He then had a short period of duty back in Washington D.C. before he was appointed the Deputy Regional Director of the Maryland Region during the Nixon administration. He was based in Baltimore and it was here that he became involved in 'Operation Intercept'. This was a federal programme established as a

[77] Arpaio and Sherman,p.134.
[78] ibid, p.153.

result of Richard Nixon's pledge in his 1968 presidential campaign to make law and order a key area of his administration's policies. After his election Nixon targeted the U.S.-Mexico border with the declared intention of reducing the influx of marijuana into the country and forcing the Mexican government to end its production. It was a seven week campaign during which all pedestrians and traffic crossing the two thousand mile border were stopped and searched. Operation Intercept had limited success. "The U.S. Border Patrol only seized sixty-nine hundred pounds of marijuana, two hundred and fifty thousand dangerous pills and a half ounce of heroine".[79] The Operation's main contribution to law and order was that it established the southern border as the primary target area for the controversial 'War on Drugs'. Despite its limited success, Sheriff Arpaio believes that the operation was a successful strategy and regrets its closure. However, the closure did not interrupt his career and shortly after the end of Operation Intercept he became the Bureau's regional director for Mexico and Central and South America. "I was thirty-eight years old and the youngest regional director in the bureau's history".[80] He was based in Mexico City where he claims to have made the resurrection and reinvention of Operation Intercept his primary objective.

In 1978, he was transferred to Phoenix as "special agent-in-charge of Arizona". It was at this time that he retired and, with his wife, opened a travel agency but found the contrast with law enforcement dull. After ten years of "emptying the trash", he sought and gained the Republican nomination for Maricopa County sheriff.[81] He is now in his fifth term of office, having recently been re-elected in January 2010. In the interview, having previously declared that he had no other political ambitions, he informed me that he was being urged to stand as a Republican gubernatorial nominee for Arizona. He claimed to have an election campaign fund that currently stood at around twenty four million dollars and informed me that, according to a recent poll, he had a 47% rating amongst

[79] Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra: A History of the U.S. Border Patrol.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 212-213.
[80] Arpaio and Sherman p. 182.
[81] Comment made during the interview 16 February 2010.

Republican voters. A few weeks later he publically declared that, on the advice of his wife, he would not seek the position.[82]

In the light of his views about illegal immigration and drugs, I asked a series of questions in order to ascertain his attitude towards racial profiling. The main concern was to discover if he possessed a defined strategy whereby he and his officers were able to distinguish between documented/non-documented Mexican immigrants and legal Mexican-American citizens. It was the Sheriff who used the term 'racial profiling' in the interview in response to the question. He was insistent that neither he nor his deputies practiced racial profiling and he emphasised categorically that his department was concerned solely with the enforcement of specific state laws. These included laws relating to human smuggling activities and to the carrying of false identification details. He also insisted that his department applied the law relating to the employment of non-documented workers by local companies. He was adamant that 'stop and search' occurred only when an officer or deputy had reason to suspect that a violation of these laws had taken place. If as a result of the stop and search it was revealed that there was an infringement of a federal law, then the suspect or suspects were passed on to the appropriate federal agency whether they were the Customs and Border Patrol, the Department of Homeland Security, or the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

I explained Tony Payan's thesis on the policing of the contemporary border in which he argues that, at the U.S–Mexico border, the United States is confronted by three distinct issues to which he applies the word 'war'.[83] The first problem is that of immigration, the second is the drug trade, and the third relates to the concern to provide national security against terror. The argument is that, since 9/11, these three distinct wars have become inextricably linked. Instead of being dealt with separately, sensitively and appropriately the three have been lumped together and handled with the same response,

[82]http://content.usatoday.com/communities/ondealine/post/ (accessed 05/05/2010)
[83]See Tony Payan, *The Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security* (Westport, Texas, Praeger Security International 2006), p.xiii.

namely the militarisation of the border. Sheriff Arpaio accepted that, in many cases, there was no substantial link between immigration and drug smuggling. Migrant workers were not usually working for the cartels. He acknowledged that immigrants came into the United States out of an economic need to improve their lot and those who did were not involved in drug trafficking. He was, however, opposed to the idea of an amnesty for non-documented immigrants. He believed this was unfair to those, who like his own parents, had taken the legal route. In response to the suggestion that there might be some value in the creation of a contemporary form of the Bracero programme, he was not averse to the idea. He commented that whatever legal framework was established to deal with the problems, there would always be those who would operate outside any regulations.

As well as his resistance of any suggestion that he regarded himself as a westerner, he also insisted that he and his office were not specifically involved with the border. As far as he was concerned the border was ninety seven miles south of his county and beyond his jurisdiction. He made the point that he was only dealing with those who had illegally crossed the border. They were his responsibility because they were non-documented 'illegals' and were within his county. I asked about the fear felt by many people that Mexican drug war violence could spill over the border into the United States and he took a fairly relaxed position. He commented that turf wars violence already existed between gangs in most United States cities. As for the current Federal border policy and the policing of the border, his attitude was that he did not believe that there would be any significant change under the Obama administration. He took the view that the policy of the Bush administration was being continued but the new administration was using softer language.

Arpaio's Office had recently been stripped of part of its federal authorisation to enforce federal immigration law. His officers are still able to check prisoners' immigration status but they do not possess the authority to make federal immigration arrests on the streets. This distinction relates to Section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act which permits a Memorandum of Understanding to be issued enabling the creation of a

Law Enforcement Partnership between the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency (ICE) and a local law enforcement agency. Like other local law enforcement departments through the country, the Maricopa County Sheriff's department had in place such an agreement with the Federal government. Under this agreement ICE undertook the responsibility of training state and local law enforcement agencies in the enforcement of federal immigration laws. Under this local agreement the Maricopa County Sherriff's office had more officers on the programme than any other local agency. There were one hundred deputies operating within the program, and they were reported as having investigated and arrested 33,000 illegal immigrants. This amounted to twenty-five percent of the total arrests under the whole federal program. Because of the high levels of 'stop and search' taking place in Maricopa County, ICE had withdrawn their agreement with the sheriff's department.

On July 10, 2009, the Obama Administration announced its intention to disregard the legislative intent of 287(g). Instead it would require law enforcement agencies participating in the program to sign a 'standardized' Memoranda of Agreement (MOAs). The new MOAs required the local law enforcement agencies who participated in the program to use their 287(g) authority to only enforce immigration laws against 'criminal aliens'. This was in direct conflict with the original intention of Congress, that 287(g) agreements could be used by state and local law enforcement agencies as they saw fit. These changes meant that Arpaio's department had to sign an amended agreement which required the department no longer to use its 287(g) authority to enforce immigration law against illegal aliens who charged with traffic infractions or other minor violations. The reason these changes were 'forced' upon Sheriff Arpaio was because a number of his critics regarded his policing strategies as legally questionable.

It is clear that Sheriff Arpaio is something of a "love him or hate him" character similar to the hero of a ballad. Those who "love him" see him as a symbol of the mythic lawman who 'does what a man has to do', a Western hero who insists that, 'there are some things that a man don't walk around'. There is no doubt as to how Sheriff Joe Arpaio

regards himself. He is the fearless lawman who embodies the conviction that the border is the location of the bandidos and the source of the threat to the stability and security of the United States which he believes they represent. The reality is something very different. His opponents regard him as an arrogant, insensitive racist who is part of the cause of the friction along the border and certainly not part of the solution. Arpaio is currently under investigation by a federal grand jury regarding allegations of his abuse of power. It is claimed that he has misused his authority by instigating criminal investigations against political opponents including the mayor of Phoenix, a former police captain, two members of the county's board of supervisors and a former attorney general of Arizona.

On 15 December 2011, the Civil Rights Division of the United States Justice Department sent a report of its investigation into accusations of civil rights violations by the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office (MCSO) to Mr. Bill Montgomery, Maricopa County Attorney. The investigation had begun in June 2008 and had focused on two issues. Firstly, had the Sheriff's Office complied with section 14141 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act which prohibited agencies such as MCSO from indulging in activities that violated the laws and the Constitution of the United States? Secondly, had the MCSO contravened the requirements of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that prohibited recipients of federal funding discriminating on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin? The Department had informed the Sheriff's Office of its investigation in March 2009 but it had experienced delay because MCSO failed to provide the federal government with access to its staff and materials. The Department eventually had to file a lawsuit against MCSO because of its failure to comply with its legal obligation. The lawsuit was resolved in June 2011 when MCSO agreed to provide the Department with the access to personnel and records.

The investigation was assisted "by four leading police practice experts, one jail expert, and an expert on statistical analysis".[84] They reviewed thousands of pages of documents, visited the county jails and interviewed some four hundred people, including current and former prison inmates. Interviews were conducted with the Sheriff and other MCSO senior personnel. From the findings of the investigation, the Justice Department found grounds for believing that MCSO had developed unconstitutional policing practices and had violated the constitutional rights of Mexican-American citizens and prisoners. The report identified sufficient examples of racial profiling and unlawful 'stop and search' activities amongst the county's Latino community to justify the claim that the office was in breach of the relevant federal legislation. The report also found grounds to believe that the county's jails discriminated against the Limited English Proficient (LEP)[85] inmates who were routinely punished for their failure to understand commands given in English. The punishments took the form of prisoners being confined to their cells for prolonged periods or placed in solitary confinement because of their use of Spanish. In some instances prison officers were found to reject forms requesting basic services completed in Spanish or, if the forms were accepted, the requests were subjected to unnecessary delays.

In addition to the Office's treatment of Mexican-American prisoners, the report identified other areas of "Discriminatory Policing". A statistical analysis of incidents when drivers were stopped on the county's roads indicated that "Latino" drivers were four to five times more likely to be stopped compared to non-Latino drivers. The review of traffic related incident reports for a three year period indicated that one-fifth of the reports, involving mainly Mexican-American citizens, contained information that supported the view that the stops violated the Fourth Amendment guarantee of protection against unreasonable seizure. The report also contained individual testimonies of occasions

[84]U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division. The Assistant Attorney General reported the findings of the Civil Rights Division investigation into the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office Attorney, Bill Montgomery on 15/12/2011. The text is available on hhttp://www.justice.gov/crt/about/msco_findletter_12-15-11.pdf-United States.

[85] Limited English Proficient is a United States Federal category that applied to anyone who has a limited range of spoken and written proficiency in English.

when MCSO deputies had stopped citizens on the basis of their appearance. As for the Sheriff's much-publicized 'sweeps' on suspected illegal immigration activities, the report cites incidents where these were based on complaints about their appearance and their use of Spanish rather than descriptions of criminal activity. The "crimes suppression" sweeps involved the participation of large numbers of MCSO officers. The most damning aspect of the report is its conclusion that MCSO maintained "a chronic culture of disregard for basic legal and constitutional obligations".[86]

Three other aspects of the culture and activity of the Office that gave rise to serious concerns within the Report required further investigation by the Department of Justice. The first was the discovery of incidents in which deputies had used excessive force in their dealings with Mexican-American residents. Secondly, as a consequence of the MCSO's policies towards Mexican-Americans and the strategies employed to deal with illegal immigration a "wall of distrust" had been erected between those responsible for law enforcement and the Latino residents. Consequently, the Office had damaged its ability to protect and serve a significant group of its citizens. Finally, the Justice Department declared that they had extended their investigation to include an examination into recent claims that MCSO had failed to adequately investigate a substantial number of sex crimes, including offences against children, many of which had been reported from Mexican-American neighbourhoods.

The report specifically addressed the role played by Sheriff Arpaio in the creation and maintenance of the culture of bias. It cites occasions when the Sheriff had forwarded to staff "racially charged" letters from constituents, to which he had added handwritten comments that suggested agreement with the letters' contents. According to the report, many of the letters contained no genuine intelligence about criminal activities but simply crude, racist comments, yet they were forwarded to command staff with instructions to deal with the communication as valid and reliable.

[86]http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/spl/mcso.phpm, ibíd. p.2.

> Labelling as “intelligence” a letter explicitly equating skin color (sic) with law-breaking and instructing a subordinate to address it are striking examples of how Sheriff Arpaio has promoted a culture of bias in his organization and clearly communicated to his officers that biased policing would not only be tolerated, but encouraged.[87]

There is no doubt that the report is damaging and appears to validate many of the criticisms of Sheriff Arpaio and his department. This is not the first such investigation into the conduct of MCSO under his leadership. The report cites a previous examination in 1995 by the Civil Rights Division into the issue of whether conditions within the county’s jails violated the prisoners’ constitutional rights. The outcome of this investigation was that both the use of excessive force and indifference to the inmates’ right of access to medical facilities were unconstitutional.[88] The result of that investigation was an agreement between the United States and MCSO in 1997. The possible outcome of this current report is difficult to predict in the current situation regarding the State of Arizona and its legal conflict with the United States Department of Justice concerning Arizona’s State Bill 1070. The ability of Sheriff Arpaio to continue to generate the usual level of support from his constituents cannot be taken for granted. He remains an heroic figure for many Anglo-Americans, not only in Arizona but also through the United States. One suspects that his iconic status will be preserved by a significant minority who see him as continuing a populist tradition that can be traced back to the early encounters between Hispanics and Anglos.

Conclusion

Joe Arpaio epitomises the issue these encounters have generated and which has been explored in the case studies. The issue is ultimately not about the border. It is about the people around and about the border. They have experienced rebellion, invasion, and conquest. Their land was seized after they had been legally granted citizenship and the

[87] http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/spl/mcso.php, p.11.
[88] http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/spl/mcso.php, p.5. footnote.

guarantees of equal protection under the Constitution of the United States. The sheriff does not stand alone. As we have seen, he is the voice and the image of those who are in denial of this aspect of their Hispanic past.

As with the two previous case-studies, the objective in this chapter has been to try and determine the connection between Arizona's historical narrative and its cultural memory. Both appear to be on a different plane to those of Texas and California. Unlike its neighbours, the cultural artefacts discussed mostly reveal a scant regard of an historical narrative that includes any substantial recognition of the pre-1854 period. Texas constructed a cultural memory in which a few Tejanos shared in the birth of the Republic. California has shaped a cultural memory that embraced a degree of Hispanicism as a romanticised past that can be celebrated. Arizona has excluded the Hispanic dimension almost entirely. It has done so in such a way that the case study does not seem to fit easily into the thesis that the United States has constructed its cultural memory of the border to reshape the Hispanic contribution. The cultural memory of Arizona has excluded this dimension. Yet, the argument is that Arizona has a place in this construction of *la Frontera.* I have argued that there is no single uniform borderland. Rather there are distinct borderlands but they all share a commonality; they arose from the Spanish colonial entity of New Spain. Arizona has sought to forget this aspect of its origins. Arizona has Hispanic roots and to insist otherwise is to ignore a vital dimension of is history which deserves celebration.

Conclusion

The Arizona case study has brought us back to the original question of how to deal with the conflict between the American patriots seeking to close the border to exclude the perceived alien and the Mexican-Americans' insistence on their right to celebrate their cultural and history as Americans. The Anglo-Americans insistence on the pre-dominance of their hegemony not only leads to the promulgation of racist stereotypes. It leads to a denial of the richness of the cultural memory they both share.

We return to the question of how productive have the case studies proven to be in addressing the concern to challenge the cultural construction of the U.S.-Mexico borders. Do they support the argument that the key to understanding how the border hegemony was constructed is found in the interaction between the historical narrative and cultural memory construct that is built from it? It is also necessary to evaluate the usefulness of the model of Hispanicism to the study, as well as the models of borders and borderland studies discussed in Chapter 1. The strengths and weaknesses of the study will be discussed and suggestions made as to future areas for research that has been identified throughout the study.

The construct of Hispanicism was generated in order to provide a potential tool for understanding the interaction between Anglos and Mexican Americans.[1] Based on Edward Said's Orientalism, it provided a framework for understanding an important aspect of the project, namely, the relationship between the dominant Anglo-American culture and the subaltern culture of the Mexican-American population. The decision to construct the Hispanicism model has proved useful, but the project has not given the model the attention that it deserves. There is a need for a more detailed study of its validity in the analysis of the Hispanic-American interaction. Initially, it has provided a means of addressing the tripartite mythology that is present in the hegemonic construction of borders and borderland studies. It was a useful perspective for each of the cases studies

[1] See Chapter 2, p.69ff.

but it has not been possible to explore it to the full extent of its value when compared with Said's Orientalism. A more detailed comparative analysis would be a fruitful venture.

Hispanicism is not a direct parallel with Said's Orientalism, but it has clearly made a valuable contribution to the study of *la Frontera*. It will be necessary to trace in more detail its origins in the theological and political fallout from the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The tensions they created between Protestant and Catholic cultures in Europe were transported across the Atlantic through the rise of western colonialism. It is from these rivalries that Hispanicism arose prior to 1821.

Borderland studies has benefitted from the construction of an identifiable academic and intellectual framework as a means of understanding the dynamic between the two cultures. Hispanicism has led to the development of an academic network of materials, resources, and academic authorities relating to the study of Hispanic history, culture and institutions. These have now become embedded in many American universities and colleges in the form of Departments of Chicano/a, Latino, Hispanic studies. These owe their origin partly to the United States government's desire in the 1950s and 60s to obtain greater understanding of the history, culture and politics of their neighbours in Central and South America. From the 1960s, federal funding assisted in the establishment of these departments. A second factor leading to the rise of Hispanicism was the Chicano/Chicana movement that was a branch of the civil rights movement in the United States. The contribution of Chicano studies to the case studies is clear. It provided perspectives and materials that enabled a richer analysis of the cultural artefacts The Chicano movement also produced a number of highly motivated Mexican-Americans committed to the new field and they have provided a substantial base to the Hispanic discourse. The same is true south of the border where Mexican approaches to *el frontera norte* also offer rich opportunities for comparative and cooperative ventures in border studies. Hispanicism is also present in the representation, both positive and negative, of Mexican-Americans within popular culture. It was this aspect of Hispanicism that lay behind this study and led to the analysis of how cultural artefacts such as film and television play a vital part in the

construction of the other. There is scope for further research in this field in order to ascertain the ways in which Hispanicism continues to shape the American view of the other.

The use of the Brunet-Jailly 4-Lens model of borders and borderland studies has been of mixed value. It proved to be of personal value in my preliminary research into the project. It provided a useful framework in placing the project within the context of a valid discipline. It was helpful to have been involved in the discussion between Brunet-Jailly and Konrad and Nicol on the issue of how well the original cultural lens captured the complexity of the interaction between culture and identity. As to how valuable was my attempt to insist that the historical narrative be included in the frame, I feel it is important to insist that historical narratives are crucial to our understanding of the nature of borders and that there are negative consequences if we neglect them. It is equally valid to insist that the cultural artefacts produced through cultural memories to represent an historical narrative are carefully scrutinised. The three case studies have demonstrated the validity of the model of borderlands and borderland studies showing that, when there is a disjuncture between the various lenses then the borderlands can be seen as fractious. This is especially so when the historical perspective is forgotten or ignored. The case studies have also allowed us to reveal the links between the construction of the historical narrative and a community's cultural memory. The case studies have supported the claim that there is not one single border between the United States and Mexico. The borderland is too complex for such a simplistic view. The respective historical narratives of Texas, California and Arizona have produced different cultural memories.

In the case of Texas, the historical narrative was constructed in such a way as to produce a cultural memory that recalls the birth of Texas as a second American revolution against tyranny. George III was replaced by General Santa Anna and the various events and conflicts were shaped into a mini war of independence. In building this memory, the Tejano role in the Texas Rebellion was initially excised but there has since been some revision. As more details surrounding the events of the Alamo have been uncovered, a

limited role has been acknowledged, but it remains one in which a few of the Tejanos are seen as assisting the Anglos in their rebellion. This 'contribution' myth has failed to address the complexity of the political arguments that existed, not just in Mexico but in the turbulent borderland province. The Alamo myths contain fragments of an inclusive Tejano discourse. The historical narrative has been remembered as an act of resistance against an Hispanic tyranny. The Texas rebellion is recited, not as an act of secession from Mexico, but as a second war of American independence.

The California case study revealed an historical narrative that was shaped into a constructed memory in the form of the romantic myth of the California Pastoral and a Spanish Fantasy past. It represents a co-optation of the Hispanic past that became the memory of a doomed world that, sadly, had to disappear. California's Edenic past was represented as lost, not only because of both the moral and political superiority of American culture but because of the inherent flaws that made the *Californios* incapable of responding to the demands of history. For all of the romance, they failed to use the land to achieve its maximum potential. It needed the drive of the Anglo to accomplish that. The violence of the American conquest and the ethnic exclusion experienced by the *Californios* that followed, were both forgotten in the cultural memory that emerged after the 1846 invasion.

Whilst Texas and California shaped a cultural memory that had a place for a Mexican-American dimension in their respective pasts, Arizona is a different matter. The Arizona case study uncovered a cultural amnesia that culls and eliminates altogether any contribution made by the Mexican-Americans to its borderland historical narrative. Arizona's current political stance and the recent controversial and restrictive legislation demonstrate this amnesia. The case study reveals a perception of Arizona's past that does not recognise any positive contribution by the Mexican-Americans. The cultural memory sees only an alien presence threatening the quality and nature of what it means to be an American. While similar attitudes can be found in the case of Texas and California they do at least recognise and celebrate a Mexican-American dimension.

There are a number of further research projects identified by the study. Further work is needed into the application of the models of borders and borderland studies to the U.S.-Canadian border. Despite the fact that the northern border has a shared Anglo-European past and a reputation of the longest 'friendly' border, there is no doubt that, post-9/11, friction and tension have arisen between the two neighbours. As with the case studies contained here, the research should explore the process by which the historical narrative of the northern border is recalled in the cultural memory. Equally valuable would be research into the fourth border of New Mexico which was not included in this study.

There is a further research possibility into the Tejano involvement in the formation of Texas. The role of key Tejanos like Juan Seguín and Lorenzo de Zavala, the first vice-president of the Texas Republic call for attention. The Texas case study provides evidence that indicates that Juan Seguín's role in the rebellion was more than that of a friendly Tejano helping the real protagonists. It has been noted that his family's contribution to Texas history was greater than that of Stephen Austin, yet there appears to be limited academic material. There was a similar dearth of material relating to the role of Lorenzo Zavala, the first vice-president of the new Texas Republic. He is even less familiar than Seguín but he represents a Tejano involvement that was more than 'contributory'.

There is a final issue to be addressed and it concerns the question as to whether the project has been successful in achieving its goal of contesting the cultural construction of the U.S.-Mexico border. I argue that the answer is, by and large, in the affirmative. The predominant cultural construct of the border since 9/11 is that it is a hostile threatening region that must be sealed and policed. Such a construct and its political consequences are untenable. The border is not a line or a boundary that separates two distinct and different peoples. For a start such a view excludes the presence of the Native-Americans around the border. The border is a region rich in various historical narratives and cultural memories. As the case studies have demonstrated there is more than a single border. There are variations in historical narratives and cultural memory between Texas,

California and Arizona. These variants demonstrate the rich cultural, linguistic and ethnic mixture that is essence of the strength and beauty of *la Frontera.*

Among the choices facing the border is the one that relates to the question, 'what is an American'? The populist clamour to insist that the answer has to be linked to white Anglo-Saxonism has produced a hostile paranoia that is closed to a potential enrichment that can come from a wider understanding of citizenship. At the heart of America's sense of identity are the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Neither are ethnically exclusive. They were accepted by those who deliberately embraced the principles they enshrine. Those principles can be, and are, embraced by a wider range of ethnic groups than drew up and signed the original documents. The United States is now perhaps the most ethnically mixed society in the world. Therein lies its strength, if it can embrace it. The borderlands provides a location where that embrace can be demonstrated. The historical narratives are entangled, the cultural memories are intertwined. By embracing both, America accepts the opportunity to become richer. Just because one looks Mexican does not mean they are not American. Just because you are of Anglo-American stock does not mean that you cannot become richer by embracing the historical narrative and cultural memory that comes from *la Frontera*. The border is the place of engagement and enrichment, not exclusion and isolation.

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