A History of Chicanos and Latinos in the United States

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RENE MILLER PAREDES

Contents

Thank you to my parents, Dwayne and Clara Miller, for always supporting me.

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UNIT 1: MESOAMERICA, LA CONQUISTA, AND COLONIZATION

Introduction

Learning Objectives

After you have finished reading the Introduction, you will be able to:

1. explain the history of the terms Chicano, Latino, and Hispanic.

What's in a name?

Have you ever been asked, "What are you?" In the United States, this is an all-too-common question that can come from almost anywhere, new friends or coworkers, strangers on the street, and of course, those government forms that usually require you to choose one from among a long list of choices. In the case of government forms, your answer creates data for agencies that determine services for your community, among other things.. Others may ask simply in an effort to understand or connect with you, or maybe because they think you don't belong in their space. Regardless of the reason, the question can create feelings of anxiety and frustration, as well as another question, "Why does this matter?"

Modern North and South America are a product of European colonization that began with Christopher Columbus in 1492 (more on this later). The product of colonization is a blending of Indigenous, African, and European heritages that have created new cultures as well as the concept of "race" which is usually defined by skin color. The question "What are you?" implies that the asker is not sure where to place you in their understanding of the racial divisions of the Americas.

In addition to terms that everyday people use, the government and academics use their own terms to refer to the various groups created by colonization. The terms Chicano and Latino, which are incorporated into the title of this book, each has its own history of use and meaning, which have changed across generations.

Chicano

In August of 1970, journalist Ruben Salazar was killed during a protest against the prevalence of Mexican American youth being drafted to serve in Vietnam. By the time of his death, Mexican American activists had begun calling themselves "Chicanos," a term that had been used against them as a racial slur. Salazar himself defined the term Chicano as "a Mexican American with a non-Anglo image of himself." (1970) To be Chicano was to see oneself through ones own eyes rather than through the eyes of White Americans. To be Chicano was and is to be empowered.

Ruben Salazar in Mexico City, 1966 by Joe Kennedy, Los Angeles Times is licensed CC BY 4.0.

Latino

The term Latino typically refers to people from Latin America. However, if you look on a map of the world, no such country or region exists. Further, the Latin language is no longer spoken by anyone outside of the Roman Catholic Church. So where is "Latin" America? Essentially, the term refers to the entire area of the Americas South of the Rio Grande. Some scholars include Brazil as part of Latin America, while others do not because Brazil was colonized by Portugal and they predominantly speak Portuguese. Some people include the Caribbean in Latin America, which then would add French and English speakers into the mix. Thus, "Latin" America provides the broadest possible brush with which to paint the people that occupy this region. The term is typically used in the United States and Europe, not by those who actually live in the region. Instead, people who occupy Latin America typically identify themselves by the country or region they are from, such as Cuban, Guatemalan, Argentinian, etc.

Hispanic

The term Hispanic is often used on government forms in the United States. The term itself seems to have originated

with the government of Spain during its colonization of the Americas and denoted Indigenous peoples who had adopted the Spanish language and converted to Catholicism. The U.S. government began adding "Hispanic" to the list of racial groups on their forms during the Nixon administration, while local governments sometimes used it earlier than that. Like Latin American, Hispanic is an umbrella term that paints a large and heterogenous group with a broad brush. Further, it is rarely used outside of forms and official labels.

Question to Consider

Why is it important for society to create labels?

Why Study Chicano/Latino History?

The terms Chicano and Latino are now often used interchangeably, with courses labeled Chicano studies incorporating the study of other colonized, Spanish-speaking groups in the United States, especially people from Central America, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

Traditional courses in United States History tend to teach from the perspective of White males, particularly those in power. Most US History courses include little about people of color, even when discussing slavery or the Civil Rights Movement, little more than a few pages are devoted to the topic and the approach is often to discuss the issues as they are dealt with and experienced by White Americans. Courses in the history of specific groups within the United States, such as that of Chicanos, fills the gaps left by traditional US History courses and tells the country's story from the point of view of Chicanos.

In addition to filling a historical gap, Chicano History courses can promote self-awareness and self-esteem among Chicano students. When one's history is absent from the books, when it is not mentioned or is merely a footnote, the real message is that it is not important. When one's history is invisible, those who lived it and those who inherited it are also invisible. Chicano History courses bring the unique contributions and experiences of the Chicano community out of the shadows in order to help Chicano students understand themselves, their community, and their country.

Finally, Chicano History courses can serve to promote cross-cultural knowledge and understanding when taken by students outside of the Chicano community. Chicanos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and are 40% of the population of California (2020 Census), yet their rich history and complex culture are virtually unknown outside of Cinco de Mayo, Taco Tuesdays, and Disney's Coco. This course will shed light on the history of Chicanos in the United States and the important contributions they have made to the formation and success of the country.

Chapter 1. Mesoamerica

Learning Objectives

After you have finished reading the following content you will be able to:

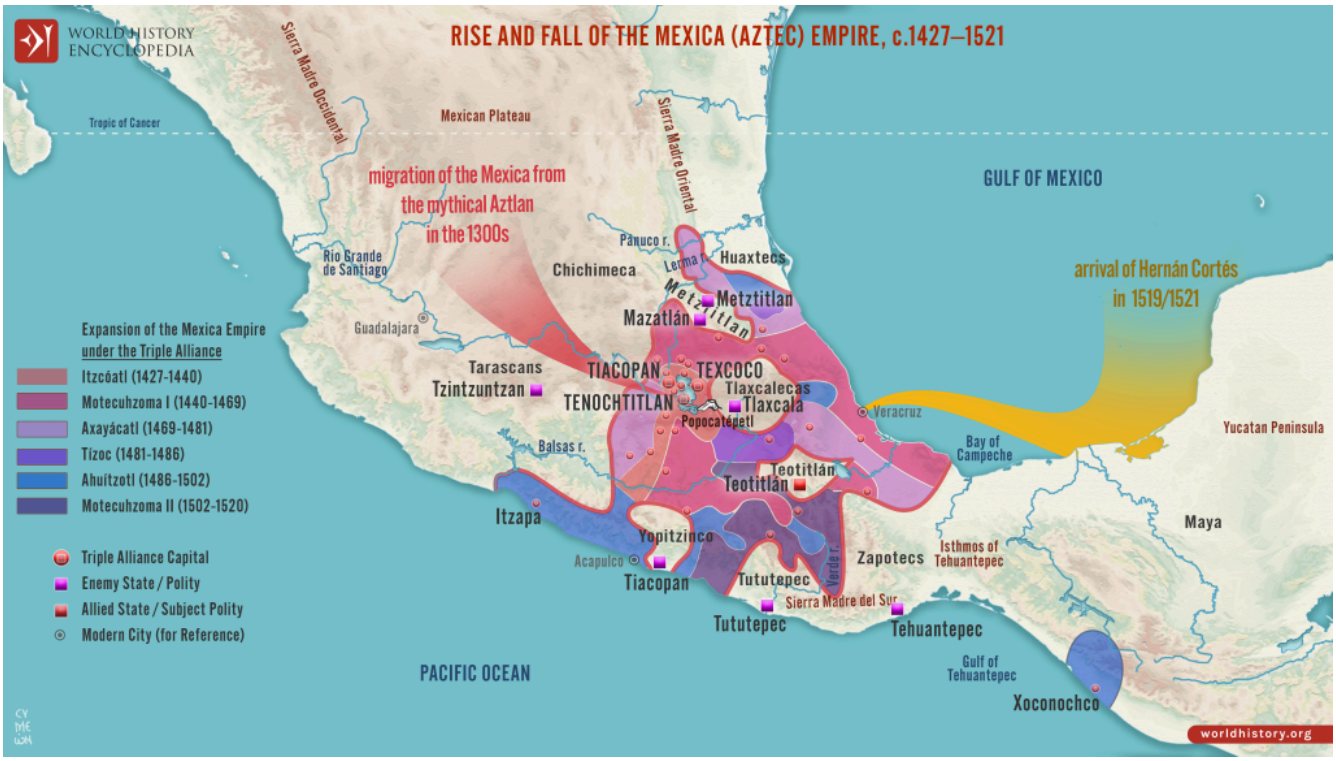
1. explain who the original Americans were and the theories surrounding how they arrived.
2. explain the social and political life of early American cultures of Mesoamerica, including the Maya, Teotihuacan, Toltecs, and Aztecs.

Ice Age Immigrants and the Bering Land Bridge

Before Columbus's first voyage in 1492, the continents of North and South America, linked by the Isthmus of Panama, had been inhabited by humans since at least the last ice age, which ended about 13,000 years ago. By the time of the European conquest of the Americas, historians believe there were between 50 and 75 million people living on both continents and the Caribbean islands in the Gulf of Mexico, although this is an estimate that Native Americans believe to be much lower than the actual number. The question for the Spaniards first, and later for scholars, has always been where these people came from and how did they arrive in the Americas.

Modern people will likely never know for sure if this theory, known as the Bering Land Bridge Theory, is correct because we have no written records from the time. However, the physical evidence, such as the oldest known sites of the earliest Americans in the desert Southwest, suggest that humans have only been in the Americas since about 11,000 BC/BCE. Further, Asians and Native Americans share genetic markers on the Y chromosome, which supports the idea that Native Americans were originally from Asia. A common saying in Archaeology is the lack of evidence does not mean a lack of existence, and so scholars continue to explore remote sites throughout North and South America to find evidence of earlier human settlements.

Early American Civilizations



"*Map of the Aztec Empire, c. 1427–1521*" *by* *Simeon Netchev* *is licensed* CC BY-NC-ND

Regardless of how they arrived in the Americas, humans eventually settled into large and small communities from Alaska to the tip of South America by the time Europeans arrived. America's indigenous population was largest in the temperate climate zones close to the equator, where abundant sunshine and rainfall allow year-round growing cycles with 3-5 harvests per year, thus enabling the population to be well-fed and healthy.

Agriculture developed globally around 9,000 BC/BCE, with Native Americans planting maize, their principle crop, along with squash, potatoes, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, tomatoes, peanuts, and chiles in the fertile soil of Central America and the Yucatan Peninsula. The cultivation of these and other crops spread as far north as the Great Plains and South to the plains of modern day Argentina, although these regions had a shorter growing season which made population growth slower than that of the temperate regions. Indigenous Americans supplemented their diet with hunting, trapping, and fishing, but did not typically raise livestock for human consumption. Domestic livestock, such as cattle and hogs, arrived with the Europeans.

The Maya

On the Yucatan Peninsula in modern-day Mexico and the northern region of Central America grew a large and advanced civilization, known as the Maya. The Mayan civilization thrived for nearly 2000 years, developing around 300 BC/BCE and maintaining independence until they became a client state of the Aztecs around 1300 AD/CE. The people themselves are still in this region; many still speak their ancient language and maintain their culture in spite

of colonization efforts first by the Aztecs, then the Spanish and other European nations. For example, currently approximately 80% of the people of Honduras and El Salvador are Mayan.

Politically, the ancient Maya were divided into a number of city-states, each with its own politically independent king, although occasionally the Maya seem to have gathered around a single leader when threatened by outsiders. Each city-state had a town center, consisting of pyramids built from stones carved by hand and brought from as far as 100 miles away without the use of draft animals such as horses or oxen. These pyramids served the community as places of worship, which included observing the movements of the stars and planets and making sacrifices to the gods. Political buildings were near the temples and the king was expected to make regular sacrifices of his own flesh to appease the gods and keep his people safe. This sacrifice was typically in the form of blood letting, during which time the king would drag sharp barbs over his tongue, his blood collected in a bowl and given to the gods while his people watched.

"Chichen Itza" *by Alistair Rae is licensed* CC BY-SA 2.0.

The skilled workers lived on the outskirts of town, and farmers lived near the fields, which were just outside of the city. Mayan fields were built with raised walkways between them, which acted not only as a pathway to walk on or pull a cart, but also to channel water into the fields to facilitate irrigation. In this way, Maya farmers were able to enjoy year round harvests, and the population flourished as a result.

Mayan contributions to mathematics and science are well documented and go well beyond the fabled calendar. They were the first to use the zero as a place holder in mathematics and their charts and observations of the heavens have contributed widely to modern astronomy. However, the Maya themselves did not study the stars and planets for the sake of knowledge, but because they believed that the movements of the stars, planets, comets, and other heavenly bodies impacted life on earth. Mayan astronomers used the knowledge gained from their observations to determine planting and harvesting timelines, when to celebrate certain holidays, and to predict the future. Their knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was used to lay out their cities and build their pyramids and other important structures. The Maya had a written language made up of glyphs, which was used to record their scientific observations, their history, as well as their legends and myths. When the Spanish arrived among them, they believed that these works were unholy and burned all but three of the more than 1200 books written by the ancient Maya. While some of their knowledge had spread to the Aztecs, who were able to preserve more of their written records, we will never know

the full extent of the loss and until recently, the Mayan language was not well understood by historians. We are only beginning to understand the full impact of the ancient Maya on Mesoamerica.

Teotihuacan

At the same time that the Maya were developing their civilization on the Yucatan, another indigenous American culture was developing in the Anahuac Valley of central Mexico, the Teotihuacanes. Their civilization flourished from about 200 BC/BCE to 700 AD/CE before it mysteriously collapsed and their great capital city was abandoned. The remains of Teotihuacan can be found about twenty miles outside of modern day Mexico City and features a complex of temples and pyramids, notably the Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon. The Pyramid of the Sun is larger at its base than the Great Pyramid at Kufu in Egypt and was the focal point of religious life in the city of Teotihuacan.

"Pyramid of the Sun" by Ineuw is in the public domain.

The Toltecs

Following the collapse of Teotihuacan, the Toltec civilization rose to replace them as the power in the Anahuac Valley. Their capital city, Tula, was a center of trade among the people of central Mexico as well as the Maya to the south and the smaller tribes to the north. The Toltecs thrived in the Anahuac from about 900-1100 AD/CE before they were supplanted by the Aztecs, immigrants from the north. Before fading from history, the Toltecs would pass along a legend to the Aztecs that would become an important cause of their downfall to the Spanish in 1521: The Legend of Quetzalcoatl.

Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent)

The origin of the story of Quetzalcoatl is best traced to the Toltecs, though some scholars believe it is far older, perhaps originating within Teotihuacan. By the time the Aztecs arrived in the Anahuac Valley in about 1200, the story was well known not only among the valley's inhabitants but also among their Mayan neighbors to the south. Quetzalcoatl's story will be integrated into the Aztec pantheon (collection of gods and goddesses) and will play a huge part in the drama between themselves and the Spanish.

"Quetzalcoatl" *published in the Codex Borbonicus, 16th century is in the public domain.*

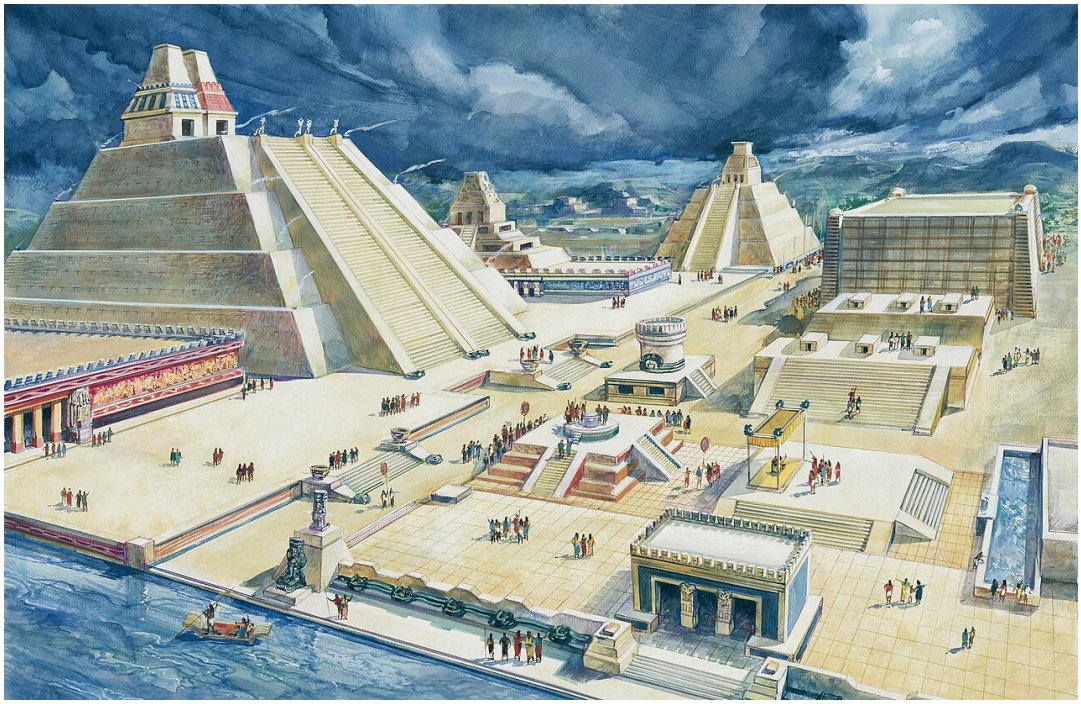
Toltec legend told of dethroned Prince Ce-Acytl Topilitzin, who spoke out against the practice of human sacrifice, which was common throughout Mesoamerica, and wars of conquest. His protests angered the priests, who gained their power through controlling the temples and sacrifices, and they drove him out of the Anahuac Valley. The banished prince promised that he would return from the east in One Reed Year, a year that appears every 11 years on the Aztec calendar, to end human sacrifice and wars of conquest. By the time the Aztecs arrived in the valley, the legend of the banished Prince Ce-Acytl Topilitzin had transformed into the myth of Quetzalcoatl, who was the Aztec god of wind, air, arts, crafts, wisdom, and learning.

The Aztecs

The last of the great Mesoamerican people, the Aztecs (Mexica in Nahuatl) arrived in the Anahuac Valley during the 12th century from the north, fought the Toltecs, and supplanted them as the regional super power. They would build a large

empire, including client states such as the Maya, making war on their neighbors in order to dominate the region and assure a steady supply of sacrifices to their god of war.

Once they had conquered the Toltecs, the Aztecs built their capital city, Tenochtitlan, on an island in the middle of Lake Texcoco, where modern Mexico City stands. By the time they arrived, the ruins of Teotihuacan would have been ancient in the eyes of the Aztecs, but they borrowed the architectural style and adopted it as their own, building pyramids and grand civic buildings in their capital. Causeways linked the city to the chinampas, floating fields that grew all of the crops that were needed to feed the city's population of as many as 200,000 people.



"*Templo Mayor in Mexico-Tenochtitlan 16th century*" *by Diego Rivera is in the* *public domain*.

Politically, the Aztecs were ruled by an emperor, who was viewed as a god in mortal form and whose position was passed through a dynastic line. By the time of the Spanish arrival, they were ruled by Mocetuzoma, or more commonly, Montezuma, who had led the Aztecs to become the most powerful empire in the history of the Anahuac Valley. In addition to conquering the Maya and making them a client state, the Aztecs had conquered most of their neighbors, including the Cholulans, and also had trade relationships with peoples as far north as modern day Arizona and New Mexico. One group that had never come under the control of the Aztecs were the Tlaxcala, a very large group who were less than thirty miles from Tenochtitlan. The Aztecs and Tlaxcala made war on one another for decades and many Tlaxcala warriors were captured and sacrificed to the Aztec war god. The Tlaxcala were a bitter enemy of the Aztecs, and this fact would eventually be used by the Spaniards when they arrived in Mexico in 1519.

Question to Consider

What similarities to do you see among the Mayas, Teotihuacanes, Toltecs, and Aztecs? How do you explain these similarities?

Chapter 2. The Spanish

Learning Objectives

After you have finished reading the following content you will be able to:

1. explain the history of the Iberian Peninsula from the Roman Empire through the Umayyad Caliphate.
2. explain the role religion played in the culture and politics of Spain.

"Castile" by Alexandre Vigo is licensed CC BY SA 3.0

Spain

The country of modern day Spain has a unique history compared to that of other Western European nations. It has been

invaded, conquered, and colonized many times in its long history; each new invader leaving an impact on the landscape, the culture, and the people of Spain.

The Romans

Like most of ancient Europe, Spain was originally home to a number of tribes collectively referred to as Celtic. These people lived in small communities under tribal chieftains and built monolithic structures for religious celebrations, the most famous of which is Stonehenge in southern Great Britain. This changed when the Roman Empire invaded and conquered Spain over the course of 200 years, beginning in 220 and ending in 19 BC/BCE. The Celtic population moved north to escape the Roman invasion, but eventually the entire peninsula was conquered and many Celts remained. The Romans utilized the practice of colonizing the far reaches of their empire by granting land to the soldiers in the invading army and encouraging them to remain, marry women from the area, thereby spreading Roman civilization. It is through the colonization process that the local Celtic population would eventually become absorbed into the Roman empire, blending their language and customs with that of the Roman empire, who gave their new colony the name Hispania. It would remain a colony of Rome until the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century AD/CE.

The Visigoths

The Visigoths were a tribe of German speaking peoples who invaded the Roman Empire in the 4th century, AD/CE in order to escape the Huns, who had invaded their homeland in eastern Europe. Fighting between the Romans and the Visigoths resulted in the latter being given the Roman territory of Hispania (Spain) and southern Gaul (now France) to settle and colonize. The Kingdom of the Visigoths was established in 418 AD/CE and continued to rule the region until they were invaded by the Muslims in 711. While the Visigoths had experienced persecution under Roman rule, they did not extend equality to non-Visigoths or non-Christians within their own kingdom, choosing instead to require conversion to the Catholic religion upon pain of death for Jews and other non-Christians. The Germanic language spoken by the Visigoths mixed with the Latin and Celtic languages already spoken by the peoples of Hispania, adding another dimension to the local culture.

The Umayyad Caliphate

In the year 711, an army of the Umayyad Caliphate of North Africa crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and invaded the Kingdom of the Visigoths, who were pushed further and further north until the invasion was finally halted in 726. The Kingdom of the Visigoths was transformed into the Kingdom of Asturias, which controlled the northernmost part of modern day Spain. The rest of the Iberian Peninsula, including modern-day Portugal, was under the control of the Umayyad Caliphate. The Asturian Kingdom would launch an invasion of the Umayyad Caliphate in an attempt to retake their former lands. This war would last, off and on, for over 700 years.

"The Andalusian Umayyad State (856-1031)" is licensed CC0.

As the map above shows, it took nearly 500 years for the Asturian Kingdom to reconquer just half of the Iberian Peninsula. By this time, the kingdom had divided into several smaller kingdoms ruled by important families, such as the Castilles, Aragons, and Navarras. These kingdoms, and others, fought amongst themselves for control of the northern region while simultaneously fighting with the Umayyads, who by this time had renamed their kingdom Al-Andalus (Almohades). It would another 250 years before the kingdoms of Castille and Aragon were joined together with the secret marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, and the warring kingdoms were united under the banner of Spain. It would take a number of years after this for Spain to finally remove the remaining Umayyads from their shores, in 1492.

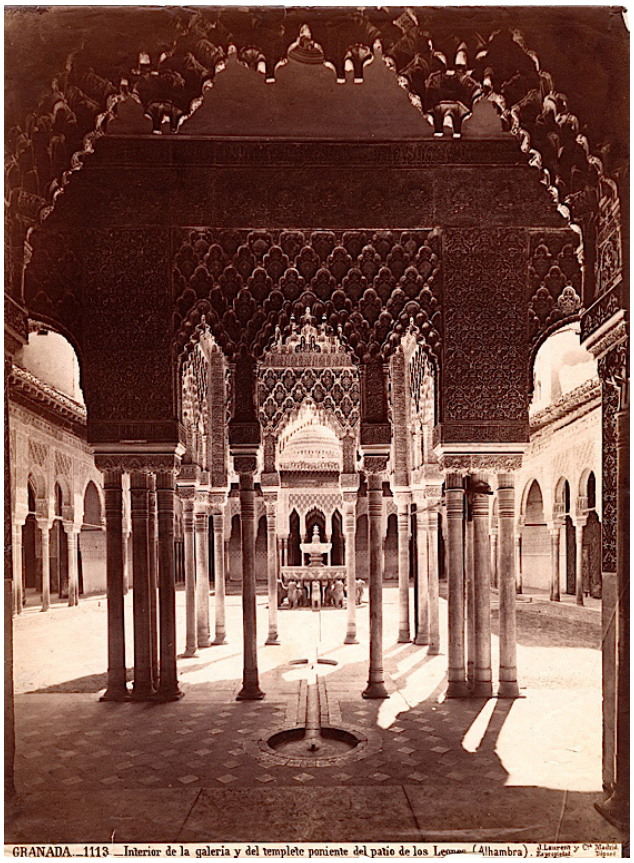
Religion on the Iberian Peninsula

Beginning with the Visigoths, the peoples of modern day Spain were Catholic Christians, and that would continue to define their religious life for much of their history, even when being ruled by the Umayyads, who were Muslims. Visigoth Christianity was intolerant and actively persecuted non-believers, but when the Umayyads invaded, they ended the persecution of Jews and other religious minorities within their borders, although it continued in the Northern kingdoms that were still run by Christians. Under Muslim law, both Jews and Christians are referred to a "Children of the Book" (meaning the Bible) and therefore are not required to convert to Islam in the same way that Muslim law required Infidels (non-believers) to do. Instead, Christians and Jews were allowed to worship freely so long as the paid a religious tax, called the Jizya. Therefore, while the rest of Christian Europe regularly discriminated against or persecuted their Jewish populations, such as forcing them to wear the Star of David and live apart from the rest of the population in ghettos, Jews in Al-Andulus enjoyed a level of education and influence not seen anywhere else in Europe. These Jews, called Sephardic, often served as scribes and record keepers in the government, were merchants throughout the Mediterranean world, and developed skills in building and other trades. Christians in Al-Andulus enjoyed similar

freedoms, although they were not hindered anywhere in Europe. Once the Muslims were removed from Spain in 1492, the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella force all of country's Jews to convert to Christianity or face banishment or death. Some Jews hid among the sailors aboard the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria under the command of Christopher Columbus.

Conclusion

Throughout its history of conquest and colonization, Spain has absorbed new comers, even those they hated, such as the Umayyads, and over time their culture became cosmopolitan, representing peoples from throughout the ancient world. For example, what is often referred to today as Spanish style architecture, noted for its use of archways, spires, and decorative tiles, is actually Arabic. Castilian Spanish is considered a Romance language, meaning its root is in Latin, but it is sprinkled with Celtic, Germanic, and Arabic words, phrases, and names, as is modern-day Portuguese. Even the concept of a "pure-blood" Spaniard, stereotyped with blonde hair and blue eyes and so important in the American colonies, is questionable since so many of the conquistadors were from the southern region of Spain, long dominated by Arabs and North Africans.



"Court of the Lions, Alhambra" *by Juan Laurant, 1871, is in the public domain.*

The Spanish people who explored, invaded, conquered, and colonized most of the Americas had a long history of being invaded, conquered, and colonized themselves. The experience taught them to fear those who were different from themselves, particularly those of a different religion, and to place a higher value on pale complexions than darker tones.

Understanding the origin of these prejudices may shed some light (although never as an excuse) on the behavior of the Spaniards when they arrived among the indigenous Americans in the 15th century.

Question to Consider

How do you think the history of invasion, conquest, and colonization impacted the Spaniards' view of themselves?

Chapter 3. The Aztecs and La Conquista

Learning Objectives

After you have finished watching the following video, you will be able to:

1. describe the history of the Aztec peoples and critique how they built their empire in central Mexico.
2. describe how the Spanish conquered the Aztec empire and analyze the impact this event had on the people of Mesoamerica.

Please watch the film 500 Nations about the Aztecs and their conquest by the Spanish & their Native allies, linked below.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here:
https://pressbooks.whccd.edu/historyofchicanx/?p=190#oembed-1

Question to Consider

How has the mix of Aztec and Spanish culture impacted modern Mexican people?

Chapter 4. Colonization of New Spain

Learning Objectives

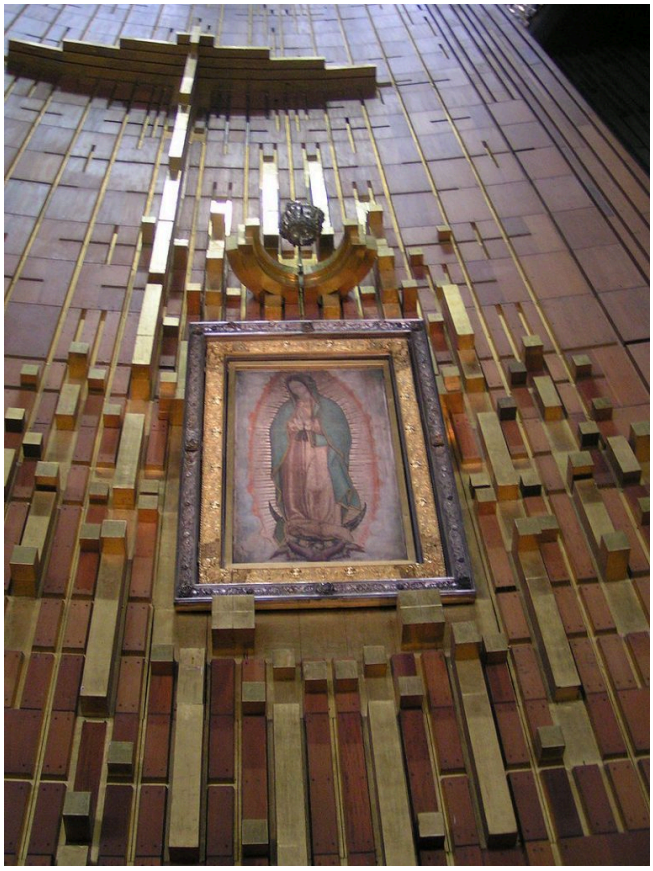
After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. explain the role the Catholic Church played in the conquest of modern-day Mexico.
2. explain the way land was divided by the Spanish Crown, including encomienda, repartimiento, and hacienda systems.
3. explain the caste system that operated in New Spain and how it was changed in El Norte.
4. explain how the Mission system was used to subjugate the Native peoples in El Norte.

Once the Spanish conquered the Aztec Empire, they renamed Tenochitlan Mexico City and used it as their capital and center of colonial activity in New Spain (modern Mexico). As they had done in the Caribbean, they took over native villages and put resisters to the sword, raping and pillaging their way through central, southern, and northern Mexico. The Spanish used the army and the church to force their beliefs onto the native population, creating an entirely new belief system as a result.

The Virgin of Guadalupe

As the story goes, on December 12, 1531 the Virgin Mary appeared to an Aztec man named Juan Diego on the ruins of the temple to the Aztec Mother Goddess Tonitzin on the Hill of Tepayac, outside Mexico City.



"Our Lady of Guadalupe" by Juan Zatko is licensed CC BY-SA 3.0

The story of the appearance of what became known as the Virgin of Guadalupe helped to convert hundreds of thousands of Aztecs and other central Mexican natives to the Catholic Church. Those who did not convert willingly were often threatened, tortured, or even killed publicly to serve as an example to others of the wisdom of conversion.

Question to Consider

What stands out about this image? Why is she considered sacred by most Mexican and Mexican Americans today?

Exerting Control

Once Cortez and his soldiers took control of the Aztec capital, the Spanish king sent representatives of his court to oversee the colonization of New Spain. The king's representative in his colony was called Viceroy, and he was answerable to the king alone. The Viceroy, with the king's blessing, doled out land to Cortez and his soldiers as reward for their conquest of the Aztec Empire. These land grants were held in trust by the recipients and could be passed down through the family line, but they remained under the ownership of the Spanish monarch. These grants were originally referred to as encomienda.

The encomienda grants were very large, encompassing hundreds of square miles of land and included whatever resources existed or could be developed on the land, as well as all of the people who dwelt there. Through this process, virtually all of the indigenous population of Mexico became enslaved to the Spaniards. The holder of the grant was required to oversee the conversion of the native population under his care to Christianity. This was often done by force but some some employed Catholic priests, who set up missions to minister to the native population. Those who converted, called Neophytes, were set up as examples for those who had not yet converted, sometimes given special treatment to encourage others to convert. The intent of the Spanish monarchy was to bring the native population under Spanish control quickly while also gaining converts to the Catholic church. However, in 1542 a priest by the name of Bartolome de las Casas wrote a letter to the king of Spain, describing the cruel and inhumane treatment endured by the native peoples in the Caribbean at the hands of Spanish soldiers within the encomienda system. Father de las Casas's report was graphic and caused the king to eventually get rid of the encomienda system in favor a new one, called repartimiento, which was intended to provide more protection to the indigenous populations in the Spanish colonies.

Under repartimiento, the Spanish grant holders were required to pay the native peoples on their land, provide them with basic necessities, and still work to convert them to Christianity. However, this system was abused as much as the encomienda system, and the indigenous population continued to dwindle under Spanish brutality.

Finally, the Spanish Crown settled on the hacienda system, which survived until the Mexican Revolution of the early 20th century. Under this system, Spanish land grant holders paid their workers and provided an education, similar to the repartimiento. However, under the hacienda system, the grant holders were no longer expected to support their workers with food, clothing, and shelter. Instead, these necessities would be paid for out of the worker's salary, which was never enough to cover the whole cost. The worker would then become indebted to the grant holder, who would require the worker to remain on the hacienda until the debt was paid. The debt would pass from generation to generation, becoming larger and larger over the decades. The workers became known as "peones" or indentured servants, but they were essentially slaves for life because they could never earn enough to repay their haciendado (owner of the hacienda).

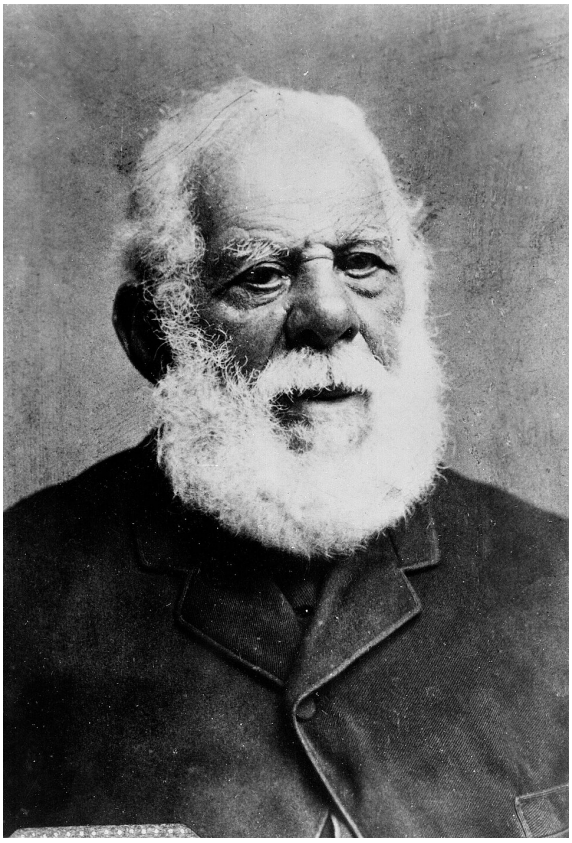
Mestizaje (Racial Mixing)

In addition to controlling the land and the economy of New Spain, the Spanish, who were nearly all male, moved to transform the indigenous population through sexual conquest. Native women were often victims of rape as soldiers attacked their villages, resulting in the birth of mixed race children, Mestizos, months later. Often, these children were rejected by the tribe and by their Spanish fathers, and were left at the missions run by Catholic priests. However, because of the spread of European diseases, malnutrition, overwork, and warfare, the native population decreased dramatically and more and more Mestizo children replaced them in the workforce.

The Spanish not only enslaved the native population and their Mestizo children, they imported Africans to work as slaves throughout their colonies, including New Spain. African women were subject to the same sexual exploitation of Native women and bore mixed race children called Mulattos. Being enslaved with Native peoples also meant that Africans mixed with the indigenous populations as well.

A caste system developed within New Spain that would last, to an extent, into modern times. At the top of the social hierarchy were the Peninsulares, sometimes referred to as Gachupinos. These were men and women who were born in Spain (on the Iberian Peninsula) and therefore had earned, through birthright, the right to rule. The Viceroy, local officials, and others of power and influence throughout New Spain were Gachupinos. Just under the Gachupinos were Criollos, who were the children of the Peninsulares but born in the Americas. Because of the location of their birth, Criollos were lower in the caste system and barred from certain positions of power. It would be the Criollos that would lead Mexico to declare independence from Spain in 1810. Below the Crollos were the Mestizos, people of mixed Spanish and indigenous parentage, followed by the indigenous population, called "Indians" and finally, the African population, called "Negros." The caste system essentially divided everyone in New Spain by skin color from lightest to darkest.

However, as the Spanish moved into the frontier, this caste system blended and became somewhat less important. An example of this blending can be seen in the following photo of Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor of California. Note his dark complexion and African features. His family lineage is officially listed as Mestizo, but his mixed heritage did not prevent him from becoming governor on the frontier as it would have in the central part of Mexico.

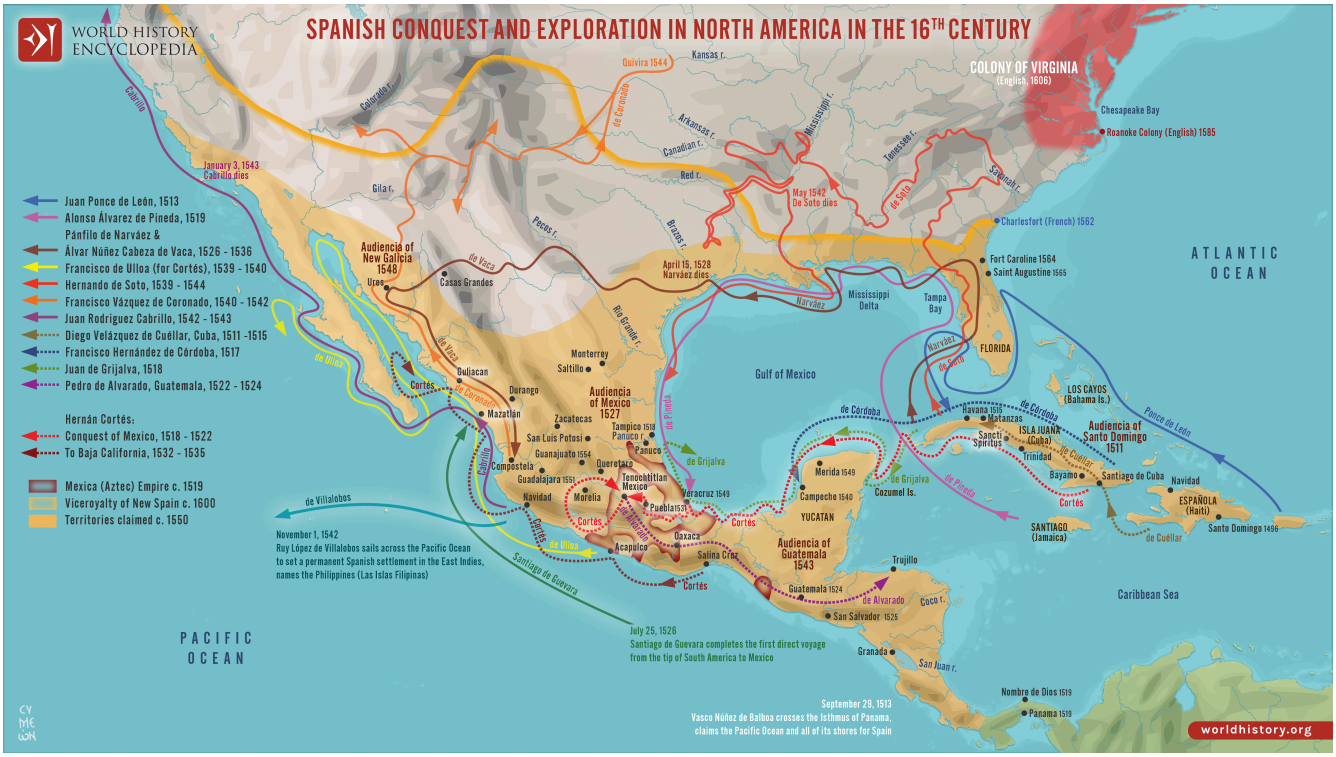


"*Governor Pio Pico at age 90*" *by C. C. Pierce is in the public domain.*

Over time, the hacienda system, the Catholic church, and sexual warfare allowed the Spanish to dominate central Mexico. They used the same systems and processes as they moved to colonized the region north of the Rio Grande.

El Norte

The Spanish heard rumors and legends about the far flung regions of North America and sent many explorers to investigate. These explorers brought their army with them, as well as priests, and a civilian support system which would all be used to help colonize the region north of El Rio Bravo del Norte, today known as the Rio Grande.



"*Map of "Spanish Conquest and Exploration in the 16th Century*" *by Simeon Netchev is licensed CC BY-NC-ND*

According to Spanish history, the first European to set foot on the area we call the United States today was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, who was shipwrecked in 1527 along the Gulf of Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca spent eight years wandering the area now known as the American Southwest, passing himself off as a healer. After returning to Spain in 1537, he published a book about his adventures, called The Account and Commentaries, later known as Shipwrecks and Commentaries. His stories wet the appetite of the Spanish to explore the northern regions of their territories.

In the decades following Cabeza de Vaca, the Spanish will send Hernando de Soto and Francisco Coronado north to explore and lay the groundwork for the Spanish claim to large swaths of what is today the United States. De Soto's travels took him to Florida, where the Spanish will establish their first colony in the modern United States, St. Augustine, in 1565. De Soto's expedition traveled throughout the area now known as the Southeast, using the river systems to travel among the various Native American groups that called this area home. Coronado's expedition traveled into the area now called the Southwest, passing through New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Kansas before returning to New Spain in 1542. Both explorers left important footprints on the landscape, spreading European diseases on the one hand but also exposing the Native Americans in the modern United States to the horse. Entire groups of indigenous peoples in the Southwest would change their lifestyle as a result of obtaining the horse, engaging in breeding practices for speed to keep up with the buffalo herds and even color patterns such as the Paint and Appaloosas. None of these explorers stayed in these areas, but their travels would allow the Spanish to claim most of the southern part of the modern United States as part of their New World empire and they would be followed within decades by permanent settlements in El Norte.

New Mexico — 1608

Juan de Onate led the first contingent of Spanish settlers through the mountains of northern Mexico and into the valley

of El Rio Bravo del Norte in the winter of 1608. They arrived in the area known today as Santa Fe and settled near groups of native peoples that the Spanish referred to as "pueblos" because they lived in small villages. Some of the indigenous peoples welcomed the Spaniards as allies in the fight against other tribes who were frequent raiders of their food stores. The Spanish referred to these raiding bands as "Indios Barbaros" because they were migratory. Ironically, the migratory raiders had only recently changed their lifestyle due in part to the introduction of the horse by Coronado's expedition two generations before.

Over the course of the next several decades, the Spanish settled throughout the Rio Bravo valley in and around the city of Santa Fe, developing cattle ranches, mining operations, and engaging in trade with the "pueblo" peoples. They also established a number of Catholic missions, whose goal was to Christianize the native population, beginning with the neighboring villages. Catholic priests traveled from town to town, escorted by the Spanish army, converting native people to Christianity by any means. Some groups converted, others refused, sowing discord amongst the native people of the Rio Bravo Valley.

In 1680, a religious leader of the Tewa people named Pope (Popay) encouraged his people and those in neighboring villages to rise up against the Spanish settlers, arguing that they had broken down traditional native customs, religion, language, and political power structure. In August, the native people rose up against the Spanish settlers, burning ranches and farms throughout the valley and eventually the city of Santa Fe itself. By the end of August, the Pope Revolt, as it came to be called, was successful and the Spanish were forced to retreat south of the Rio Bravo. They would not be able to reclaim New Mexico for twelve years.

When the Spanish returned to New Mexico in 1692, many rebuilt their old ranchos as if the Pope Revolt had never happened. However, by burning the city of Santa Fe, most of the documents indicating the original Spanish land grants were destroyed. Two hundred years later, when this area was taken over by the United States, these land grant holders would have to prove their ownership in American courts, and most would be rejected.

Texas –1716

The lands just north of the Rio Bravo would begin to be settled in the early 1700s, with the town of Nacogdoches. Eventually, the Spanish would settle in towns such as San Antonio and Goliad, all in eastern Texas where there was plentiful water through the tributaries of the Mississippi River and the Rio Bravo del Norte.

California –1769

While Juan Cabrillo explored and mapped the coastline of Alta California all the way to the San Francisco Bay, the Spanish leave the land unexplored and settled until the middle of the 1700s, when Russian settlements along the northern coast threaten the Spanish claim to the land. The Spanish would eventually organize a military incursion into Alta California, led by Gaspar de Portola in 1767.

At the same time, a Catholic priest named Junipero Serra and other priests boarded a ship to Alta California with the intention of ministering to the native people. They would eventually found Mission San Diego de Alcala, the first of 21 Spanish missions established along the coast of Alta California. Father Serra died and is buried under the altar at Mission Carmel, but his work was continued by his followers, including Father Lasuen, who led the founding of several other missions. These missions served a the center of settlement for the Spanish on the frontier.

"Spanish Missions in California" by Shruti Mukhtyar is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0

Life on the Spanish Frontier –1608-1821

The Spanish government attempted to settle the northern frontier in as orderly fashion as possible, using the military, church, and civilian governments to control the vast region. Caravans of soldiers, priests, and civilian support, such as blacksmiths, moved into an area of the frontier and established new communities which were intended to be permanent settlements to support the Spanish claim to the region as well as a central operating base for the control and conversion of the indigenous populations.

The military established their base of operation, known as a Presidio, typically on ground that was secure and could

be well defended as well as accessed for supplies. Most of these military bases have long since disappeared, but along California's coast one can visit the Presidios of Monterey and San Francisco, which are now under the control of the United States military. The role of the soldiers was to exert military control over the region, putting down uprisings of native peoples when necessary. Soldiers, particularly officers, who served well were sometimes granted lands for their loyalty just like in the central region of New Spain. These men then took wives from among the civilian community and settled the frontier.

The Catholic church established missions throughout El Norte, although the missions of Alta California are the best preserved and well known. The priests often traveled with the Spanish army and encouraged them to capture native peoples and bring them to the mission for conversion. The first mission buildings were rough structures built by the priests and civilian community, but once the army brought in native peoples, they were put to work to build the mission church, living quarters, and other outbuildings. They were also put to work caring for the fields belonging to the mission, where they grew grapes, citrus trees, and raised cattle, all the basis for the modern California agriculture. The priests often noted that the native peoples disliked being at the mission and would either become so depressed they sometimes died, or they ran away at the first opportunity. When native peoples ran away, they were chased down by the soldiers from the nearby presidio, recaptured along with others from their village, and more native peoples were brought to the mission. As had happened in central Mexico, the native peoples of California, Texas, and New Mexico lacked immunity to European diseases and they died in large numbers of illnesses such as Smallpox, which spread rapidly in the close quarters of the mission's living quarters. From the mid 1700s to the mid 1800s, it is estimated that half of the native population of California died as a result of disease and cruelty from the Spanish settlers.

Question to Consider

What role did religion and the Catholic Church play in the colonization of Mexico, including it's northern territories such as Alta California?

Chapter 5. Mexican Independence

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content, you will be able to:

1. explain why the Mexican people rose up against Spain in 1810.
2. explain the new government of Mexico after independence.

Mexican War of Independence–1810-1821

The fight for Mexican independence officially began with El Grito de Dolores on September 16, 1810. While there is no official record of what was said, the story is told that Father Miguel Hidalgo, the local parish priest, rang the church bells to summon the community and then gave a rousing speech against the Spanish, inspiring the people to revolution. His speech is reported to have ended with "Death to bad government! Death to the Gachupinos! Long live the Virgin of Guadalupe!" This moment is now celebrated as Mexican Independence day, although Mexico did not become its own country until 1821, after eleven long and brutal years of war.

Father Miguel Hidalgo was a part of a small gathering of intellectuals, inspired by the European Enlightenment and the American Revolution, who plotted the removal of the Spanish government. Hidalgo met regularly with Ignacio Allende, Jose Maria Morelos, and Dona Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez, and others, all wealthy land owners in the area around Dolores. They seemed an unlikely collection of revolutionaries, except that they were all Criollos, or Spaniards born in New Spain rather than on the Iberian Peninsula, and thus there was a limit to their political and social power. These Criollos, and others throughout New Spain, resented their relegation to second class simply because they were born in the new world, and had been working for decades to overthrow the Spanish.

None of the original organizers in Dolores survived to see the end of the war, and thousands of Mestizo, Indian, and African peasants died in battle and of malnutrition or starvation because their fields were destroyed over the course of eleven years of war. By the end of the war, a new leader, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana, was at the head of the Mexican army. Once an officer with a promising future in the Spanish army, Santa Ana, a Criollo, joined the Mexican army in 1812, eventually leading them to military victory over Spain by 1821. Spain gave Mexico its independence, but re-invaded the country in 1829, causing Santa Ana to be called from retirement to lead the Mexican army once again to victory. He would go on to become the president and later emperor of Mexico.

After independence in 1821, Mexico created a constitution for itself based on the constitution of the United States to their north. It included three branches of government and a Federal system that separated the powers of the national government from those of the state. Wealthy land owners could vote and slavery was common, much like the United States at the time. While the Criollos had led Mexico to independence, they realized that they had to inspire Mestizos and Indians to support the new government, so they included Aztec symbols and colors in the new flag, shown below.

"*Flag of Mexico*" *by Alex Covarrubias is in the public domain.*

The colors, green and red, were sacred colors to the Aztecs and the image in the middle is that of an eagle, perched on a cactus. While this image has changed over the course of two hundred years of nationhood, it is, at its core, a harkening back to the Aztec empire.

UNIT 2: OCCUPIED AMERICA

Chapter 6. The Texas Revolution, 1836

Learning Objectives

After you have finished this section, you will be able to:

1. explain why American settlers in Texas sought independence from Mexico
2. discuss early attempts to make Texas independent of Mexico
3. describe the relationship between Anglo-Americans and Tejanos in Texas before and after independence

As the incursions of the earlier filibusters into Texas demonstrated, American expansionists had desired this area of Spain's empire in America for many years. After the 1819 Adams-Onís treaty established the boundary between Mexico and the United States, more American expansionists began to move into the northern portion of Mexico's province of Coahuila y Texas. Following Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, American settlers immigrated to Texas in even larger numbers, intent on taking the land from the new and vulnerable Mexican nation in order to create a new American slave state.

American Settlers Move To Texas

After the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty defined the U.S.-Mexico boundary, the Spanish Mexican government began actively encouraging Americans to settle their northern province. Texas was sparsely settled, and the few Mexican farmers and ranchers who lived there were under constant threat of attack by tribes, especially the Comanche Empire, which supplemented its hunting with raids in pursuit of horses and cattle.

To increase the non-Native population in Texas, provide a buffer zone between its tribes and the rest of Mexico, and provide a bulwark against potential American expansion, Spain began to recruit *empresarios*. An *empresario* was someone who brought settlers to the region in exchange for generous grants of land. Moses Austin, a once-prosperous entrepreneur reduced to poverty by the Panic of 1819, requested permission to settle three hundred English-speaking American residents in Texas. Spain agreed on the condition that the resettled people convert to Roman Catholicism.

On his deathbed in 1821, Austin asked his son Stephen to carry out his plans, and Mexico, which had won independence from Spain the same year, allowed Stephen to take control of his father's grant. Like Spain, Mexico also wished to encourage settlement in the state of Coahuila y Texas and passed colonization laws to encourage immigration. Thousands of Americans, primarily from slave states, flocked to Texas and quickly came to outnumber the Tejanos, the Mexican residents of the region. The soil and climate offered good opportunities to expand slavery and the cotton kingdom. Land was plentiful and offered at generous terms. Unlike the U.S. government, Mexico allowed buyers to pay for their land in installments and did not require a minimum purchase. Furthermore, to many White people, it seemed not only their God-given right but also their patriotic duty to populate the lands beyond the Mississippi River, bringing with them American slavery, culture, laws, and political traditions (Figure 11.9).

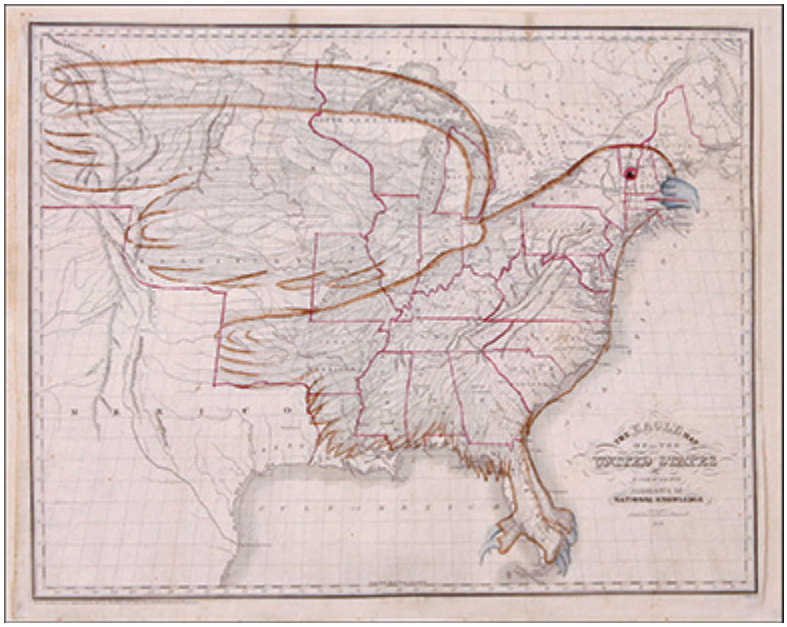


Figure 11.9 By the early 1830s, all the lands east of the Mississippi River had been settled and admitted to the Union as states. The land west of the river, though in this contemporary map united with the settled areas in the body of an eagle symbolizing the territorial ambitions of the United States, remained largely unsettled by White Americans. Texas (just southwest of the bird's tail feathers) remained outside the U.S. border.

The Texas War For Independence

Many Americans who migrated to Texas at the invitation of the Mexican government did not completely shed their identity or loyalty to the United States. They brought American traditions and expectations with them (including, for many, the right to enslave individuals). For instance, the majority of these new settlers were Protestant, and though they were not required to attend the Catholic mass, Mexico's prohibition on the public practice of other religions upset them and they routinely ignored it.

Accustomed to representative democracy, jury trials, and the defendant's right to appear before a judge, the Anglo-American settlers in Texas also disliked the Mexican legal system, which provided for an initial hearing by an *alcalde*, an administrator who often combined the duties of mayor, judge, and law enforcement officer. The *alcalde* sent a written record of the proceeding to a judge in Saltillo, the state capital, who decided the outcome. Settlers also resented that at most two Texas representatives were allowed in the state legislature.

Their greatest source of discontent, though, was the Mexican government's 1829 abolition of slavery. Most American settlers were from southern states, and many had brought enslaved people with them. Mexico tried to accommodate them by maintaining the fiction that the enslaved workers were indentured servants. But American slaveholders in Texas distrusted the Mexican government and wanted Texas to be a new U.S. slave state. The dislike of most for Roman Catholicism (the prevailing religion of Mexico) and a widely held belief in American racial superiority led them generally to regard Mexicans as dishonest, ignorant, and backward.

Belief in their own superiority inspired some Texans to try to undermine the power of the Mexican government. When *empresario* Haden Edwards attempted to evict people who had settled his land grant before he gained title to it, the Mexican government nullified its agreement with him. Outraged, Edwards and a small party of men took prisoner the *alcalde* of Nacogdoches. The Mexican army marched to the town, and Edwards and his troop then declared the formation of the Republic of Fredonia between the Sabine and Rio Grande Rivers. To demonstrate loyalty to their

adopted country, a force led by Stephen Austin hastened to Nacogdoches to support the Mexican army. Edwards's revolt collapsed, and the revolutionaries fled Texas.

The growing presence of American settlers in Texas, their reluctance to abide by Mexican law, and their desire for independence caused the Mexican government to grow wary. In 1830, it forbade future U.S. immigration and increased its military presence in Texas. Settlers continued to stream illegally across the long border; by 1835, after immigration resumed, there were twenty thousand Anglo-Americans in Texas (Figure 11.10).

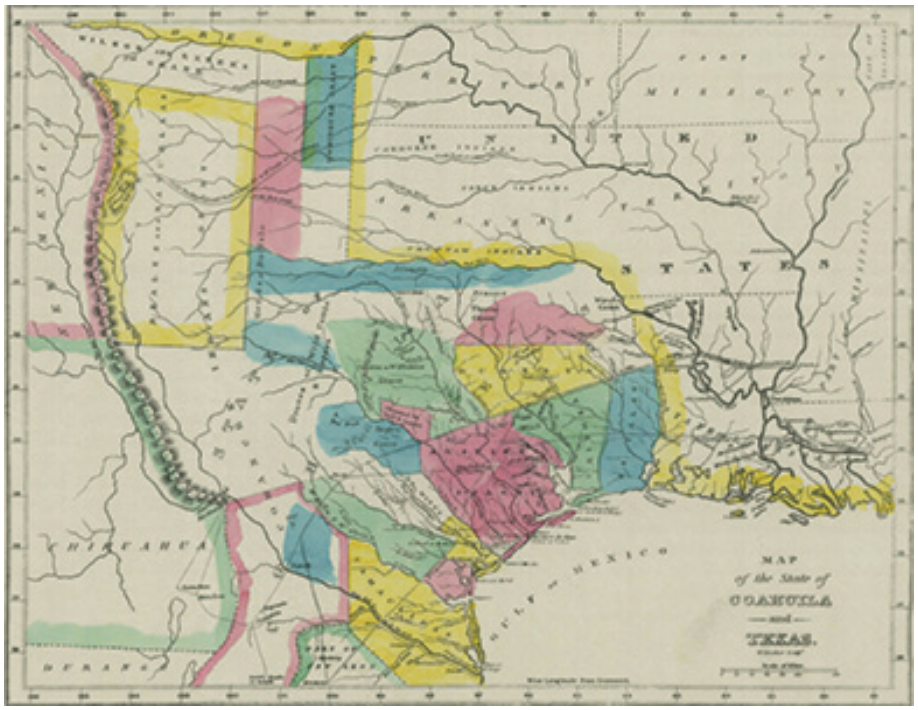


Figure 11.10 This 1833 map shows the extent of land grants made by Mexico to American settlers in Texas. Nearly all are in the eastern portion of the state, one factor that led to war with Mexico in 1846.

Fifty-five delegates from the Anglo-American settlements gathered in 1832 to demand the suspension of customs duties, the resumption of immigration from the United States, the granting of promised land titles, and the creation of an independent state of Texas separate from Coahuila. Ordered to disband, the delegates reconvened in early April 1833 to write a constitution for an independent Texas. Surprisingly, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, Mexico's new president, agreed to all demands, except the call for statehood (Figure 11.11). Coahuila y Texas made provisions for jury trials, increased Texas's representation in the state legislature, and removed restrictions on commerce.

Figure 11.11 This portrait of General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna depicts the Mexican president and general in full military regalia.

Texans' hopes for independence were quashed in 1834, however, when Santa Anna dismissed the Mexican Congress and abolished all state governments, including that of Coahuila y Texas. In January 1835, reneging on earlier promises, he dispatched troops to the town of Anahuac to collect customs duties. Lawyer and soldier William B. Travis and a small force marched on Anahuac in June, and the fort surrendered. On October 2, Anglo-American forces met Mexican troops at the town of Gonzales; the Mexican troops fled and the Americans moved on to take San Antonio. Now more cautious, delegates to the Consultation of 1835 at San Felipe de Austin voted against declaring independence, instead drafting a statement, which became known as the Declaration of Causes, promising continued loyalty if Mexico returned to a constitutional form of government. They selected Henry Smith, leader of the Independence Party, as governor of Texas and placed Sam Houston, a former soldier who had been a congressman and governor of Tennessee, in charge of its small military force.

The Consultation delegates met again in March 1836. They declared their independence from Mexico and drafted a constitution calling for an American-style judicial system and an elected president and legislature. Significantly, they also established that slavery would not be prohibited in Texas. Many wealthy Tejanos supported the push for independence, hoping for liberal governmental reforms and economic benefits.

Remember The Alamo!

Mexico had no intention of losing its northern province. Santa Anna and his army of four thousand had besieged San Antonio in February 1836. Hopelessly outnumbered, its two hundred defenders, under Travis, fought fiercely from their refuge in an old mission known as the Alamo (Figure 11.12). After ten days, however, the mission was taken and all but a few of the defenders were dead, including Travis and James Bowie, the famed frontiersman who was also a land speculator and slave trader. A few male survivors, possibly including the frontier legend and former Tennessee

congressman Davy Crockett, were led outside the walls and executed. The few women and children inside the mission were allowed to leave with the only adult male survivor, a person enslaved by Travis, who was then freed by the Mexican Army. Terrified, they fled.

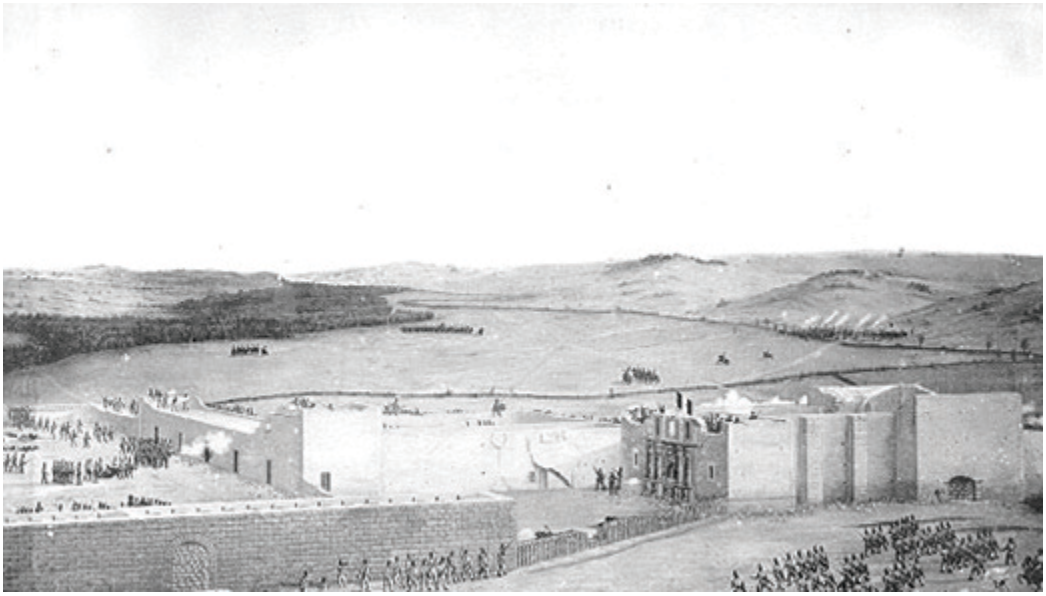


Figure 11.12 The Fall of the Alamo, painted by Theodore Gentilz fewer than ten years after this pivotal moment in the Texas Revolution, depicts the 1836 assault on the Alamo complex.

Although hungry for revenge, the Texas forces under Sam Houston nevertheless withdrew across Texas, gathering recruits as they went. Coming upon Santa Anna's encampment on the banks of San Jacinto River on April 21, 1836, they waited as the Mexican troops settled for an afternoon nap. Assured by Houston that "Victory is certain!" and told to "Trust in God and fear not!" the seven hundred men descended on a sleeping force nearly twice their number with cries of "Remember the Alamo!" Within fifteen minutes the Battle of San Jacinto was over. Approximately half the Mexican troops were killed, and the survivors, including Santa Anna, taken prisoner.

Santa Anna grudgingly signed a peace treaty and was sent to Washington, where he met with President Andrew Jackson and, under pressure, agreed to recognize an independent Texas with the Rio Grande River as its southwestern border. By the time the agreement had been signed, however, Santa Anna had been removed from power in Mexico. For that reason, the Mexican Congress refused to be bound by Santa Anna's promises and continued to insist that the renegade territory still belonged to Mexico.

The Lone Star Republic

In September 1836, military hero Sam Houston was elected president of Texas, and, following the relentless logic of U.S. expansion, Texans voted in favor of annexation to the United States. This had been the dream of many settlers in Texas all along. They wanted to expand the United States west and saw Texas as the next logical step. Slaveholders there, such as Sam Houston, William B. Travis and James Bowie (the latter two of whom died at the Alamo), believed too in the destiny of slavery. Mindful of the vicious debates over Missouri that had led to talk of disunion and war, American politicians were reluctant to annex Texas or, indeed, even to recognize it as a sovereign nation. Annexation would almost certainly mean war with Mexico, and the admission of a state with a large enslaved population, though permissible under the Missouri Compromise, would bring the issue of slavery once again to the fore. Texas had no

choice but to organize itself as the independent Lone Star Republic. To protect itself from Mexican attempts to reclaim it, Texas sought and received recognition from France, Great Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The United States did not officially recognize Texas as an independent nation until March 1837, nearly a year after the final victory over the Mexican army at San Jacinto.

Uncertainty about its future did not discourage Americans committed to expansion, especially slaveholders, from rushing to settle in the Lone Star Republic, however. Between 1836 and 1846, its population nearly tripled. By 1840, nearly twelve thousand enslaved Africans had been brought to Texas by American slaveholders. Many new settlers had suffered financial losses in the severe financial depression of 1837 and hoped for a new start in the new nation. According to folklore, across the United States, homes and farms were deserted overnight, and curious neighbors found notes reading only "GTT" ("Gone to Texas"). Many Europeans, especially Germans, also immigrated to Texas during this period.

Americans in Texas generally treated both Tejano and Native American residents with utter contempt, eager to displace and dispossess them. Anglo-American leaders failed to return the support their Tejano neighbors had extended during the rebellion and repaid them by seizing their lands. In 1839, Mirabeau B. Lamar, the second president of the Lone Star Republic, instituted a program of ethnic cleansing aimed at pushing all Native American tribes out of Texas.

The impulse to expand did not lay dormant, and Anglo-American settlers and leaders in the newly formed Texas republic soon cast their gaze on the Mexican province of New Mexico as well. Repeating the tactics of earlier filibusters, a Texas force set out in 1841 intent on taking Santa Fe. Its members encountered an army of New Mexicans and were taken prisoner and sent to Mexico City. On Christmas Day, 1842, Texans avenged a Mexican assault on San Antonio by attacking the Mexican town of Mier. In August, another Texas army was sent to attack Santa Fe, but Mexican troops forced them to retreat. Clearly, hostilities between Texas and Mexico had not ended simply because Texas had declared its independence.

Question for Consideration

Why did Texans view Tejanos with such suspicion after the Revolution was over?

Chapter 7. U.S.-Mexican War, 1846-1848

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content, you will be able to:

1. explain the reason why the United States went to war with Mexico during the middle of the 1840s.
2. identify the major military movements of the U.S. Mexican War.
3. explain how the U.S. Mexican War ended.

War With Mexico, 1846–1848

Expansionistic fervor propelled the United States to war against Mexico in 1846. The United States had long argued that the Rio Grande was the border between Mexico and the United States, and at the end of the Texas war for independence Santa Anna had been pressured to agree. Mexico, however, refused to be bound by Santa Anna's promises and insisted the border lay farther north, at the Nueces River (Figure 11.14.). To set it at the Rio Grande would, in effect, allow the United States to control land it had never occupied. In Mexico's eyes, therefore, President Polk violated its sovereign territory when he ordered U.S. troops into the disputed lands in 1846. From the Mexican perspective, it appeared the United States had invaded their nation.

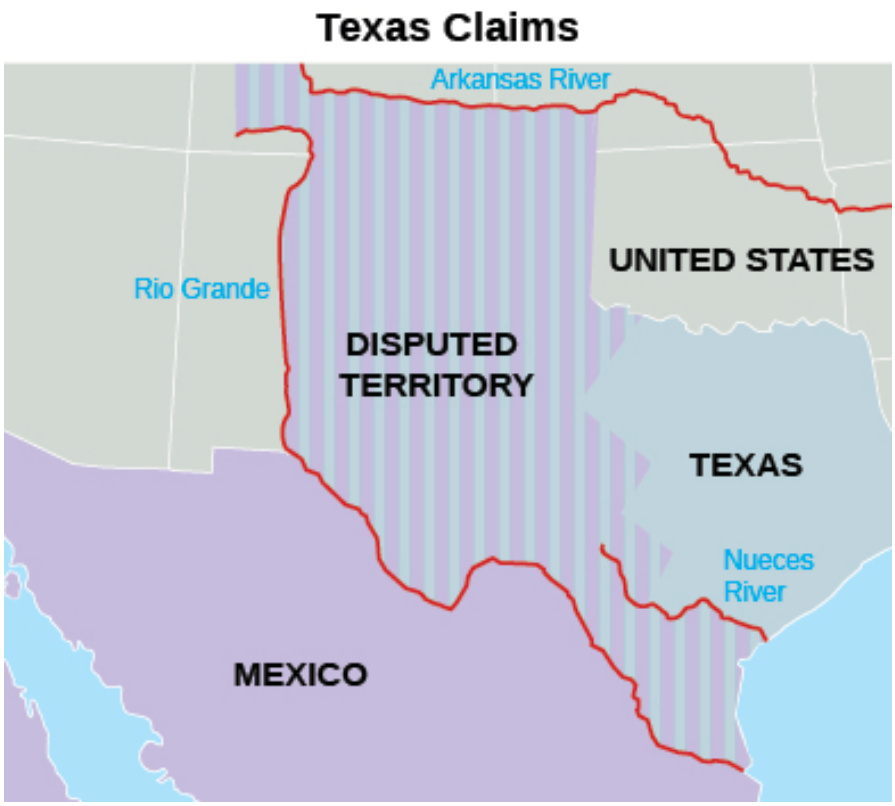


Figure 11.14 In 1845, when Texas joined the United States, Mexico insisted the United States had a right only to the territory northeast of the Nueces River. The United States argued in turn that it should have title to all land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande as well.

In January 1846, the U.S. force that was ordered to the banks of the Rio Grande to build a fort on the "American" side encountered a Mexican cavalry unit on patrol. Shots rang out, and sixteen U.S. soldiers were killed or wounded. Angrily declaring that Mexico "has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil," President Polk demanded the United States declare war on Mexico. On May 12, Congress obliged.

The small but vocal antislavery faction decried the decision to go to war, arguing that Polk had deliberately provoked hostilities so the United States could annex more slave territory. Illinois representative Abraham Lincoln and other members of Congress issued the "Spot Resolutions" in which they demanded to know the precise spot on U.S. soil where American blood had been spilled. Many Whigs also denounced the war. Democrats, however, supported Polk's decision, and volunteers for the army came forward in droves from every part of the country except New England, the seat of abolitionist activity. Enthusiasm for the war was aided by the widely held belief that Mexico was a weak, impoverished country and that the Mexican people, perceived as ignorant, lazy, and controlled by a corrupt Roman Catholic clergy, would be easy to defeat. (Figure 11.15.).

Figure 11.15 Anti-Catholic sentiment played an important role in the Mexican-American War. The American public widely regarded Roman Catholics as cowardly and vice-ridden, like the clergy in this ca. 1846 lithograph who are shown fleeing the Mexican town of Matamoros accompanied by pretty women and baskets full of alcohol. (credit: Library of Congress)

U.S. military strategy had three main objectives: 1) Take control of northern Mexico, including New Mexico; 2) seize California; and 3) capture Mexico City. General Zachary Taylor and his Army of the Center were assigned to accomplish the first goal, and with superior weapons they soon captured the Mexican city of Monterrey. Taylor quickly became a hero in the eyes of the American people, and Polk appointed him commander of all U.S. forces.

General Stephen Watts Kearny, commander of the Army of the West, accepted the surrender of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and moved on to take control of California, leaving Colonel Sterling Price in command. Despite Kearny's assurances that New Mexicans need not fear for their lives or their property, the region's residents rose in revolt in January 1847 in an effort to drive the Americans away. Although Price managed to put an end to the rebellion, tensions remained high.

Kearny, meanwhile, arrived in California to find it already in American hands through the joint efforts of California settlers, U.S. naval commander John D. Sloat, and John C. Fremont, a former army captain and son-in-law of Missouri senator Thomas Benton. Sloat, at anchor off the coast of Mazatlan, learned that war had begun and quickly set sail for California. He seized the town of Monterey in July 1846, less than a month after a group of American settlers led by William B. Ide had taken control of Sonoma and declared California a republic. A week after the fall of Monterey, the navy took San Francisco with no resistance. Although some Californios staged a short-lived rebellion in September 1846, many others submitted to the U.S. takeover. Thus Kearny had little to do other than take command of California as its governor.

Leading the Army of the South was General Winfield Scott. Both Taylor and Scott were potential competitors for the presidency, and believing—correctly—that whoever seized Mexico City would become a hero, Polk assigned Scott the campaign to avoid elevating the more popular Taylor, who was affectionately known as "Old Rough and Ready."

Scott captured Veracruz in March 1847, and moving in a northwesterly direction from there (much as Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés had done in 1519), he slowly closed in on the capital. Every step of the way was a hard-fought victory, however, and Mexican soldiers and civilians both fought bravely to save their land from the American

invaders. Mexico City's defenders, including young military cadets, fought to the end. According to legend, cadet Juan Escutia's last act was to save the Mexican flag, and he leapt from the city's walls with it wrapped around his body. On September 14, 1847, Scott entered Mexico City's central plaza; the city had fallen (Figure 11.16.). While Polk and other expansionists called for "all Mexico," the Mexican government and the United States negotiated for peace in 1848, resulting in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Figure 11.16 In General Scott's Entrance into Mexico (1851), Carl Nebel depicts General Winfield Scott on a white horse entering Mexico City's Plaza de la Constitución as anxious residents of the city watch. One woman peers furtively from behind the curtain of an upstairs window. On the left, a man bends down to pick up a paving stone to throw at the invaders.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed in February 1848, was a triumph for American expansionism under which Mexico ceded nearly half its land to the United States. The Mexican Cession, as the conquest of land west of the Rio Grande was called, included the current states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico also recognized the Rio Grande as the border with the United States. Mexican citizens in the ceded territory were promised U.S. citizenship in the future when the territories they were living in became states. In exchange, the United States agreed to assume $3.35 million worth of Mexican debts owed to U.S. citizens, paid Mexico $15 million for the loss of its land, and promised to guard the residents of the Mexican Cession from Indian raids.

As extensive as the Mexican Cession was, some argued the United States should not be satisfied until it had taken all of Mexico. Many who were opposed to this idea were southerners who, while desiring the annexation of more slave territory, did not want to make Mexico's large mestizo (people of mixed Indian and European ancestry) population part of the United States. Others did not want to absorb a large group of Roman Catholics. These expansionists could not accept the idea of new U.S. territory filled with mixed-race, Catholic populations.

Question to Consider

Do you think the acquisition of Mexico by the United States created animosity towards the U.S. on the part of the Mexican people?

Chapter 8. Texas, 1836-1900

Learning Objectives

After reading the following content you should be able to:

1. explain the ways in which the Tejano elite coped with becoming a part of the United States.
2. explain the ways in which poor Tejanos coped with becoming a part of the United States.
3. identify the armed conflicts between Tejanos and Texans, including the Cart War, the Cortina War, and the Salt War.

Strangers In Their Own Land

Following the Treaty of Velasco, people of Mexican heritage who chose to remain in Texas (Tejanos), found themselves treated as second class citizens. Although Tejanos had fought alongside their Euro-American (Texans or Texians) neighbors in the war with Mexico that gained Texas their independence, Texans now viewed Tejanos with suspicion. Their loyalty to Texas was brought into question simply because of their physical and cultural similarities to Mexicans, and they began to experience treatment ranging from discrimination to persecution and even murder.

Tejano Elite

Wealthy Tejanos had worked well alongside the Texians when they arrived in the territory in the 1820s and 30s. Large landowners and local politicians such as Juan Seguin worked with their Texian neighbors to organize opposition to the Mexican government, signed the list of grievances taken to Mexico City by Stephen Austin in 1835, and served in the Texas army when fighting broke out. Juan Seguin, who had been the mayor of San Antonio, was a leader of the Tejano forces under Sam Houston and were important in the defeat of the Mexican army. Many wealthy Tejanos had intermarried with their Texian neighbors, created business dealings with them, and had been involved in the creation of the government of Texas. None of this mattered once the Treaty of Velasco had been signed.

Violence against Tejanos increased dramatically in the years following the Texas Revolution. Elite families who had thought their cooperation with their Texian neighbors against Mexico would solidify their positions of power found themselves victims of vigilante violence; Juan Seguin's family was stoned by a mob of Texians near their home outside of San Antonio. Tejano elites who had married their daughters to Texians found that their family property now belonged to their son-in-law under the law rather than remaining within their family, as was customary under Mexican law. Many wealthy Tejano families chose to leave Texas and return to Mexico, risking arrest due to their support of Texas independence, rather than risk remaining in Texas. Even Juan Seguin, the leader of Tejano forces who helped Texas fight Mexico for its independence, fled the territory in 1842 to escape the violence and persecution.

Poor Tejanos

While the Tejano elite could usually afford to leave and even had political connections in Mexico that would prevent them from being arrested upon their return, most Tejanos were poor, working class people who did not have such protections. For them, the only way to be safe was to move away from the Texians and form their own communities as close to the border as possible. Poor Tejanos established communities along the Rio Grande, especially after the Mexican War, some even working and living along both sides of the river. Over time, as more and more immigrants from Europe settled in Texas, their cultures would blend to create new music, slang, holiday celebrations, foods, and other aspects, known today as Tex-Mex. However, this new culture would take generations to be accepted by the wider community.

Tejanos and the Civil War

In 1861, Texas seceded from the United States and joined the Confederate States of America to begin what would become known as the American Civil War, which lasted until 1865. By the 1860s, the economy of Texas was heavily dependent upon slave labor to grow cotton and other crops, which is what led Texas to secede. Most Tejanos did not own slaves nor did they have much to do with the cotton-based economy, but all would feel their loyalties pulled in different directions during the conflict.

Some Tejanos chose to join the Confederate army in the hopes that this would gain their acceptance into Texan culture. This tactic did work temporarily, but once the Confederacy lost the war to the Union, Tejanos would be viewed as traitors by the U.S. government and once again be viewed by their Texian neighbors as foreigners.

Some Tejanos chose to join the Union army, viewing slavery as immoral or recognizing that the Union had the military advantage and were likely to win the war. After the war was over, these Tejanos would be viewed as traitors by their Texian neighbors but would also be viewed as foreigners by the U.S. government.

By far the most successful Tejanos during the Civil War were those who did not join either army. Instead, they remained behind and often wreaked havoc on their neighbors and the armies alike, stealing cattle, horses, and other supplies to feed themselves and their Tejano neighbors during the war. Some of these Tejanos, referred to as "banditos" by the authorities, viewed their theft as a return of their property, which was taken from them in the years following the Texas Revolution and Mexican War.

Resistance

Throughout the decades following the Texas Revolution, Tejanos were frustrated by their mistreatment at the hands of Texians. They endured daily insults, false criminal accusations, theft, rape, and lynching, sometimes by their neighbors and sometimes by the Texas Rangers, who were the legal authorities of Texas and were used by the Texian ranchers to persecute Tejanos. These persecutions sometimes led to organized violence against Texians on the part of Tejanos, who had had enough.

The Cart War

The Texas Cart War in 1857 is an example of the kind of persecution experienced by Tejanos at the hands of the Texian

neighbors. Before railroads linked the country, people moved their products from farm to market using hired ox carts. In Goliad county, Texas, the Tejano ox cart drivers charged less for their services than their Texian counterparts, which resulted in more customers for the Tejano drivers. The Texians grew angry and, in the summer of 1857, violently attacked Tejano ox cart drivers on the road, setting fire to their wagons and even killing several drivers. The violence continued throughout the rest of the year and by the time the violence died down in the winter of 1857, over seventy Tejano ox cart drivers had been killed.

The Cortina War

In the summer of 1859, Juan Cortina entered the town of Brownsville, Texas, and was confronted by the sheriff pistol-whipping one of his ranch hands. Outraged, Cortina intervened, first attempting to reason with the sheriff and finally shooting him in the arm. This is the beginning of two years of violence in the Rio Grande Valley between Juan Cortina's army and the armies of the United States, the Confederate States, and Mexico as well as local militia groups and the Texas Rangers.

Cortina's altercation with the sheriff of Brownsville led to several tense months between himself and the town authorities. Finally, in the fall, Cortina led a band of nearly eighty men into Brownsville to attack the sheriff and his men, but they had fled. The townspeople organized a militia group, called the Brownsville Tigers, to fight against Cortina. They attacked him at his mother's home outside of town, but were beaten back by Cortina and his men. The Tigers were later joined by the Texas Rangers and together were able to force Cortina and his men to retreat up the Rio Grande Valley. Eventually, the United States army joined in the chase, and Cortina and his men retreated to the Burgos Mountains by the end of 1859.

Throughout 1860, Cortina and his men continued to harass the U.S. Army and the Texas Rangers, until they were defeated at the Battle of La Mesa. A few months later, Texas seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy, and Cortina decided to fight for the Union cause. In 1861, Cortina invaded Zapata county but was defeated by Confederate troops and retreated into Mexico, where he remained for the rest of this life. However, he continued to support and encourage Tejanos to rebel against wealthy Texian landowners along the Rio Grande border.

"*Juan Nepomuceno Cortina*" *by Wikimedia is in the public domain.*

The Salt War

The El Paso Salt War, which occurred during the latter quarter of the 19th century, is an example of the economic frustrations experienced by Tejanos due simply to different cultural values regarding shared resources. The salt flats, pictured below, have existed for centuries and had been been used by Native Americans, Spanish, and Mexican settlers in Texas. Because the salt is naturally occurring on the land, it was viewed by all people in the area as public property that could be used by anyone. However, when Texians began moving into the area, this changed.

El Paso Salt Bed in the Guadalupe Mountains, courtesy of Dustin Nelson, The National Park Service is in the public domain.

The "war" was caused by four American businessmen, W.W. Mills, Albert Fountain, Louis Cardis, and Charles Howard who all tried to file separate and competing land claims for the salt flats near El Paso. The Tejanos, who had been using the publicly available salt for decades for free, believed that the salt flats were public lands according to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and so they opposed the land being acquired as private property.

The violence that would become the "Salt War" began when Charles Howard arrested two Tejanos for taking salt from the flats. A mob attacked Howard in El Paso, holding him hostage for three days until he promised to leave the country and forfeit his claim to the salt beds. Howard went to Mexico but returned and continued to try to claim the salt beds, using the force of the Texas Rangers for support. However, he and two other men were eventually captured and shot by a firing squad of Tejanos, who then fled into Mexico.

In addition to the violence between Howard and armed Tejanos, many others who tried to gather salt from the flats were brutalized, beaten, and even killed by armed agents of the other Americans who had filed claims to the area. While the United States military eventually became involved and put an end to the violence, the flats were ultimately claimed and Tejanos were forced to pay a fee to extract salt from the area.

The Cart War, Cortina War, and Salt War are just a few of dozens of examples of armed conflict between the Mexican (Tejano) and White (Texian) populations of Texas following the Treaty of Velasco. More common than the violence was the daily discrimination and mistreatment of the Tejano population by their Texian neighbors. When slavery was abolished after the Civil War, Tejanos, particularly those of darker complexions, were subject to Jim Crow segregation,

which relegated them to “colored” railroad cars, drinking fountains, schools, etc. in addition to having their language and culture denigrated in the media.

Chapter 9. California, 1848-1900

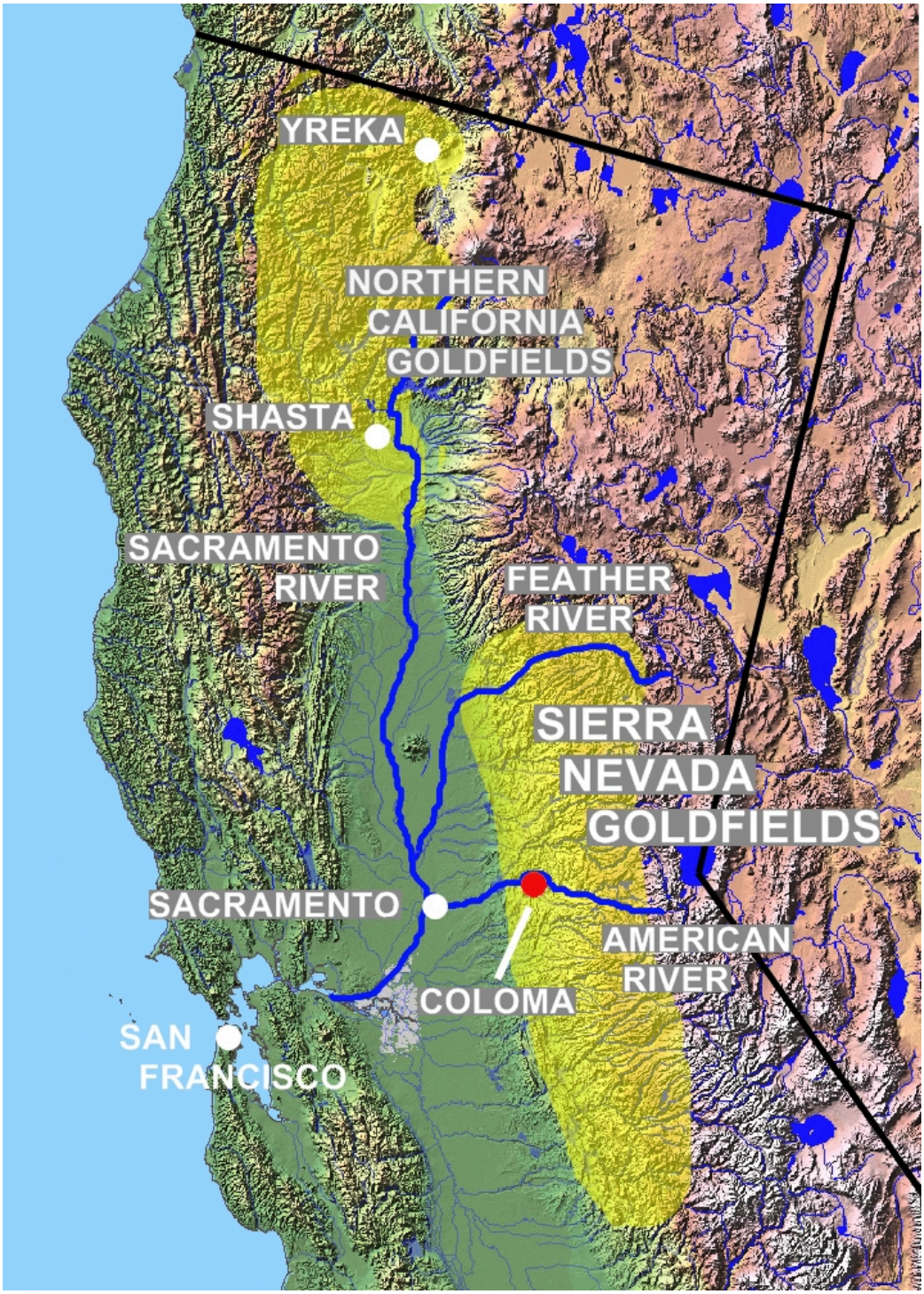
Learning Objectives

After reading the following content you will be able to:

1. explain how the Gold Rush changed the ethnic make up of California.
2. identify the ways in which Mexicans and Californios experienced discrimination at the hands of Californians.
3. explain how Californios lost their lands to Californians.
4. identify examples of violence against Californios and Mexicans, such as the hanging of "Juanita: and the story of Joaquin Murrietta,

A Not-So-Golden State

While Tejanos worked alongside their White neighbors to gain independence from Mexico, Californios (Mexican people from California) actively fought against the United States during the U.S.-Mexican War, particularly in the Battle of San Pascual in the mountains near modern-day Los Angeles. Once the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed in 1848, most Californios chose to remain in the area and attempted to get along with their White neighbors, who had first begun entering the territory in the early 1840s. Most of these immigrants from the East came across the Sierra Nevada and settled along the Sacramento and American Rivers near Sutter's Fort, located in modern-day downtown Sacramento.



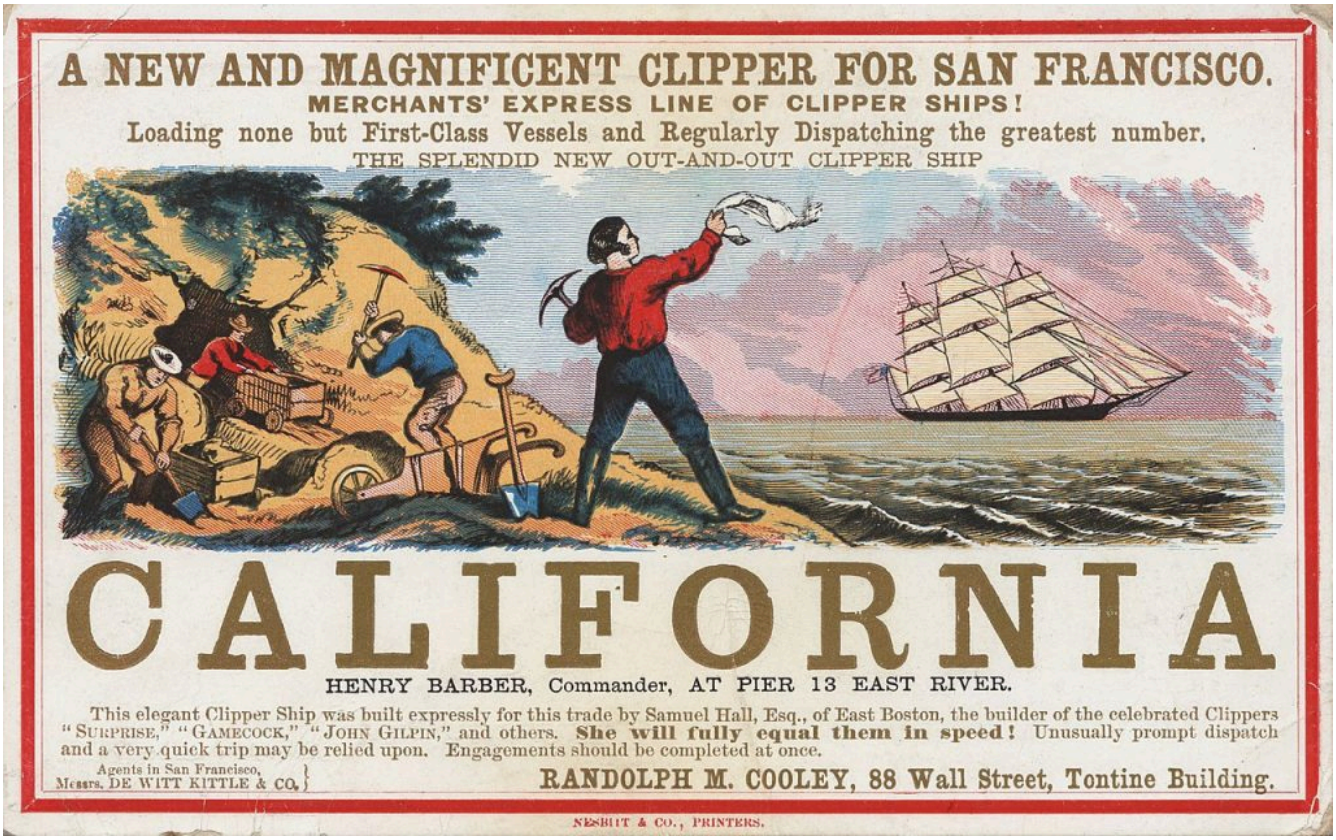
"California Gold Rush Relief Map" by NorCali History is in the public domain.

Gold Rush–1849

In January of 1848, James Marshall discovered gold in the American River near Sutter's Mill, which was owned by his employer, John Sutter. Sutter had been granted a large tract of land by the Mexican government in the Sacramento and

American river valleys years earlier and had built up a large business in farming, ranching, and trade. Before the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, immigrants from the East settled near Sutter's Fort, often working for him. The survivors of the infamous Donner Party were rescued by men from Sutter's Fort and were housed and cared for by John Sutter himself. The population of East coast immigrants on Sutter's land was already beginning to concern him when Marshall shared his gold discovery, so Sutter swore him to secrecy in the hopes of avoiding being completely overrun by gold seekers. Unfortunately, Marshall could only keep the news to himself for so long, and Sutter's worst fears were realized when "Gold Fever" swept the United States and the world. John Sutter's Fort, Mill, ranch, farmlands, and all of his business interests would be lost as the Gold Rush ensued.

Local Californios and newly arrived immigrants from the East, along with Native Californians, were the first to hear of the gold and began traveling into the foothills of the Sierra Nevada just east of modern-day Sacramento. By the end of 1848, the news of the gold discovery in California had traveled around the world, and within a year the population of California swelled from about five thousand (excluding Native Californians) to just under one million people. Most of the newly arrived made a bee-line to the gold fields, hoping to strike it rich and then return home. Most did neither.



"*Advertisement about sailing to California, c. 1850*" *by G.F. Nesbitt & Co. is in the public domain.*

The Foreign Miners' Tax

As people from around the world began to arrive, White Americans jealously protected the gold fields and attempted to drive out competition. They did this through claim jumping, vigilante violence, and by passing the Foreign Miners' Tax in 1850. These tactics were aimed primarily at Sonoran miners and Chinese immigrants, although Californios with dark complexions and even Native Californians were targeted. Sonorans had come from a region of Mexico where they had worked in gold and silver mines, thus they were very successful in mining gold in California. Chinese immigrants often worked their claims in groups, therefore becoming quite successful as well. White Americans pushed the Foreign

Miners' Tax through the California state government in 1850 in an attempt to prevent people of color from successfully claiming the gold. The law required that any "foreigner" (i.e. non-White) making a gold claim would have to pay a $20 registration fee per month to legally register his claim with the government. The tax was not applied equitably, as non-White Native Californians were sometimes required to pay the tax, while European immigrants were not. The tax was withdrawn after a little more than a year, but it had driven many people of color out of the gold fields.

California Statehood–1850

Because the population had grown so rapidly in the first year of the Gold Rush, California applied to become a state in 1849. The United States required that each applying state create a constitution; thus Californians elected men to represent them in Monterey at the constitutional convention. By the time of the convention, Californios made up about 15% of the total state population, dominating the southern part of the state which had not been impacted by the Gold Rush. Of the 48 men working to create the California constitution, 6 were Californios and once arrived in Monterey, they worked together to ensure that their people had some protections under the new government.

Californio delegates insisted that they be allowed to vote in the elections that would choose the new state government, so they required that the language of the constitution allow voting rights for "whites" and "certain Indians." This would allow wealthy Californios of darker complexions to vote for positions such as governor. Californios also insisted that all state laws be required to be written in both English and Spanish, which is in keeping with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo but also protected them from begin taken advantage of in the creation of new laws. Finally, the Californios insisted that tax collectors be elected by the local population in order to deter dishonesty and abuse. The California Constitution that was passed in 1849 included all of these protections for the Californios.

"*Photograph of a painted portrait of Jose Antonio Carrillo*" *by Wikipedia is in the public domain*.

Californios, as well as some who supported slavery in the United States, suggested dividing the state in half, with a North California and a South California state divided just south of modern-day Fresno. Proponents of slavery wanted to add a

slave state to the country, thus strengthening the position of Southern slaveholders in the United States government. However, Californios had a different reason for supporting the division: most of the Californio population was in the southern part of the state, which meant they would be able to hold onto their power and influence without competition from the 49ers (those who came to California for gold). The division was discussed at the convention, but did not have enough support to pass.

By 1879, the state capital had moved to Sacramento and the focus of power in the state was in the hands of Whites. A new constitution was drafted, which removed the requirement of bilingual laws in the state. The argument against bilingual laws was that Spanish speakers amounted to only 4% of the population of the state, so it was no longer necessary. The removal of bilingual laws in 1879 was an obvious example of how much power and influence the Californios had lost in the 30 years since the Gold Rush.

Losing California

During the Spanish period, only twenty or so families had been granted land in California, but the lands they held were vast. The Castro family, for example, owned the entire Salinas Valley, west to Monterey and north of Gilroy; the modern-day town of Castroville now bears their name.

Once Mexico became independent in 1821, many of the grant holding families would acquire even more land at the expense of the missions, and new families would acquire grants from the Mexican government. One such grant was given to Mariano Vallejo, who was instrumental in transitioning California from Mexican to United States rule and whose grant would eventually become the cities of Vallejo and Benecia. After the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Vallejo served as one of the six Californios to the California Constitutional Convention and was elected a state senator in 1850. In that same year, Vallejo donated land for the building of the new state capital, but it was never completed and the capital eventually moved to Sacramento. Mariano gave his daughter, Epifania, a large piece of land called Rancho Suscol. When she married John Frisbie in 1869, the land became her husband's and was lost to the family. The loss of land through marriage was a common event for wealthy Californios, as well as Tejanos and Nuevo Mexicanos.

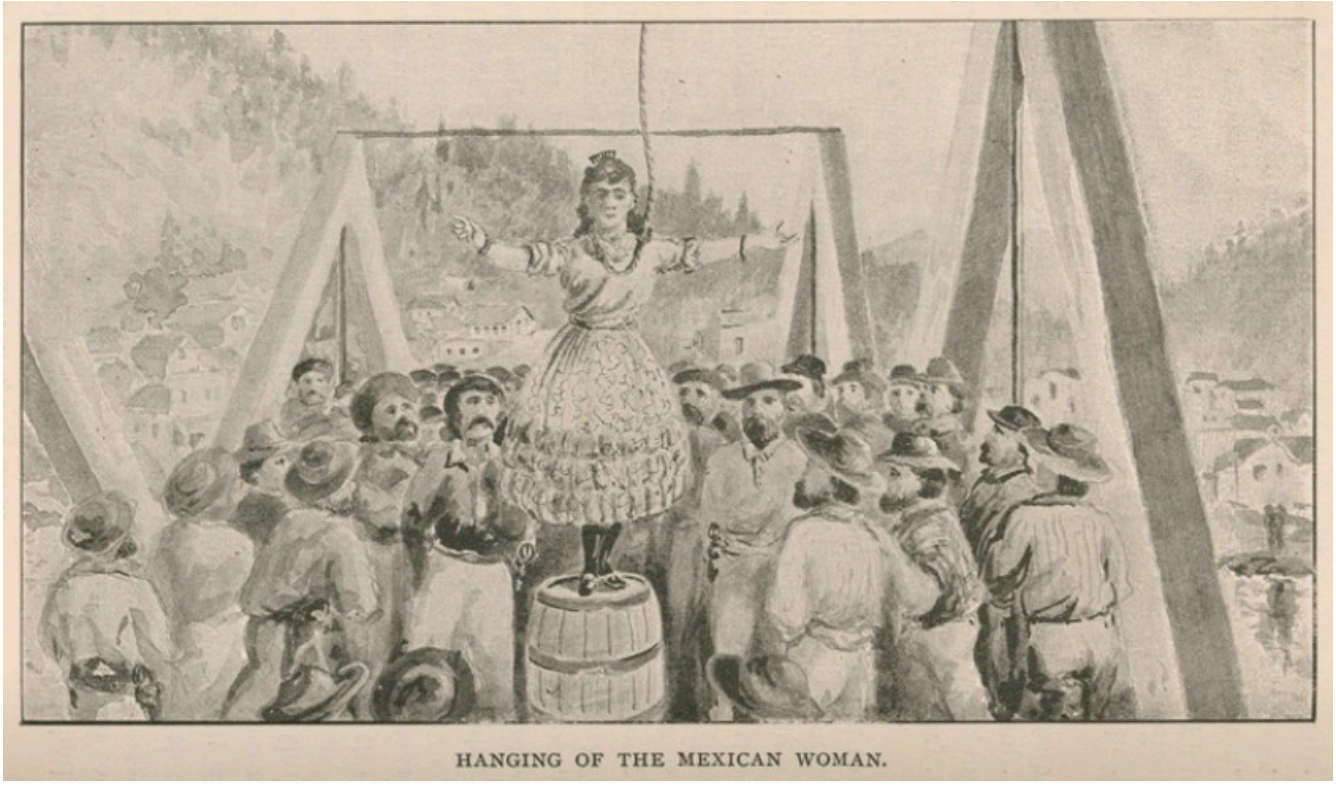
Because of the influx of people into California due to the Gold Rush, most Californios, like Vallejo and Castro, eventually lost their land through lengthy legal challenges that they did not have the means to fight. The average land case in California court lasted fifteen years, and during that time the land owner had to pay attorneys, court fees, and other legal payments. While they may have been land and livestock rich, most grant holders were cash poor; thus they were sometimes forced to sell the very land and livestock they were fighting in court to keep. However, in 90% of cases, the state courts upheld the land owner's claim.

"Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo by Housewort" by Thomas Houseworth is in the public domain.

Violence Against Mexicans and the Rise of the "Banditos"

The Gold Rush and the ensuing clamor for land created a frenzy among the White population of California and they often organized against any who did not look or act like themselves. While the genocide against Native Californians begun by the Spanish continued during and after the Gold Rush and anti-Chinese sentiment was common throughout the West, Californios and Mexicans who had entered California during and after the Gold Rush endured discrimination, violence, and murder at the hands of White Californians, often receiving no justice for the crimes perpetrated against them.

"Juanita"



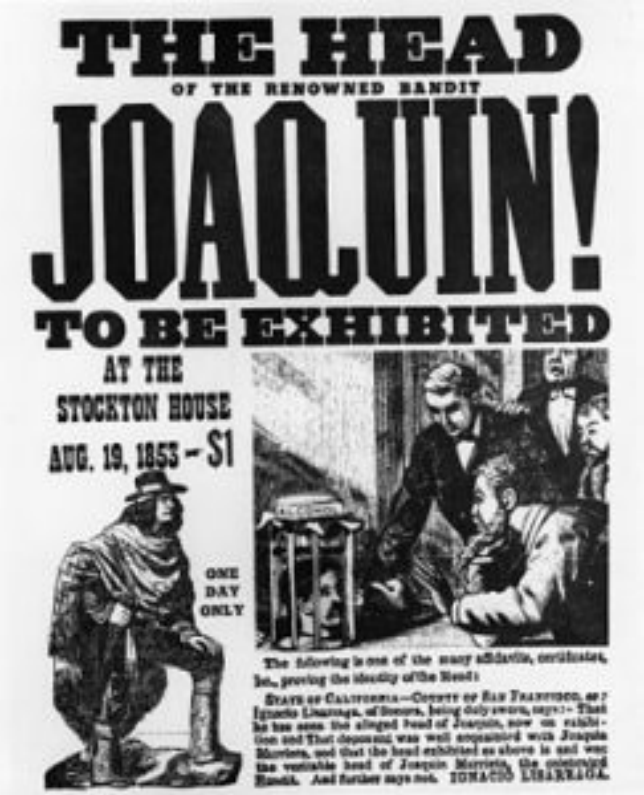
"*Hanging of Juanita in Downieville*" *by William Downie is in the public domain.*

The above picture, entitled the Hanging of the Mexican Woman, is part of the violent history of Gold Rush California. While violence against women is nothing new, women of color have often experienced far more violence and been viewed as more likely to commit crimes than White women. This was definitely the case for Josefa, also known as Juanita.

Josefa lived in a Sierra mining camp called Downieville during the height of the Gold Rush. Almost nothing is known of her life before the day she was killed by a mob, not even her last name or the exact story of her alleged crime. According to the men who served as her jury and executioners, she was a murderer who had stabbed an Australian man called Cannon in the heart. Josefa and her husband, Jose, claimed that a drunk Cannon had burst through their front door the night before and when they confronted him the following day, he attempted to enter their home a second time when Josefa stabbed him. Josefa was arrested, charged with murder, tried, convicted and sentenced to die by hanging in the space of several hours on July 5, 1851. Before her sentence could be carried out by the law, she was seized by the mob and hung from the span of a bridge just outside of town. Her husband, Jose, was found not guilty but told to get out of town that same day. Josefa's death is commemorated near Downieville today, where the historical marker refers to her a "Juanita," which was a derogatory term commonly used in Gold Rush California to refer to any woman of Mexican heritage.

Joaquin Murrieta–Robin Hood of the West

The story of Joaquin Murrieta has become the stuff of legend and it is nearly impossible to distinguish fact from fiction, even when using the primary sources from the time period. Most of the early stories about his life were written by John Rollin Ridge in 1858 book *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murrieta: The Celebrated California Bandit.* The most common details of Murrieta's story is that he, his wife, and his brother came to California from Sonora during the Gold Rush and staked a claim. They were attacked by White vigilantes, who hung his brother, beat Joaquin, and gang raped his wife, who later died from the attack. Angry at the deaths of his wife and brother, Joaquin Murrieta tracked down and killed all of the men who had been involved in the attack. During the same time period, robberies and killings were reported throughout the state, all attributed to Murrieta and his gang, although it was physically impossible for them to have committed all of them, and so a price of $5,000 was put on his head. A California Ranger named Harry Love ultimately caught up to and killed Joaquin Murrieta, along with another member of his gang called Three Finger Jack, near the modern-day intersection of Highways 33 and 198 near Coalinga. In order to claim the bounty, Love cut off Murrieta's head and the hand of Three Finger Jack and placed them in whiskey jars for preservation. These trophies would be displayed throughout the state before finally landing in a bar in San Francisco, where they sat until they were shaken from their shelf and broken during the 1906 earth quake.



"*Joaquin Murrieta*" *by Wikipedia is in the public domain.*

The stories of Josefa and Joaquin Murrieta are but two of many examples of the discrimination and persecution experienced by Californios and Mexicans in California during and after the Gold Rush. While the term "bandito" is given to many groups of Californios and Mexicans in the White press, whether they were really criminals or acting in self defense or a desire for justice depends upon the point of view. Men like Joaquin Murrieta were seen as Robin Hood figures to many Mexican people in California, stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, making the Whites who had taken California from Mexico and denigrated its Spanish-speaking citizens pay for the daily injustices they experienced.

Question for Consideration

Why do you think White Californians felt so threatened by Californios and Mexicans?

Chapter 10. New Mexico, 1848-1912

Learning Objectives

After reading the following content you will be able to:

1. explain why Nuevo Mexicanos were able to retain power after becoming a part of the United States.
2. explain the role of the Santa Fe Ring in the economic and political development of New Mexico.
3. explain the way the U.S. government and individuals seized or acquired land from Nuevo Mexicanos.
4. explain how New Mexican statehood impacted Nuevo Mexicanos.

Introduction

While Texas and California experienced rushes of East coast Whites and immigrants from around the globe for land and gold, New Mexico territory had no "rushes" until the 1890s and they also had a population of Nuevo Mexicanos (Spanish speaking New Mexicans) of nearly 100,000 when the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed. For these reasons, Nuevo Mexicanos maintained power and influence within their home territory far longer than Tejanos or Californios. Wealthy Nuevo Mexicanos, many of whom had engaged in business dealings along the Santa Fe Trail with Whites for generations, continued to maintain those trade relationships, intermarrying with White traders and businessmen and working to bring new industry into New Mexico.

"United States 1854-1858" *by Golbez is licensed* GNU Free Documentation License.

In the above map, one can see that New Mexico territory included the modern day state of Arizona.

The Santa Fe Ring

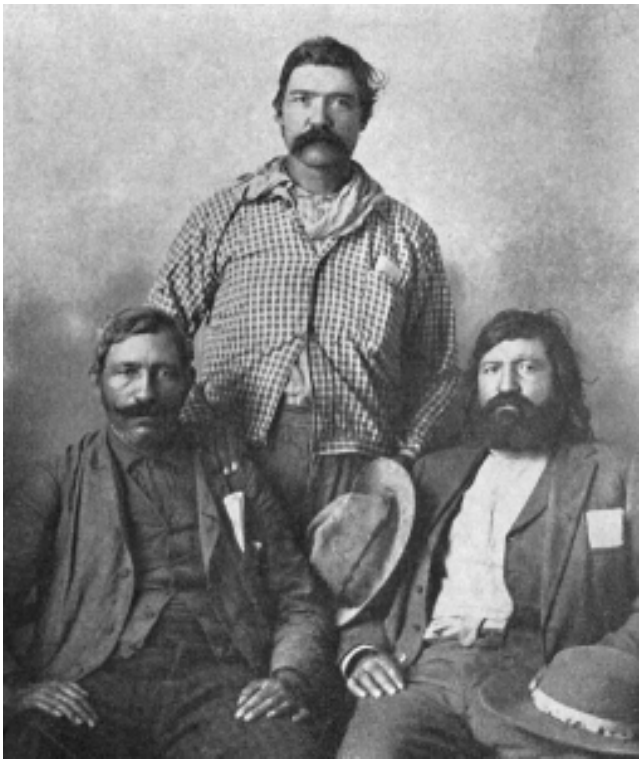
From the ending of the American Civil War through the middle of the 1880s, the economic and political systems of New Mexico were operated by a lose organization of wealthy and powerful White and Nuevo Mexicanos known as the Santa Fe Ring. Some of these men were elected officials, lawyers, and legitimate business owners while others operated in the shadows or hired gangs of outlaws to do their dirty work. The Santa Fe Ring frequently engaged in acts of intimidation and even murder, leading to range wars such as the infamous Lincoln County Wars, which gave rise to one of the most notorious outlaws of the Old West, Billy the Kid.

At the same time that Whites from the East were beginning to move into New Mexico, the Federal government was waging war on the Native population of the Old West, rounding up tribal members and placing them on reservations overseen by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau regularly employed local businessmen to supply the reservations with their basic needs, such as food and shelter. Some of the members of the Santa Fe Ring were involved in this activity as well, taking money from the Federal government to supply food to the reservations, only to pocket most of it and give the people living on the reservations spoiled beef so as to turn the highest profit.

By the mid-1880s, the power of the Santa Fe Ring had been largely broken by the influx of a new power into New

Mexico, the railroad. While the railroad companies increased trade and money into the region, it also hurt small farmers and ranchers, who organized against them in order to defend their lands.

Las Gorras Blancas (Vlancas)



"Juan José, Pablo, and Nicanor Herrer" by Charles Siringo is in the public domain.

By the 1880s, the railroad came to northern New Mexico, cutting across the vast Las Vegas land grant, making some wealthy while wreaking havoc on others. Many Nuevo Mexicanos herded sheep or cattle on shared public lands, which interfered with the trains. To solve this problem, railroad companies and the wealthy men who brought them to New Mexico put up barbed wire to enclose the herds, which then prevented them from grazing on the public lands. Poor and middle class people became angry and organized a resistance to the men they viewed as land grabbers and profiteers. Led by three brothers, Juan Jose, Pablo, and Nicanor Herrera, they wore white masks over their faces and rode at night, burning railroad bridges, destroying tracks, and cutting the barbed wire to allow their herds to graze on the public lands. They were known as Las Gorras Blancas (Vlancas in some documents) or White Caps in English. Although wealthy New Mexicans viewed them as a band of criminal vigilantes, Las Gorras Blancas were organized behind a statement of purpose, which was published in *The Las Vegas Daily Optic* on March 12, 1890. The platform consisted of 18 statements, but can be summarized by the last statement, "Be fair and just and we are with you, do otherwise and take the consequences." (Quoted in The White Caps 2021) The statement did little to legitimize their cause in the eyes of the powerful men of New Mexico. The brothers, along with nearly 50 other "fence-cutters" were arrested for property crimes but the charges were dismissed. Las Gorras Blancas disbanded in 1891, but the land grant at Las Vegas, New Mexico was eventually sold or taken, piece by piece, so that the original holders eventually lost all of their land.

Land Grants

In addition to the railroads, which took large tracts of common land from poor and middle-class farmers and ranchers, the Nuevo Mexicanos had to contend with the Federal government seizing their lands in order to create Native American reservations and National Parks. Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had guaranteed the right to property, United States law required title as proof of ownership, otherwise the individual was considered a squatter who could be removed by the rightful owner or the government. While Californios were able to retain ownership of their lands 90% of the time if they survived the court process, Nuevo Mexicanos lost 75% of their land cases in court because they did not have the title to their lands.

The difference between the court experiences of Californios and Nuevo Mexicanos can be traced back through the history of the two territories. New Mexico had been settled in 1608, and land grants had been given out to hundreds of soldiers and families in the ensuing years. However, in 1680, the Pope-Pueblo Revolt had occurred and the city of Santa Fe had been burned to the ground in the fighting. Santa Fe had been the capital, just as it is today, and therefore it was where the land grant records were kept. When the city burned, most of the records were destroyed. When the Spanish retook New Mexico in 1693, many of the families simply returned to their homesteads and rebuilt, then passed their lands down to their children, grandchildren, and so on; the ownership was acknowledged and not challenged until the United States government decided they wanted the land in the 1890s.

Nuevo Mexicanos who had inherited land for more than two centuries were forced to prove their ownership in court, and in 75% of cases, the courts rejected their cases. These lands, as well as lands that had been held as common grazing lands, were turned into National Parks, reservations, or sold to the railroads. The perceived theft of Nuevo Mexicano lands by the United States government created bitterness and frustration amongst the descendants of the original New Mexican settlers that is still present today.

Statehood

In 1910, New Mexicans and Nuevo Mexicanos met to create a constitution that would accompany their entry as a state in the United States. The territory to their West, Arizona, met at the same time to create a separate constitution. Of the one hundred delegates to the New Mexican convention, thirty-five were Nuevo Mexicanos and these men fought for the protection of New Mexico's Hispanic population in the new constitution. The Spanish language was protected; requiring English only had been one of the reasons statehood had taken so long and so this was thrown out. Voting rights were allowed for all citizens regardless of religion, race, language, or color and Hispanic children were allowed equal access to public schools. In January of 1912, New Mexico entered the Union as the 47th state and in February of 1912, Arizona entered as the 48th state.

Question for Consideration

Why was the United States government able to steal land from Nuevo Mexicanos? Who benefitted from this theft?

Chapter 11. Mexican Revolution, 1911-1920

Learning Objectives

After reading about the Mexican Revolution you will be able to:

1. explain why the Mexican Revolution happened.
2. explain how the Mexican Revolution impacted the relationship between the United States and Mexico.
3. explain why so many Mexican people immigrated to the United States during and following the Mexican Revolution.

The years of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) caused the first major influx of immigrants into the United States from Mexico, spurred north by the chaos and violence in their homeland. Prior to 1900, Mexican people had lived and worked on both sides of the border, traveling between the two countries to visit family, find work, and conduct business. However, during the Revolution and the decade that followed, it is estimated that as many as two million people entered the United States from Mexico. They came to escape the violence but they also came to take advantage of the economic growth that was occurring in the United States prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The Mexican Revolution

The Mexican Revolution was caused by a number of factors, beginning with the presidency of Porfirio Diaz, who was elected in 1876 and remained in power until 1911, far longer than should have been allowed. Diaz encouraged economic expansion in Mexico by inviting foreign investors, many from the United States, and the building of railroads and mines, which largely benefitted the Mexico's wealthy landowners (haciendados) and foreign businesses. Meanwhile, poor Mexicans from all areas of the economy suffered. Rural peasants lost their communal lands, called Ejidos, to haciendados and were relegated to a system of indentured servitude called debt peonage. Urban people worked in factories for low wages and in very poor conditions with no labor rights or protection.

Conditions in Mexico were ripe for revolt, but Diaz centralized his power, manipulated elections, and used the military to suppress those who spoke out against him. In 1910, opposition leader Francisco Madero, who was himself a haciendado, was imprisoned after calling for democratic elections and land reform. Madero's ideas were not as extreme as those of other opposition leaders, such as Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa, but he represented a change that was largely supported by those who opposed Porfirio Diaz. Madero was eventually freed and was elected president of Mexico when Diaz fled in 1911, but was then assassinated in 1913 without having enacted any real change.

Following Madero's murder, Mexico went through a decade-long civil war among various warlords and political opposition leaders. In 1914, Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata took control of Mexico City, until they were ousted by Victoriano Huerta, who was then ousted by Alvaro Obregon, general to Venustiano Carranza, who became president of Mexico in 1917 until his assassination in 1920. Each of these men commanded armies of thousands who rode across the country, conquering villages, destroying homes and businesses of the wealthy and poor alike. It is estimated that two

million people were killed while another two million immigrated to the United States, resulting in a loss of 20% of the population, while scores more were displaced. Mexico would never be the same.

Gral Urbina, Gral Villa, Gral Emiliano Zapata. Mexico. 12-6-14 By Agustin Victor Casasola is in the public domain.

Impact on U.S.-Mexico Relations

As the Revolution deepened, relations between Mexico and the United States became strained and sometimes violent. American businesses had invested in Mexico during the Diaz regime and were afraid of the instability caused by the various armies vying for power. They appealed to the U.S. government, which interfered on their behalf. In 1914, President Woodrow Wilson sent the Marines to occupy Vera Cruz in order to protect the interests of American investors in the oil industry.

The Mexican people and leadership alike resented U.S. interference in their domestic affairs. Pancho Villa, whose army operated in northern Mexico where rail lines brought Mexico's oil and mineral wealth across the desert into the United States, was particularly frustrated with this interference. His army attacked several trains and in one instance, killed the engineer and workers, who were Americans. Then in 1916 his army attacked the border town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing 14 townspeople. President Wilson sent 11,000 troops into Mexico under the General John Pershing. Called the Punitive Expedition, Pershing's orders were to find Villa and bring him to justice. In order to gain favor with the U.S., Venustiano Carranza sent his own force to help find Pancho Villa. Neither army ever found him, which further added to Villa's legend and mythology within Mexican culture. Wilson eventually withdrew the army when the U.S. entered World War I in 1917.

Mexican Migration to the United States

The Mexican Revolution caused chaos in Mexico for more than a decade. Armies recruited or conscripted men, battles destroyed crops, livestock, and villages, displacing millions while sowing fear into the population. The revolution disrupted Mexico's economy, causing a decline in agricultural and industrial production, interrupting transportation systems and trade long after the fighting ended. Meanwhile, the economy of the United States was booming. Prior to U.S. entry into World War I, factory and farm production was high. During the war, labor shortages caused by men leaving to serve in the military meant there were plenty of jobs, often at high wages, and labor recruiters encouraged immigration from Mexico. After World War I, the U.S. economy continued to grow, fueled by the destruction of Europe's economy and an increase in consumerism.

Historically, the region referred to as the Southwest (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas) and the communities just across the border had exchanged people, goods, land, and capital for over one hundred years, so it made sense that many in Mexico would see the United States as a natural destination for immigration. Some had family, friends, or economic connections in the U.S., and the shared 2000 mile border between the two countries made immigration relatively easy and inexpensive. Once arrived, Mexican people found jobs in mining, railroads, agriculture, packing, canning, and textile production, helping to fuel the growth of the Southwest. They were also able to fit in to long-established communities of Mexican and Mexican Americans, making assimilation easier.

The impact of the Mexican Revolution on the history of both Mexico and the United States cannot be overstated. In the decades following the violence, Mexican politics became dominated by the Party of the Institutional Revolution (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI). Mexican people continued to immigrate to the United States, driven by poverty, a desire for safety, or to reunite with family. The United States sometimes welcomed, sometimes rejected these immigrants and their descendants. In the coming chapters we will continue to evaluate the changes brought by Mexican immigrants to the United States.

Question to Consider

Which leader from the Mexican Revolution do you admire most and why?

Chapter 12. Mexican Immigration, 1900-1930

Learning Objectives

After reading the following you will be able to:

1. define the various types of immigrants who enter the United States.
2. identify the push and pull factors for Mexican immigrants.
3. explain why immigrants in general and Mexican immigrants in particular experience mistreatment in the United States.

Important Terms

For many people living in the United States today, there are but two kinds of immigrants, legal and illegal, documented and undocumented. However, there many, many different kinds of immigrants within these umbrella terms, often defined by the reasons they came to the United States to begin with. Before any conversation about immigration can take place, we must define these terms legally and also as they relate to Chicano History.

- **Permanent**–an individual who comes to the United States with the intention of remaining, or taking up permanent residency or citizenship.
- **Sojourner**–an individual who comes to the United States with the intention of returning to their homeland in the short-term future. Most immigrants from Mexico from 1900-1930 were sojourners, either fleeing the violence of the Revolution (refugees, see below) or coming to the US to work for a time before returning home.
- **Commuter**–an individual who regularly enters the United States to work while maintaining residence in another country. Most commuters are from Mexico or Canada and work on the other side of the border. For example, border towns like El Paso and Tijuana have large numbers of commuters who enter the country every day to work as domestics.
- **Temporary/Contract**–an individual who enters the United States on a work visa or other labor contract. Most are allowed to remain for a few months, then must return to their homeland or risk deportation and loss of their work visa.
- **Student**–an individual who enters the United States to attend school on a student visa. They are allowed to remain in the country until their studies are complete as noted on their visa.
- **Tourist**–an individual who enters the United States to take a vacation and must leave the country after the time specified on their visa.
- **Refugee**–an individual who enters the United States because they are fleeing a dangerous situation in their homeland. By law, a refugee may present himself at a border entry point and request entry through the courts. Refugees may also present themselves at the US consulate in their home country. Sometimes, the United States government will sponsor a group of refugees, such as Southeast Asians following the Vietnam War.

Within each of these groups of immigrants, there are many unique situations that may change the legal status of the individual. Further, even within the term "legal" or "documented" there are variations in status and some people may enter under one status, then gain a different status. It is important to remember that these definitions are still very general and do not represent the full extent of immigration status or law.

Push and Pull

Why do people immigrate to another country? There are as many answers as there are immigrants. However, they will all have factors that push them out of their home country and factors that impact which country they are pulled into, or chose to immigrate to. For Mexican people immigrating to the United States during the early 20th century, there are some similarities among what pushes them out of Mexico and what pulls them to the United States.

The Mexican Revolution broke out in 1911, but even before this time, Mexican people were being pushed out of Mexico because of violence, an oppressive government, and lack of economic opportunities. They were pulled to the United States for two main reasons: geography and economy. The United States' economy was growing by leaps and bounds in the early 20th century, providing jobs for native born and immigrants alike. Further, Mexico shares a 2000 mile border with the United States and American railroad companies had built lines into Mexico at the behest of the government under President Porfirio Diaz. A ticket on the train could still be expensive, but it was easy to hide on a rail car and enter the United States undetected. Further, there was no border patrol until 1924, and even then, it was small and ineffective. Therefore, entering the United States from Mexico was inexpensive and a great deal of money could be made once arrived.

Southwest Economy

Once arrived, most Mexican immigrants were drawn to well-established Spanish-speaking communities such as Los Angeles and El Paso, where they could readily make connections in order to find work, housing, and a feeling of security. During this time period, Mexican people were often subject to the same segregation laws as African Americans, so maintaining themselves in their own communities was important to avoid trouble with Whites.

The economy of the Southwest was booming during the early part of the 20th century. Mexican men found work in mining, construction, and the railroad while Mexican women often worked in canneries or textiles. Entire families sometimes worked together in agriculture, picking grapes, cotton, or other crops and moving with the seasons from Texas to Washington state then back again.

Mining and railroad businesses established company towns, where their employees and their families lived, worked, shopped, and their children attended school. As many as half of the miners and railroad workers in the Southwestern United States were of Mexican descent and they lived and worked alongside miners and railroad workers who were White or African American, which was uncommon elsewhere in the country because of segregation. The dangerous work, particularly in the mines, coupled with living together in close proximity, created a multi-ethnic community of cooperation rather than competition and fear. The nature of the relationships among the workers and their families encouraged them to join unions and go on strikes together as well, which strengthened the mining unions in particular. Miners were the first to demand equal pay for all of those working in the mine, something unheard of at a time when the dual wage system, which paid White men more than men of color, prevailed.

Nativism

The early 20th century was a time of large scale immigration into the United States from around the world, not just from Mexico, and as the number of immigrants increased, so too did the sentiment against them known as nativism. Nativism is the idea that the United States should be controlled and dominated by White, native born Americans. Nativists were afraid that immigrants would change American culture and politics, and they were very much afraid of economic competition, since many immigrants were willing to take less pay because they were desperate for work.

Nativism has existed since the mid 1800s but had been largely unsuccessful in changing immigration laws until after World War I. However, in 1921 and 1924, Congress passed a series of laws intended to severely reduce the number of immigrants able to enter the United States from across the globe. Quotas were placed on immigrants from Europe and Southeast Asian immigrants were banned altogether (Chinese immigrants had been banned in 1882). Mexican immigrants, however, were a different story.

In the early 1920s, several members of Congress worked together to create the Box Bill, which was intended to place a quota on Mexican immigrants as well. However, this bill was opposed by Agri-business, the large ranching and farming companies who relied on poorly paid immigrants from Mexico to perform field work. Agri-business was so powerful that they were able to stop the Box Bill from becoming law. Instead, they supported the creation of the Border Patrol, which originally consisted of about 400 men on horseback patrolling the 2,000 mile border between the United States and Mexico. The Border Patrol was ineffective, but it was designed to be ineffective to give the illusion of immigration prevention while still ensuring a steady supply of cheap labor into the American Southwest. Immigration into the United States from Mexico would increase annually until the beginning of the Great Depression.

Question for Consideration

Do you think immigrants are good or bad for the United States?

UNIT 3: WANTED/UNWANTED MEXICANS

Chapter 13. Ludlow Massacre, 1914

Learning Objectives

After reading the following content and watching the following short video, you will be able to:

1. explain why mining was and still is a very dangerous occupation.
2. identify the treatment of striking miners at the Ludlow strike.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Mexican workers endured pay that was roughly half that of White workers for the same job and they were routinely prevented from joining labor unions, which typically only represented native-born, White men. The mining industry was the exception to this, largely because miners lived and worked together in close and dangerous quarters and Mexican workers make up nearly half of all miners in the Western part of the United States. Long known as being one of the most dangerous occupations, miners spent most of their time digging deep in the earth's surface, cave ins, explosions, and other accidents were common, and the only thing that could keep one miner from dying below ground was another miner. Further, it was common practice for miners and their families to live together in the town owned by the mining company, shop at the company store, and even send their children to the company school. This intimate connection among the miners and their families led them to work together to demand fair pay and safer working conditions, but these demands were rarely met without a fight.

Please watch the following short video about one of the most violent events of the labor movement, the Ludlow Massacre. While this video does not specifically mention Mexican or Mexican American miners, 14 were killed during this attack on the miners and their families, including several children.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://pressbooks.whccd.edu/historyofchicanx/?p=84

Chapter 14. Roaring 20s Culture Shock

Learning Objectives

After reading the following content below you will be able to:

1. explain the differences between the experiences of first and second generation immigrants.
2. identify examples of cultural changes for the second generation.

The Second Generation

The decade of the 1920s was one of great social change in the United States which impacted all Americans, but especially the second generation of immigrants from Mexico. Typically, the first generation of immigrants to arrive in the United States attempts to maintain the culture and lifestyle of their home country while the second generation, those who were either born in the United States of immigrant parents or were brought at a very young age, struggled as they were pulled in different directions by their family and popular culture. While not the first immigrants to experience this, the second generation of the 1920s were the first to experience extreme pressure to assimilate into a culture that was vastly different from pre-World War I.

The 1920s is referred to as the "Roaring 20s" because of the rapid economic growth experienced by the United States, which was a large reason so many came from Mexico during this decade. However, it was also a time of tremendous social change. For example, women's clothing changed from skirts that hung to the ankle with high boots to cover the skin to short skirts, sheer stockings, and heeled shoes.

"1914-1920 Plate" by The Metropolitan Museum of Art is in the public domain.

"4 Young Ladies on a Roof" by Bain News Service, Library of Congress is in the public domain.

While these changes may seem mild by modern standard, they were a huge leap for contemporaries and would have seemed even more dramatic for those coming from a rural and conservative culture. The 1920s also saw an increase in public schooling through high school and the development of a youth subculture that would become increasingly prominent through the 20th century. Second generation Mexican youth would have felt increased pressure from teachers, their peers, and the larger popular culture to become "Americanized" while their parents fought for them to remain traditional.

An example of this pressure can be seen in the transition from courtship to dating among youth in the United States. While their parents were required to have a chaperone when they left the house and most courtships occurred within the girl's house, among her family, the 1920s saw a rise in girls leaving their homes unchaperoned with a boy, getting into a car and going to a movie house, restaurant, or dance hall. This practice scandalized many parents, but Mexican parents were especially protective of their daughters and their traditions did not allow girls to be alone with boys unchaperoned, even in public. Weddings, Quinceneras, Baptisms, and other community parties saw second generation Mexican youth dancing together while their mothers and aunts looked on with disdain.

Second generation Mexican youth experienced a great deal of pressure to speak English and were often ridiculed in school if they spoke with an accent, while at the same time their parents were frustrated at their children not using Spanish in the home. What resulted from these opposing messages was the rise of a uniquely Mexican American youth culture where kids spoke a mixture of Spanish and English to one another and emulated the dress of American popular culture as seen in movies. Young people often felt disconnected from their traditional parents as they attempted

to assimilate while simultaneously being rejected by Whites because of their skin color, accent, and name. Second generation Mexican youth were often alienated from all but one another, which only strengthened their own bonds.

Question for Consideration

Have you ever felt pressured to assimilate or to fit in with your peers to the point where your family disapproved?

Chapter 15. Union Activity in the 1930s

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content and participated in the associated discussions, you will be able to:

1. identify the reasons why workers needed unions to represent them.
2. identify the difficulties with organizing and operating unions both before and during the Great Depression.
3. identify the leaders of union activity, especially Emma Tenayuca.

Why Were Unions Needed?

Before the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century, most workers were employed on farms or in small businesses and were in close contact with their employer. The growth of factories and corporate farms created a hierarchical system in which the employee was separated from the business owner by layers of foremen, supervisors, and managers; often the owner of the business lived outside of the community, sometimes in another city, state, or country. As businesses grew, so did the distance between management and their employees, which in turn led to the exploitation of the latter. Unions were created in an attempt to bridge the distance and give the workers a collective voice with which to bargain for higher pay and better working conditions.

Labor unions have existed for centuries, but become far more prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, although they are not yet effective. Most early union organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor (AFL) did not allow immigrants, people of color, or women to become members, thus excluding a large section of the labor force in the United States. However, the Western Federation of Miners actively recruited people of color, especially Mexican miners, into their ranks and used their large membership to demand improvements to their very dangerous occupation.

Problems with Recruitment

Both Mexican born and Mexican American workers were wary of joining labor unions, even when they allowed them membership, for a myriad of reasons. Many businesses would fire employees who joined a union and then "blackball" the workers so that they would not be hired anywhere else. Others were afraid to go on strike because they might be replaced or they did not have the money to feed their families without their job. Still others feared the violence that often accompanied union activity, such as the Ludlow Massacre of 1914. Those who had not been born in the United States feared deportation, often with good reason since some business owners worked with the Federal government to deport union leaders and activists. All of these reasons, coupled with the transient nature of many workers in areas like agriculture and language barriers between worker and organizer, discouraged Mexican born and Mexican American workers from participating in union activity.

Organizing During the Great Depression

The Great Depression, which began in 1929 and lasted until 1941, placed a strain on virtually all American workers that they had never before experienced, but it was especially felt by workers of color (please see the section on the Great Depression for more information) because they often lost their jobs to Whites who believed they had the right to employment before people of color. Further, the unemployment rate in the United States was as high as 25% during the Depression, which made strikes and negotiating for high pay even more difficult. Thus, the 1930s was a time of frustration and violence for many Mexican workers.

Mexican workers had joined mining unions during the period before the Depression, and they continued to be active throughout, but union activity often gain little except violence during the 1930s. An example of this is the 1933 strike at the Gallup Coal Mine in New Mexico, where workers attempted to organize the National Miners Union. Miners demanded recognition for their labor union as well as higher wages and lower prices at the company store. The workers walked out of their jobs and were on strike for three months, but they did not receive what they demanded and were forced to either return to work or lose their jobs. Two years later, Jesus Pallares organized the miners into the Liga Obrera de Habla Espanol and went on strike again with the same demands. This strike was also unsuccessful, but this time the miners were also evicted from their company housing and many of the organizers, including Pallares, were arrested. Jesus Pallares was deported in 1936 as an "undesirable alien" after being accused of being a communist.

Emma Tenayuca

Job competition throughout the 1930s made union organization difficult enough for skilled workers like miners, but it was even more difficult for unskilled workers like those who were organized by Emma Tenayuca in Texas. Tenayuca became engaged in union organization and activism from a young age, inspired by her grandfather, and was first arrest in 1930, at the age of 16. She would spend most of her life fighting for the rights of working class Americans, especially Mexican workers.

Emma Tenayuca in 1937 leading labor strike

Workers Alliance leader Emma Tenayuca speaking to crowd outside San Antonio City Hall, March 8, 1937. Courtesy, UTSA Special Collections. Women and the American Story. All Rights Reserved and Included on the Basis of Fair Use.

While she organized and helped many workers over the course of her life, Emma Tenayuca is perhaps best known for her involvement in the Texas Pecan Shellers' strikes during the Depression. Mostly Mexican and Mexican American women, pecan shellers' worked twelve hours a day, six days a week and .15 an hour. In 1934, Tenayuca led over one hundred women on a strike, demanding higher wages. In response, management offered to pay the women by the amount of pecans they shelled, which is known as piecework. This new system actually lowered most of the women's pay from .15 an hour to an average of .04 an hour. Four years later, Emma led thousands of pecan shellers out on strike, again demanding higher wages. This strike resulted in the arrest of over one thousand workers and organizers, including Tenayuca (pictured below).

Emma Tenayuca in Jail

Emma Tenayuca in Jail, June 8, 1937. Courtesy, UTSA Special Collections Women and the American Story. All Rights Reserved and Included on the Basis of Fair Use.

This second strike was initially successful, gaining piecework wages of about .25 per hour. However, within the coming decade most of the pecan shellers would be replaced by machines.

California Agriculture

During the Great Depression, many mostly White farmers from Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, and Colorado, displaced by the Dust Bowl, migrated to the San Joaquin Valley in central California. While these migrants often experienced discrimination and slurs, such as "Okie" they were often hired in agriculture in place of Mexican workers simply because they were White. Dust Bowl migrants increased competition in California agriculture, sometimes leading to violence between themselves and Mexican workers and between workers and management.

Throughout the 1930s, agricultural workers throughout California and much of the western states regularly struck, demanding higher wages and better working conditions. At this time, most agricultural workers traveled throughout the west with the seasons, from Washington to Texas and back again, their families living in their cars or tents in make-shift work camps and working for a few cents an hour. In 1933, Mexican agricultural workers organized the Confederation of Mexican Farm and Industrial Workers Unions and struck against El Monte growers who had cut their pay substantially. Elsewhere, 18,000 cotton pickers struck against cotton growers in the San Joaquin Valley Cotton Strike. Both strikes eventually netted some gains in pay but growers continued to prefer hiring White Dust Bowl migrants over their traditional labor pool. By 1934, less than one half of the agricultural workers in California were Mexican or Mexican American compared with over 75% just four years earlier. This trend would continue throughout the Depression.

One of the biggest challenges to organizing agricultural workers into union activity was their transient lifestyle. Union organizers would have a core group in one area to strike, but then the group would disperse and move to new areas, and the process of recruitment would begin all over again. However, in 1937 one of the first successful labor unions for agricultural workers was founded in Denver, Colorado. The United Cannery, Agriculture, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) represented all workers in agriculture and food processing, and it eventually gained affiliation with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which would eventually join with the AFL to represent the majority of unionized workers in the United States.

In the face of their workers organizing, growers created an organization of their own, called the Associated Farmers, later the United Farmers of the Pacific Coast. The UFPC included agriculture business, packing and food processing companies, land companies, and banks and would often use local law enforcement to break strikes and the morale of their workers. Not only did law enforcement typically support management over the workers, the law itself discriminated between agricultural and industrial workers. For example, by the end of the Great Depression the National Labor Relations Act had been passed, which forbid child labor, guaranteed a 40 hour work week and set minimum wage at .40 an hour. However this law did not apply to agricultural workers, who continued to work from sun up to sun down every day, earned piecework wages as low as .05 an hour, and often with their young children working alongside them. These conditions would not begin to change until the 1960s.

"*Braceros Working with Short-Handled Hoes*" *by Leonard Nadel is licensed CCO.*

Question for Consideration

How do you think it felt to work in such inhumane conditions as those described in the readings?

Chapter 16. The Great Depression, 1929-1941

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content and participated in the associated discussions, you will be able to:

1. identify the causes of the Great Depression in 1929.
2. explain the general suffering during the Depression.
3. explain the causes and effects of the Dust Bowl.

The Great Depression was the longest and most serious economic downturn in the history of the United States. Caused by a myriad of issues, including reckless banking practices & stock market investment, land speculation, and international debt caused by World War I, the result was incredible suffering by large sections of the population. Many Americans fell into abject poverty, homelessness, and starvation as a result of the Depression, often with little hope of recovery.

While the Depression began in the Fall of 1929 with the Great Crash, the economic spiral grew steadily worse in the coming years. By 1932, over 9,000 banks had failed, resulting in the loss of $2.5 million from the accounts of every day people. 25% of the population was unemployed, disproportionately impacting people of color because White Americans believed they had the right to a job before African Americans or Mexican Americans. In the South, for example, over half of the African American population was without work and groups of White men called Black Shirts bullied and terrorized people of color who did have jobs. Women of color, who had often worked as domestics for wealthy and middle class White families, found themselves unemployed as families tightened their belts against lost wages and savings. Adding insult to injury were the discriminatory practices of local charities and relief agencies, which often refused help to people of color.

In the early 1930s, without significant government relief programs, many people in urban centers relied on private agencies for assistance. In New York City, St. Peter's Mission distributed bread, soup, and canned goods to large numbers of the unemployed and others in need.

Because there was no infrastructure to support them should they become unemployed or destitute, the elderly were extremely vulnerable during the Great Depression. As the depression continued, the results of this tenuous situation became more evident.

At the same time that massive unemployment and starvation hit the general population, a drought impacted the Great Plains and causing large numbers of farmers to lose their livelihood. Many of these farmers came to California in the hopes of rebuilding their lives. Officially, these farmers and their families were Dust Bowl Refugees, but they were often referred to using the derogatory term "Okie." Below is a short section from a United States History textbook about the Dust Bowl.

"Ditch Bank Housing for Mexican Americans in Imperial Valley California" *by Dorothea Lange, Library of Congress is in the public domain.*

"Mexican Field Worker Housing" *Imperial Valley By Dorothea Lange, Library of Congress is in the public domain.*

Environmental Catastrophe Meets Economic Hardship: The Dust Bowl

Despite the widely held belief that rural Americans suffered less in the Great Depression due to their ability to at least grow their own food, this was not the case. Farmers, ranchers, and their families suffered more than any group other than African Americans during the Depression.

From the turn of the century through much of World War I, farmers in the Great Plains experienced prosperity due to unusually good growing conditions, high commodity prices, and generous government farming policies that led to a rush for land. As the federal government continued to purchase all excess produce for the war effort, farmers and ranchers fell into several bad practices, including mortgaging their farms and borrowing money against future production in order to expand. However, after the war, prosperity rapidly dwindled, particularly during the recession of 1921. Seeking to recoup their losses through economies of scale in which they would expand their production even further to take full advantage of their available land and machinery, farmers plowed under native grasses to plant acre after acre of wheat, with little regard for the long-term repercussions to the soil. Regardless of these misguided efforts, commodity prices continued to drop, finally plummeting in 1929, when the price of wheat dropped from two dollars to forty cents per bushel.

Exacerbating the problem was a massive drought that began in 1931 and lasted for eight terrible years. Dust storms roiled through the Great Plains, creating huge, choking clouds that piled up in doorways and filtered into homes through closed windows. Even more quickly than it had boomed, the land of agricultural opportunity went bust, due to widespread overproduction and overuse of the land, as well as to the harsh weather conditions that followed, resulting in the creation of the Dust Bowl.

Livestock died, or had to be sold, as there was no money for feed. Crops intended to feed the family withered and died in the drought. Terrifying dust storms became more and more frequent, as "black blizzards" of dirt blew across the landscape and created a new illness known as "dust pneumonia." In 1935 alone, over 850 million tons of topsoil blew away. To put this number in perspective, geologists estimate that it takes the earth five hundred years to naturally regenerate one inch of topsoil; yet, just one significant dust storm could destroy a similar amount. In their desperation to get more from the land, farmers had stripped it of the delicate balance that kept it healthy. Unaware of the consequences, they had moved away from such traditional practices as crop rotation and allowing land to regain its strength by permitting it to lie fallow between plantings, working the land to death.

For farmers, the results were catastrophic. Unlike most factory workers in the cities, in most cases, farmers lost their homes when they lost their livelihood. Most farms and ranches were originally mortgaged to small country banks that understood the dynamics of farming, but as these banks failed, they often sold rural mortgages to larger eastern banks that were less concerned with the specifics of farm life. With the effects of the drought and low commodity prices, farmers could not pay their local banks, which in turn lacked funds to pay the large urban banks. Ultimately, the large banks foreclosed on the farms, often swallowing up the small country banks in the process. It is worth noting that of the five thousand banks that closed between 1930 and 1932, over 75 percent were country banks in locations with populations under 2,500. Given this dynamic, it is easy to see why farmers in the Great Plains remained wary of big city bankers.

For farmers who survived the initial crash, the situation worsened, particularly in the Great Plains where years of overproduction and rapidly declining commodity prices took their toll. Prices continued to decline, and as farmers tried to stay afloat, they produced still more crops, which drove prices even lower. Farms failed at an astounding rate, and farmers sold out at rock-bottom prices. One farm in Shelby, Nebraska was mortgaged at $4,100 and sold for $49.50. One-fourth of the entire state of Mississippi was auctioned off *in a single day* at a foreclosure auction in April 1932.

Not all farmers tried to keep their land. Many, especially those who had arrived only recently, in an attempt to capitalize on the earlier prosperity, simply walked away. In hard-hit Oklahoma, thousands of farmers packed up what they could and walked or drove away from the land they thought would be their future. They, along with other displaced farmers from throughout the Great Plains, became known as Okies. Okies were an emblem of the failure of the American breadbasket to deliver on its promise, and their story was made famous in John Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Chapter 17. Mexican Americans During the Great Depression

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content and participated in the associated discussions, you will be able to:

1. explain the ways in which the Mexican and Mexican American experience was more difficult than that of the general population during the Great Depression.
2. explain why Mexican and Mexican Americans experienced repatriation during the Depression.

While the Great Depression caused immense suffering for many Americans, it hit communities of color especially hard as discrimination ran rampant in employment, aid, and the law. Mexican and Mexican Americans experienced many of the same challenges as other communities of color, but they also had some challenges that were unique to their community.

Unemployment

Mexican and Mexican Americans experienced their own employment challenges during the Depression thanks to both personal and systemic discrimination. For example, in 1931 California passed a law that prohibited the employment of "aliens" in public works. Like the Foreign Miners' Tax, this law often discriminated against Mexican Americans who were born in the United States, simply because of their skin color. Further, as Dust Bowl Refugees poured into the San Joaquin Valley, White ranchers and farmers preferred to hire the predominantly White refugees rather than their traditional workforce of Mexican and Mexican American migrant workers. By 1934, half of the agricultural workers in California were White, and the number would only increase through the rest of the decade as more and more refugees migrated from the Great Plains. The increase in job competition caused Mexican and Mexican American workers to organize themselves into unions to fight against discrimination.

Repatriation

In addition to difficulties finding work and receiving aid, Mexican and Mexican Americans were subject to efforts by state and national government agencies to deport them, regardless of citizenship status. During the Great Depression is it estimated that between 500,000 and 2 million Mexican and Mexican Americans were impacted by deportation efforts.

Some Mexican and Mexican American workers left the country voluntarily or under mild coercion when the economy began its downturn. Many sojourners had intended to stay in the United States only as long as they could earn money,

so when their jobs disappeared they went back to Mexico. However, many others had spent the 1920s getting married, having children, and building roots in the United States and did not wish to leave. Some were convinced to leave by their employers, some of whom offered to pay their way to the border. Ford Motor Company in Detroit, upon laying off hundreds of Mexican and Mexican American workers, offered to pay $14 per person for the train trip to the Texas/Mexican border.

Most Mexican and Mexican Americans who were repatriated did not leave voluntarily. Local law enforcement in border cities such as Los Angeles drove busses through the Spanish speaking neighborhoods and rounded up hundreds of men, women, and children simply because they were brown. These people were denied their legal rights, including the right to trial and legal counsel, and were simply driven to the border and kicked out of the country. In many cases, those who were forcibly repatriated were citizens of the United States, either by birth or naturalization, but they were also denied due process. It is unknown how many citizens were repatriated but scholars estimate the number in the hundreds of thousands. Many families were separated for years as those who were repatriated fought to reenter the country. Children were especially impacted by the process, losing parents or being removed themselves and left to be raised by relatives on either side of the border.

Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles-Repatriation of Mexicans in the 1930s

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here:
https://pressbooks.whccd.edu/historyofchicanx/?p=96#oembed-1

Question to Consider

Are there similarities between the way Mexican Americans were viewed during the Great Depression and current times?

Chapter 18. A New Deal for Mexicans and Mexican Americans

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

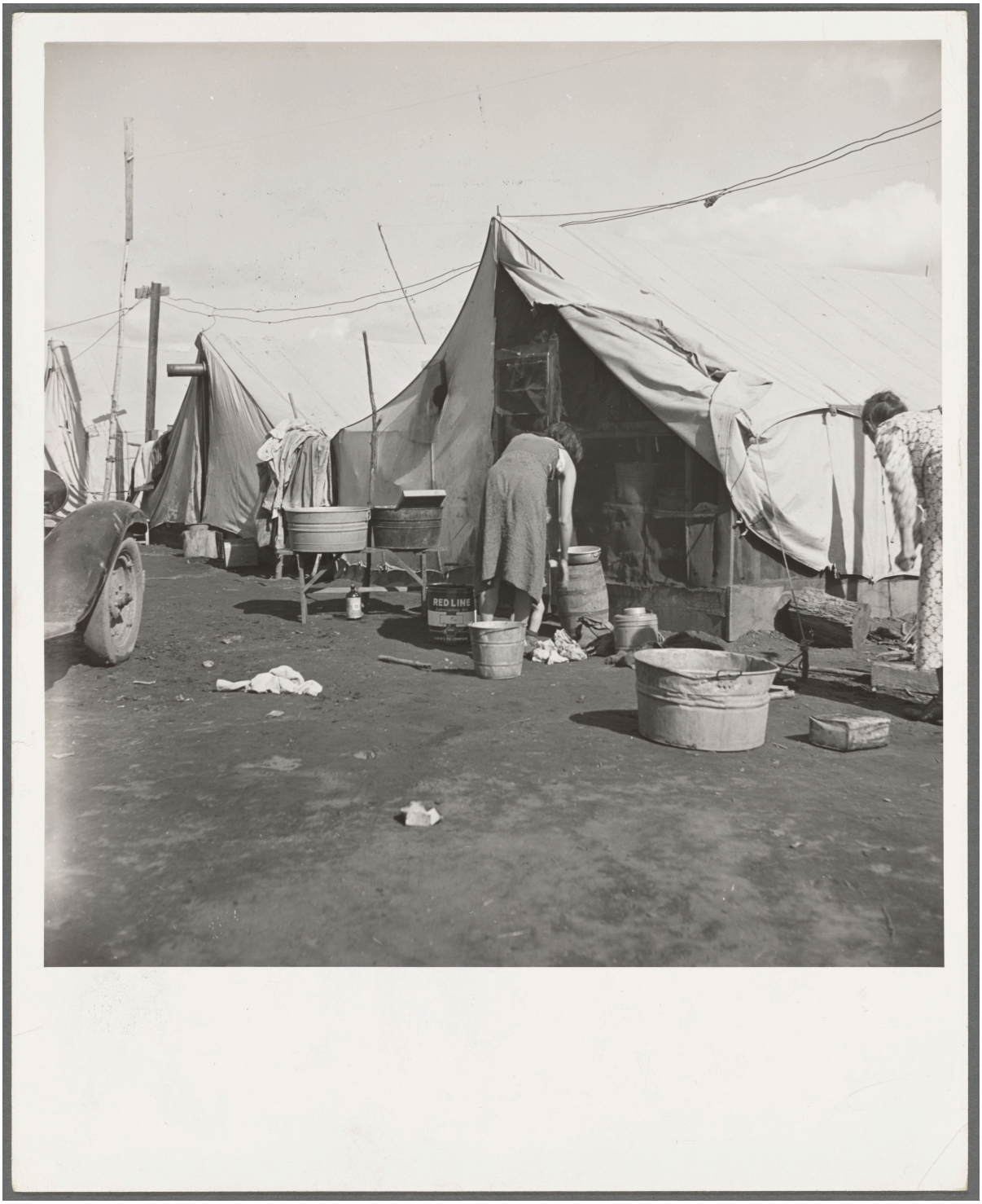
1. identify the main points of the New Deal.
2. identify the leaders of the New Deal, including Carlos Casteneda.
3. identify how the New Deal helped Mexican and Mexican Americans cope with the challenges of the Depression.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal

After his election in 1932, Franklin Roosevelt, commonly referred to as FDR, worked with Congress to create what would become the largest domestic program in United States history, the New Deal. With the economy at a virtual standstill and one in four Americans unemployed, times were desperate and the New Deal was expected to bring immediate help. However, it ultimately did much more than that by creating programs that would also reform the economy in the hopes that a major depression could be prevented in the future. The Latinx community was not a large focus of the New Deal, but it did benefit from some of it's relief programs as well as some of those created to permanently reform the economy.

For most Americans, regardless of skin color or ethnicity, immediate relief from hunger and homelessness was their priority in 1933. FDR sent his wife, Eleanor, out amongst the people suffering in both urban and rural settings to see what could be done to provide quick assistance as well as help them recover from abject poverty. Eleanor Roosevelt, who had been a social reformer most of her life, was not afraid to speak to people living in make-shift homeless encampments, standing in soup lines, or working in the fields. Indeed, the New Deal could not have been effective without her willingness to travel widely and speak to all Americans about their struggles. She paired with local reformers throughout the country to create programs that would provide real help to local communities, including Mexican and Mexican Americans living in the Southwest.

"Mexican Laborers Housing" by Dorothea Lange, 1938 is in the public domain.



"Orange Pickers' Camp, Tulare, CA" *by Dorothea Lange, 1938 is in the public domain.*

The above photographs, taken by renowned Depression photo journalist Dorothea Lange in 1938, shows the living conditions of most migrant farm workers throughout the Southwest. Families built make-shift homes out of whatever materials they could find: canvas, burlap, packing crates. Some families slept in their cars while the fortunate ones lived in abandoned railroad cars. Conditions in these camps were unsanitary, with no running water or toilet facilities, and overcrowded with hundreds of farm workers and their families living close together for weeks at a time. Once harvest

was ended, farm workers packed up their families, moved to the next harvest, and rebuilt whatever homes they could. Migrant farm workers worked long hours for low pay, and lived on the edge of poverty. A freeze or insect blight on one crop could cause job loss for thousands of migrant farm workers, making an already difficult economic situation even worse.

The New Deal attempted to remedy some of the problems for migrant farm workers with two programs, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Farm Security Administration (FSA). FERA created jobs for migrant workers during the off season or if there was a crop failure, thereby allowing them to work year round and feed their families. In 1935, the Federal government created the Social Security Act, which provided unemployment insurance for workers laid off from their jobs. However, Social Security would not cover most jobs in agriculture for decades, making FERA the only source of help between seasons for most migrant farm workers.

The Farm Security Administration provided funding to farmers in order to build permanent housing for the migrant farm workers that worked for them during harvest. These homes were still rough, often no more than one or two rooms or dormitories with shared bathroom facilities; and many farmers did not maintain the buildings or pocketed the FSA monies and did not build housing at all. As late as the 1980s, some farmers provided space in caves for migrant workers and it was still common for migrants to sleep in their cars due to the lack of housing.

As the Great Depression wore on and more Mexican and Mexican Americans were driven from their migrant jobs by Dust Bowl refugees, urban Latinx communities developed or grew throughout the Southwest. Prior to the New Deal, it had been legal to pay men of color less than White men for the same work. However, in 1935 the National Labor Relations Act was passed. This act created a Federal minimum wage and made the dual wage system by which men of color were paid less than White men illegal. Discrimination in hiring and pay was illegal according the National Labor Relations Act, but it was, and still is, often difficult to prove discrimination and so this will continue to be an issue for many men of color. Further, this act did not prohibit discrimination against women in either hiring or pay, which meant that Latinas would continue to receive lower pay than their male counterparts for the same job.

The New Deal created Federal works programs such as the Works Progress Administration, which employed millions of American men, including many from the Latinx community, to build dams, reservoirs, schools, and other public works projects. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration also provided money to local relief agencies and sent Federal employees to administer the funds, thereby making local discrimination less likely. However, it's important to note that the Federal government did little to intervene on behalf of Mexican and Mexican Americans who were repatriated by local government agencies.

Finally, while the New Deal did not create programs specifically to help the Latinx community, Roosevelt did confer with a number of activists and educators, including Dr. Carlos Castaneda, one of the first Mexican Americans to receive a doctorate in the United States. Born in Mexico, Dr. Castaneda was an activist and educator at the University of Texas during the Great Depression and would later serve on the Fair Labor Practices Committee during World War II.

While the New Deal did not solve most of the problems faced by the Latinx community in the United States, such as discrimination and segregation, the FDR administration was the first to recognize the existence of the Latinx community and attempt to deal with some of their unique problems.

Question to Consider

How does the government help people today during economic downturns?

Chapter 19. Mexican Americans in World War II

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. explain the causes of World War II.
2. identify how Mexican and Mexican Americans participated in the military during World War II.

Introduction

World War II began in Europe when Nazi Germany invaded Poland in 1939. The Germans had allied with Italy and over the course of the next two years they invaded and conquered most of Europe. The United States, however, did not become directly involved in the war until the Japanese, also allied with Germany, attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawai'i, damaging much of the Navy. Within a week of Pearl Harbor, which was December 7, 1941, the United States had declared war on Japan, Germany, and Italy and was involved in a war like none we had ever seen. Latinx Americans served in the military and produced war materials on the home front to help the United States win World War II.

Military Service

Latinx Americans volunteered or were drafted in large numbers during World War II, and they served honorably. Over 300,000 Mexican Americans served during the war, many volunteering for high risk and dangerous duties such as in the Marines or as paratroopers. Some saw service in the military as their patriotic duty after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, others volunteered to prove their manhood, and still others volunteered for the work and the promise of the G.I. Bill after 1942. Mexican Americans garnered more military honors per capita in the service of the country than any other ethnic group during World War II.

Bata'an

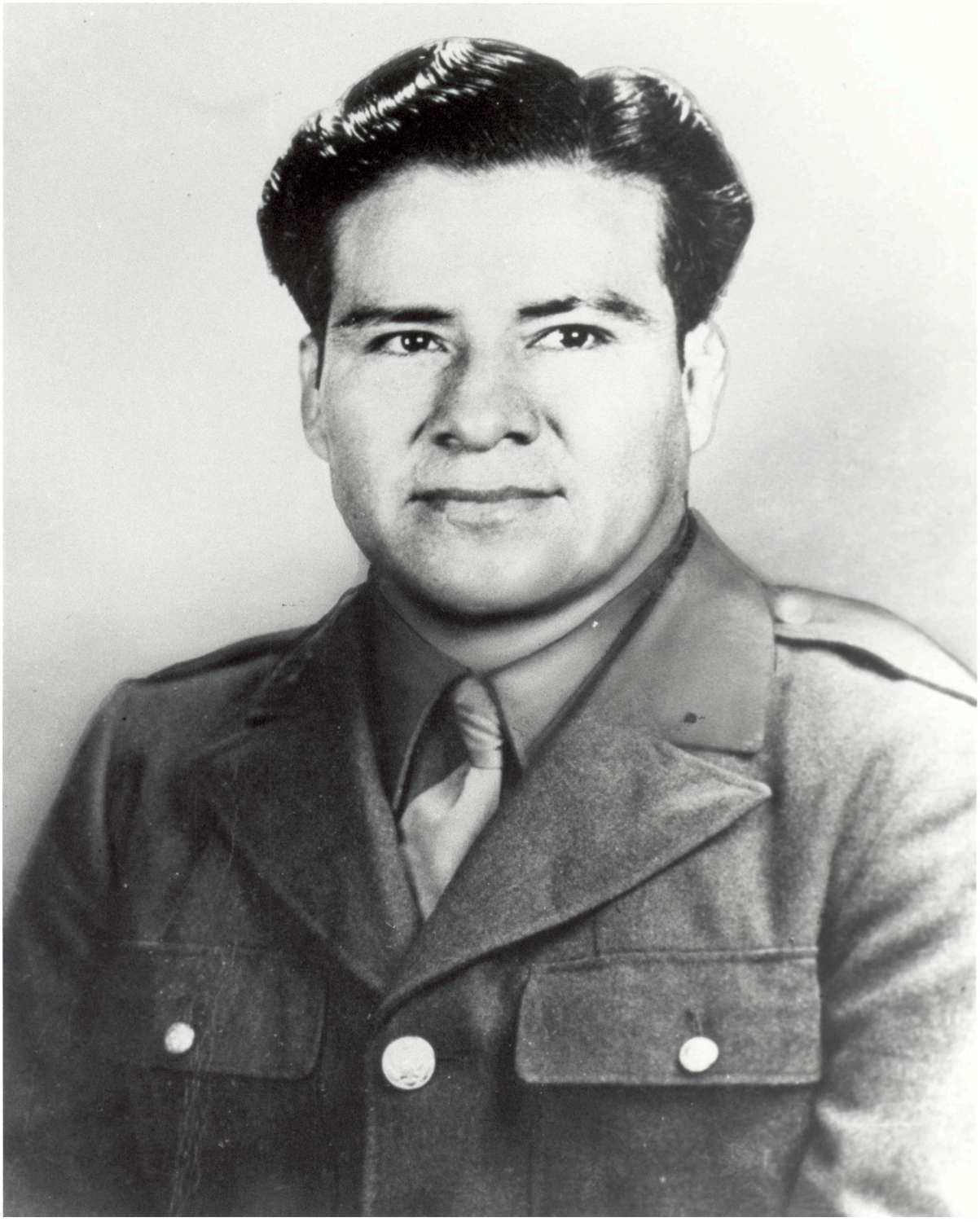
Examples of extreme courage and sacrifice abound during World War II, including many stories featuring Mexican and Mexican Americans. In 1942, thousands of United States Marines were left behind on the Bata'an Peninsula in the Philippines after the Japanese overran the islands. That spring, the Marines fought until they ran out of ammunition and were forced to surrender. They became prisoners of war (POWs) of the Japanese, who treated them cruelly because they had surrendered, and eventually forced them on a march from one end of the peninsula to the other. This forced march was known as the Bata'an Death March. Marines who were suffering from dysentery, malaria, or simply starving

were forced to march at bayonet point for miles each day, and any man who fell would be killed. Marines who could barely walk themselves carried their brothers in arms who were too sick to walk so that they would not be bayoneted by their captors. Of the 60,000-80,000 American Marines and Filipinos who were captured by the Japanese, 54,000 lived to the end of the march. One quarter of these Marines were Mexican Americans.

"*Bata'an Death March, April, 1942*" *by* *U.S. National Archives and Records Administration* *is in the* *public domain*.

Jose Mendoza Lopez, Hero of Ardennes

While many from the Latinx community served with valor during World War II, Master Sergeant Jose Lopez was the only one to receive the highest military honors from both his adopted country and the country of his birth. Sgt. Lopez was born in Mexico and moved to Brownsville, Texas as an orphan at the age of eight. He joined the Merchant Marine in the 1930s but when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, Lopez joined the United States Army, serving from 1942 until 1973 in both World War II and the Korean War during his long military career. Sgt. Lopez gained distinction in 1944 when he single-handedly held off German attack to enable his unit to retreat and regroup. He was wounded during the battle but is believed to have killed as many as one hundred Germans. For his service at the Ardennes during the Battle of the Bulge, Sgt. Jose Lopez earned a Purple Heart and was given the Congressional Medal of Honor, the United States' highest military honor. After he returned to the United States, he visited Mexico City where he was awarded *la Condecoracion del Merito Militar* by Mexican President Manuel Camacho, which is Mexico's highest military honor.



"Private Jose Mendoza Lopez, World War II" by United States Army is in the public domain.

G.I. Bill

In 1942, the United States created a program known as the G.I. Bill, which was intended to help service members when

they returned home from the war. Service members were entitled to low cost mortgages, business loans, and college tuition. The goal of the Bill was to prevent the job market from becoming flooded with ex-servicemen following World War II, which many believed would cause the country to fall back into an economic depression. Instead, ex-servicemen would be able to attend college, start a business, or buy a home, all of which would create jobs and maintain growth in the economy. The G.I. Bill was written to include help for all male service members from any branch and ultimately raised expectations for many men of color, who were able for the first time in their lives to attend college or purchase a home or business. These raised expectations were often dashed because of segregation and racism that was still rampant in the United States. The frustration experienced by many former service members after World War II would lead them to organize and demand their rights.

The Felix Longoria Affair

Following World War II, the remains of many American soldiers, sailors, and Marines who had lost their lives overseas were still being returned to their families for burial. One such soldier was Private Felix Longoria, who was killed in the Philippines in 1945. His remains were returned to his family in Three Rivers, Texas, but the local funeral director refused to handle his wake or allow his body to be buried in the town cemetery, which was reserved for Whites only. The Felix Longoria Affair, as it came to be known, became a nationwide controversy involving then Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas and the newly formed American G.I. Forum, a civil rights organization led by Dr. Hector Garcia, which helped Latinx servicemen process their G.I. Bill benefits. Senator Johnson arranged for Private Longoria's remains to be interred at Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors. The Felix Longoria Affair stands as one of many examples of discrimination against Latinx Americans, even those who have paid the ultimate price, but it is also the beginning of the fight for civil rights.

Felix Longoria's headstone at Arlington National Cemetery, 2020

Pvt. Felix Longoria, Arlington National Cemetery. Personal Collection of Author, Feb. 2020.

Many Americans joined the military to serve their country during World War II and to escape poverty. The G.I. Bill was a tremendous help to many service members returning home from the war, enabling them to attend college or purchase homes and businesses to provide a better life for their family. One such service member was Marcelino Paredes, father-in-law of the author, who, following his father's death, volunteered at age 17 to serve in the U.S. Marine Corp. After serving in the Philippines at the end of the war, he was wounded and received a Purple Heart, then contracted malaria and was discharged from the Marines. When he returned home, he used his G.I. Bill benefits to purchase a home for his mother and younger siblings, a first for his family, because he wanted to get them out of the migrant camps. His mother lived in the home for the rest of her life, and eventually all of Marcelino's siblings moved on to office work and a middle-class lifestyle. The G.I. Bill raised the expectations for many people of color after World War II.

Marcelino Paredes, US Marine Corp, 1945

Private Marcelino Paredes y Zuniga, 1945. Personal Collection of Author.

Question to Consider

Why is it important to recognize Chicano and Latino service members?

Chapter 20. Zoot Suit Riots

Learning Objectives

After watching the following video, you will be able to:

1. explain the experiences of Mexican and Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles area before and during World War II.
2. identify the strains within U.S. culture that caused the Zoot Suit Riots during World War II.
3. explain how the Zoot Suit Riots impacted the point of view of Mexican and Mexican Americans in the U.S. during and after World War II.

Please watch the following video about the Zoot Suit Riots that occurred in the Los Angeles area during World War II.
Wartime Crime Episode 3: The Zoot Suit Riots

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://pressbooks.whccd.edu/historyofchicanx/?p=109#oembed-1

Question to Consider

Why do you think World War II increased racial tensions in Los Angeles?

Chapter 21. Bracero Program--1942-1964

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content, watched the video, and participated in the associated discussions, you will be able to:

1. explain the reasons why the Bracero program was created.
2. identify the three phases of the Bracero program.
3. explain the abuses experienced by Bracero program participants.
4. explain why the Bracero program was eliminated.

Introduction

The Bracero Program began as a war measure to help fill low skill, low pay agricultural jobs that had been left vacant as American workers moved into the cities to work in the war industry or joined the military. The program was to last for the duration of World War II, so the executive order that created it authorized it from 1942 to 1947, not knowing when exactly the war would end. Ultimately, the Bracero Program would last until 1964, employ millions of Mexican workers, and reveal the lengths agri-business was willing to go to ensure a steady stream of cheap, exploitable labor.

Phase 1–1942-1947–Emergency War Measure

By 1942, the United States was in a state of total war, with millions of young men drafted into the military and millions more young men and women employed in war industry, producing everything from uniforms to tanks in support of the troops. War industry jobs and the military paid far more than field work, so most agricultural workers left the fields in search of higher paying jobs. There was concern amongst farmers and ranchers that they would not have anyone to pick their crops, but the U.S. government was also concerned that the lack of harvest workers would cause food shortages that could damage the war effort. The solution was to import agricultural workers from Mexico, a traditional source of low skill, low paid workers, to fill the gap until the war was over. In 1942, none could see how long the war would last, so the initial executive order that created the Bracero Program lasted for five years, until 1947.

During the first phase of the program, about 250,000 Mexican Nationals were involved, about half working in California agriculture while the rest were dispersed throughout the Southwest and West, working to bring in crops that would feed the country and the troops fighting in Europe and the Pacific. The Braceros were working under a contract between the United States and Mexico that would guarantee a living wage, safe living and working conditions, medical care, and even a Social Security pension. Some farmers and ranchers respected the rules of the program, but the vast majority, long accustomed to neglecting their migrant workers, did not and the government did little to intervene on behalf of the Braceros. Mexico learned of many of the abuses, particularly in Texas, where Braceros were subject to

segregation laws and often extreme forms of discrimination, and ultimately banned their citizens from participating in the program in Texas. However, many poor Mexican Nationals were willing to endure suffering in order to eat, so they entered Texas and worked the fields on their own. Once the war ended in 1945, intense competition began to develop between the Braceros and non-Bracero farm workers, however it would take another two decades to fully end the program.

Phase 2–1948-1950

After World War II ended, the Bracero Program should have also ended, but the political lobby of agri-business worked to extend the program another two years. During this phase, two thirds of the workers employed as Braceros had been illegal workers during Phase 1. Mexico also continued its protests regarding the treatment of its citizens in the United States as abuses of Bracero participants continued to become more blatant and harmful. However, in 1951, the Bracero Program was renewed and became part of U.S. law.

Phase 3–1951-1964

The third phase of the Bracero Program was rife with abuse on the part of contractors and employers alike. Please watch the following video about the struggle Braceros went through as well as their attempts to reclaim lost wages.

Los Braceros: Strong Arms to Aid the U.S.A.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here:
https://pressbooks.whccd.edu/historyofchicanx/?p=113#oembed-1

UNIT 4: CHICANOS SINCE THE 1950S

Chapter 22. Post World War II America

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. explain why the G.I. Bill was created and what benefits G.I.s are entitled to.
2. explain how Mexican Americans organized to ensure that they received their G.I. Bill benefits.
3. identify the organizations that helped people of color access their G.I. Bill benefits.

The G.I. Bill

After World War II, the United States was a global super power with a seemingly unstoppable military and civilian economy. Many Americans, who had only known depression and war, looked forward to a bright future of economic prosperity and family life. The promises made by the G.I. Bill fueled these great expectations, but they would remain largely unfulfilled for most Americans of color during the post-war years.

The G.I. Bill was created in 1942, during World War II, as a measure to prevent the return of the Great Depression after the war ended. Many Americans feared that the economic growth occurring during the war would end when the economy returned to civilian production and millions of servicemen returned from war and glutted the workforce. The G.I. Bill provided three basic benefits for all male service members: low interest loans to buy a home or to start a business, and money for a college education. These benefits were intended not only to help returning servicemembers reestablish themselves after the war, it they would also prevent too many men from returning to the workforce by syphoning some off to college and encouraging others to start businesses, which would also create jobs. Low interest home loans would not only help returning servicemembers buy a home, they would create jobs in construction, manufacturing, and even education. For the most part, the G.I. Bill did all it was intended to do, not only for servicemembers after World War II but for millions who have served in the military since 1942.

Officially, the G.I. Bill's benefits were for all male servicemembers, but the reality was that there was a great deal of discrimination and misinformation surrounding the benefits, particularly for men of color. Latinx servicemembers created the American G.I. Forum to help combat discrimination and help servicemembers file paperwork to claim their benefits. Because the American G.I. Forum was organized by and served military veterans, it was able to advocate for the rights of the Latinx community without being viewed as radical or subversive during a time when many other civil rights groups were viewed with suspicion.

Even when veterans were able to receive their G.I. Bill benefits, they often found that social and legal discrimination did not allow them to effect real change in their lives. For example, a Latinx veteran who applied for a low interest home loan found that he could not purchase a home in a certain neighborhood due to discrimination in the housing market. During the 1940s and 50s, home owners associations were able to legally prevent people of color from purchasing homes within their neighborhood. Even after fair housing laws were passed, when people of color purchased homes within a previously all white neighborhood, the whites began to sell their homes and move, a process known as "White Flight." This practice continues to this day throughout the United States.

Education was another problem for many veterans who wished to use their benefits to attend college. Many colleges were segregated and did not allow people of color to enter, but while the African American community had created a system of colleges, known today as Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBC or HBU), the Latinx community had no such system of higher education and so found themselves without the ability to attend the college of their choice even though they could afford it. Even if people of color were able to attend and complete college, they often experienced discrimination in hiring, pay, and promotion, with the best jobs still being reserved for white males.

The G.I. Bill prevented the economy in general from returning to pre-war depression, but it did not prevent people of color from returning to their pre-war state of poverty. It did, however, raise the expectations of veterans of color, allowing them to believe they could attain middle class status were it not for the "glass ceiling" of racism and discrimination in the United States. Many veterans and their children would become very active in demanding their civil rights.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)

Even before World War II, Latinx American veterans organized with the intention of ending discrimination against the Latinx community. In 1929 a group of World War I veterans came together to form the League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC. Their primary goal was, and still is, to end discrimination against the Latinx community through education and political activism. From its founding through the 1960s, LULAC's focus was on assimilation of the Latinx community by supporting political candidates that would end discriminatory laws such as segregation, the dual wage system, and unfair hiring practices. They worked to help educate Latinx Americans to become politically active and also to fit in with the larger American culture. During the post-war period, this was crucial since many civil rights groups were labeled as subversive or communist and were targeted by the FBI. LULAC still exists today and one of the largest civil rights organizations for Latinx Americans.

During the post-war era, Latinx American civil rights groups such as LULAC and the G.I. Forum worked to end discrimination through education and political activism. Because both were started by veterans, they were viewed as patriotic organizations rather than subversive as other civil rights groups would experience. They would also form the basis of future civil rights organizations for Latinx Americans.

Question to Consider

How do you think it felt for former military members who had served in World War II to return home only to be treated like second class citizens?

Chapter 23. Goals of El Movimiento (The Movement)

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. identify the goals of El Movimiento.
2. explain how the goals of El Movimiento were achieved.
3. analyze what still needs to be done to achieve the goals of El Movimiento.

The movement for civil rights for Latinx Americans, called El Movimiento, was part of a larger movement for civil rights for many minority groups in the United States during the post-war period. Just as each group's history within the country is unique, so too were their goals. For El Movimiento, the goals were equal opportunity, an end to discrimination, political influence, and cultural pride.

Ending Discrimination

Since the 1896 Supreme Court decision, Plessy v. Ferguson, segregation of the races was allowed by law so long as equal conditions were maintained. The legal concept for this practice was "separate but equal," but not only were conditions anything but equal, the idea of segregating citizens by race perpetuated White Supremacy. Because segregation laws had existed in the United States for several generations, the social practices would continue even after the laws were changed.

Below are photos of signs which appeared on business storefronts and other public spaces, segregating the people by race. These signs were allowed by law until the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

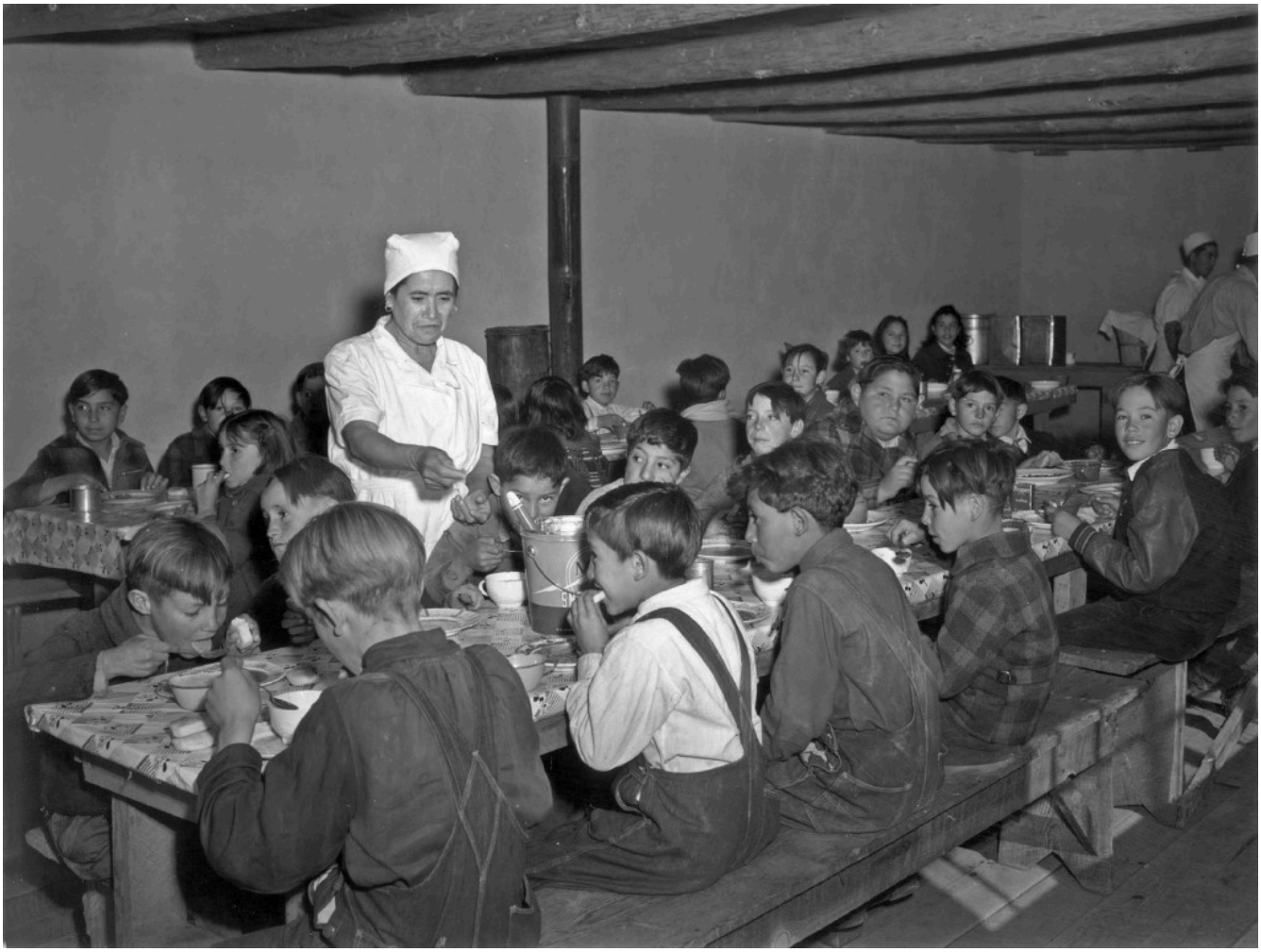
"*Segregation Sign in Dallas*" *by Adam Jones, PhD. is licensed* CC BY-SA 3.0

"Housing Discrimination Sign-Detroit" *by Arthur Siegel Library of Congress is in the public domain.*

Segregation in public spaces did not simply violate the rights of citizens to equal treatment, which is guaranteed by the 14th amendment to the Constitution, it also created a social caste system in which placed White Americans at the top and people of color at the bottom. Latinx Americans, along with other groups of color, were taught from a very young age that they were inferior to Whites. They were not allowed to enter through the front door of a restaurant, for example. Instead, they had to ask for a take out order from the cook at the back door and go home to eat it. Public swimming pools were segregated by days, with a single day designated as "colored" or "Mexican" swim day, often the day before the pool was drained and refilled. Movie houses, dance halls, and other public facilities also assigned specific days of use for people of color, ensuring that racial mixing did not occur. White doctors did not have to care for people of color at all and if they did, they frequently left sick people of color to sit in their waiting rooms for hours until the White patients were seen. Deference was often expected in public spaces, with men of color expected to remove their hats, bow their heads, and step off the curb to allow White men and women to pass on the sidewalk. Those who refused to follow the expected social deference practices could find themselves attacked by the Ku Klux Klan and even lynched. From the 1890s through the 1920s, over 3,000 Mexican Americans were lynched in the Southwest alone, second only the number of lynchings experienced by African Americans. Not following the law and social protocols intended to keep people of color relegated to the lowest caste could, quite literally, cost someone their life.

Ending Legalized Discrimination

The movement to end discrimination began with the laws that allowed the practice. In 1947, the Mendez family sued the Westminster School District because it was forcing their children to attend a Mexican only school. The district's argument for segregating Mexican children was that it was necessary for the children to learn the English language, but the Mendez children spoke English fluently and had no need of language instruction. The court ruled in favor of the Mendez family, thus not allowing the schools to be segregated by language. This court case applied to the state of California only and it would be another eight years before segregation was challenged at the national level.



"*Mexican School Children in 1941*" *by Rusinow, Department of Agriculture is in the public domain.*

In 1954, the Supreme Court overturned the Plessy v. Ferguson decision with its ruling the separate but equal facilities for whites and people of color was a violation of the 14th amendment. The court case, called Brown v. Board of Education, decided that separate was inherently unequal because it created the idea that whites were superior to people of color. While this ruling applied only to segregation in schools, civil rights activists from across the United States would begin challenging other segregation laws and eventually ended all legal segregation nationwide with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, these laws did not end the practice of segregation or discrimination. Over a century of segregated communities meant that people had lived and worked among their own racial and ethnic groups

for generations, and this social practice would largely continue until the present day. Neighborhoods still exist that are largely Mexican, Chinese, African American, etc. and the businesses and schools that serve these neighborhoods are also largely patronized and attended by Mexicans, Chinese, or African Americans, etc., respectively. Thus while discrimination is no longer allowed by law, it is still practiced by tradition.

Political Influence

Latinx Americans during the post-war era were a large and diverse group, but their size had been largely ignored by most politicians until the 1960 election. When Democrat John F. Kennedy ran for president against Republican Richard Nixon, his campaign was the first in American history to actively court Latinx voters in the United States and some have even credited that vote for his narrow victory. Both JFK and his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, were focused on civil rights legislation and enjoyed broad support from many groups of color, including the Latinx community. With that support, important pieces of legislation were passed by Congress, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed segregation in public spaces, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed voter suppression laws such as poll taxes and literacy tests.

From the perspective of groups such as LULAC and the American G.I. Forum, real change would not come to the Latinx community until they held some political power, and that power could only come from mobilizing that community to vote for candidates who were from the Latinx community and who supported civil rights. This perspective was shared by other groups as well, including the United Farm Workers, whose leader, Cesar Chavez, was an advocate for laws to protect agricultural workers, most of whom were Latinx and Filipino. Chavez was able to mobilize political action from among agricultural workers, which connected with the civil rights movement and mobilized many Latinx Americans to become politically active for the first time in their lives.

By the 1968 presidential election, with segregation and voter suppression laws lifted, Latinx Americans were looking for a candidate who would continue the movement towards equal opportunity, and JFK's younger brother, Robert, seemed to be the man to do it. Robert Kennedy was running as a Democrat, and he understood how important the Latinx vote had been for his brother, so he actively sought the support of the Latinx and other communities of color. Recognizing the influence Cesar Chavez held over the Mexican American community, which was the largest Latinx group at the time, RFK visited him while he was engaged in a hunger strike to draw attention to the plight of farm workers and Chavez broke his strike by taking communion with Kennedy, also a devout Catholic.

Although Robert Kennedy was assassinated in 1968, the role that the Latinx community would play in American politics would continue to increase, especially at the local level. In addition to LULAC and the G.I. Forum, the Southwest Voter Registration Project was organized in order to educate the Latinx community about the voting process and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) was created to provide legal assistance to Latinx Americans who had experienced discrimination and assistance to pay for college. These groups, which are still active today, have formed the basis of political action in the Latinx community.

During the 1960s and 1970s, other political organizations intended to represent the Latinx community were also created, although they did not have the staying power that groups like LULAC and MALDEF would have. Corky Gonzalez organized the Crusada Para La Justicia (Crusade for Justice) with the intent of fighting segregation and discrimination within all aspects of public life. The Allianza Federal de Mercedes was organized by Reies de Tijerina to fight for the return of Spanish land grants taken by the Federal government during the 1890s.

"*Campaign Poster for Reies Tijerina 1968*" *by the People's Constitutional Party is in the public domain.*

Perhaps the most dramatic move for political activism came in 1972 when Jose Angel Gutierrez organized La Raza Unida Party, a third political party intended to represent the interests of Latinx Americans. Up until this point in history,

people of color in the United States had attempted to work within the established two party system to advocate for their interests. However, the party was unsuccessful in putting forth successful candidates for public office, largely because the Latinx community was willing to work within the two party system, most being committed to the Democratic party.

The 1960s and 1970s marked a turning point for the Latinx community in American politics. The community itself began to mobilize its numbers in support of specific candidates who promised to change the status quo of discrimination in American society. College educated Latinx Americans began running for, and winning, public offices in cities such as Los Angeles, which has always had a very large Mexican American population but has traditionally not had political representation. The Latinx community began to see the power it could have to effect real change within the United States.

Cultural Pride

The final goal of El Movimiento was cultural pride, which included a wide variety of issues from multiculturalism and bilingual education in the school system to the acceptance of Latinx culture within the broader American culture. For generations, young Latinx Americans had been taught by the public school system that their history and language were unimportant and even detrimental to their assimilation. Schools did not teach the history of the Latinx community in the United States at all, or if it did, the lesson typically ended with the conquest of the Southwest in 1848. Children were taught that speaking Spanish was detrimental to their education and were often punished in school for speaking their home language or even speaking English with an accent. This prejudice against foreign language in the United States is still common today.

In 1968, the Federal government passed the Bilingual Education Act, which provided funds to assist second language speakers in learning English. Over the course of the next twenty years, schools across the United States developed programs that would teach true bilingualism, with children being taught to read and write in their home language first, then transitioning to English during third and fourth grade. Colleges and universities offered courses and teaching credentials in teaching English to second language learners (ESL) and millions of American children, not just Latinx children, benefited from these programs.

Hand in hand with bilingual education was multiculturalism, the idea that all cultures are valid and should be studied and celebrated within the education system. Local school districts, as well as colleges and universities created Chicano/Latino Studies courses and programs, as well as courses and programs to study other ethnic groups and their history. As with bilingual education, millions of American children from a variety of ethnic groups benefited from the concept of multiculturalism. Further, white children, now integrated with children of color, learned about the home cultures of their classmates and were able to develop respect for others.

Equal Opportunity

Putting an end to legal discrimination, engaging in political activity, and recognizing the validity of Latinx culture all worked together to provide more opportunities for Latinx Americans in the United States. The Latinx community, like all communities of color, simply demanded a level playing field and as laws which had prevented them from gaining a quality education and earning a living wage were removed, Latinx Americans became teachers, doctors, lawyers, politicians, even astronauts. However, social discrimination, implicit bias, and racial profiling continue to be a problem within the United States, creating barriers for Latinx Americans to overcome that do not exist for White Americans.

Please watch the following video about the Los Angeles Blowouts in 1968, when children walked out of their classrooms to protest discrimination against Mexican American students.

[The 1968 L.A., School Walkouts]

Question to Consider

Do you think the goals of El Movimiento were achieved?

Chapter 24. Chicanos and Vietnam

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. evaluate the concerns of Mexican Americans and their service during the Vietnam War.
2. identify the role of the National Chicano Moratorium in the Civil Rights Movement.

Vietnam

The Vietnam War was an undeclared war that took place from 1955 to 1975. Early on, most Americans did not even know the war was happening as troop deployment was slow and sporadic. The 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolutions, which gave President Lyndon Johnson the ability to use military force in Vietnam, brought about a sharp escalation in the war and the need for more troops. At the time, the United States had a draft, meaning that men had to register for Selective Service when they turned 18 and could be called up for service using a lottery system. Men were exempt from military service if they had a medical deferment or were full-time college students, although eventually there were grade requirements for this exemption. Since college still cost a great deal of money, most poor and lower class men, including most men of color, were unable to receive this deferment. As the war raged and the death toll climbed, more and more men of color were drafted. Civil Rights leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ruben Salazar spoke and wrote about the disparity in the ranks between White men and men of color, connecting this disparity to the greater Civil Rights movement.

National Chicano Moratorium

Protests against the Vietnam War became common place by 1967 as the number of dead and wounded climbed without an end to war in sight. This burden was borne heaviest by the poor and communities of color, particularly Chicanos, who were dying at twice the rate of any other group. In 1970, the National Chicano Moratorium organized a march in Los Angeles to bring attention to this issue, as well as the underlying issues that caused more men of color to be drafted to begin with, namely disparities in educational opportunities, lack of access to higher education (& the draft exemption), and high unemployment among young Chicanos. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people joined the protest, including the Brown Berets and student activists from the LA Blowouts, making it the largest Chicano anti-war demonstration. The march was met by violence from the Los Angeles Sheriffs Department, resulting in dozens injured and three killed, including Ruben Salazar, the Chicano journalist who had criticized the drafting of Chicanos and the high death rate among Chicanos in the military.

The National Chicano Moratorium connected the issues of the Civil Rights movement, such as discrimination, access

to education, and poverty to the war in Vietnam. They recognized that there were real and tangible effects of the lack of civil rights for people of color, including death. Unfortunately, the anti-war movement was often associated with being anti-American and unpatriotic until middle class Americans began protesting the war as well. By the time the United States withdrew all troops from Vietnam when Saigon fell in 1975, over 58,000 young men had been killed and scores more were wounded, impacting an entire generation and the country for decades to come.

"*Latino Marines in Vietnam*" *from* USMC Archives *is licensed* CC BY 2.0.

Aerial View of August Riots, 1970 by *The Los Angeles Times* is licensed CC BY 4.0,

Question to Consider

Why were so many Mexican and other men of color drafted during Vietnam?

Chapter 25. The United Farm Workers

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. identify the leaders of the farmworkers labor movement.
2. explain the working conditions of farmworkers that caused them to organize a labor movement.

United Farm Workers Boycott Poster By United Farm Workers Union. Image is in the Public Domain.

Conditions in the Fields

In the 1950s, agricultural workers in the Central Valley were predominantly Mexican Americans and Filipino Americans, although there were African Americans and Whites in the fields as well. Farm workers often worked twelve hours a day, six days a week in temperatures above 100 degrees, often without fresh water or bathrooms, forced to work the land with a short-handled hoe which required the user to bend at the waist.

Agricultural workers were paid "piecework" wages, meaning per pound or basket depending upon the grower, and

whole families worked together to earn enough money to ensure their survival. Children as young as five or six were expected to work and those too young to work were still taken to the fields because there was no one to care for them, sometimes leading to injury or death around the farm equipment. The migrant nature of the work meant that children were unable to attend school regularly and experienced frequent interruptions in their education, thus ensuring that most would grow up to become agricultural workers like their parents. Growers saw no advantage to providing even basic necessities for their workers, such as fresh water or bathrooms in the fields, and workers enjoyed no union representation until the 1950s.

Community Service Organization, the National Farm Workers Association, and the United Farm Workers

In 1947, Fred Ross, Antonio Rios, and Edward Roybal founded the Community Service Organization (CSO) in Los Angeles. The CSO was founded to advocate for civil rights for the Mexican American community in California following World War II. One of their goals was to encourage Mexican Americans to become more politically active, both through voting and running for office, as well as join together with other communities of color to fight discrimination. By the early 1950s, the CSO had spread throughout California, including the San Joaquin Valley.

In 1952, Cesar Chavez began working with the Community Service Organization in San Jose, registering Mexican Americans to vote and advocating for workers' rights. In 1955, Fred Ross recruited Dolores Huerta to run the CSO's Stockton chapter, where she advocated for farm workers' rights and disability assistance. Over the next decade, Huerta and Chavez learned how to organize and mobilize California's Mexican American community and agricultural workers into a united force for change. In 1962 Chavez, then Huerta and others who wanted to create a farmworkers' union, left the CSO and formed the National Farm Workers Association, which eventually became the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). Using the training learned from Fred Ross, Huerta and Chavez were able to recruit more than 1200 workers by 1965 and begin the longest strike in California agricultural history, the Delano Grapepickers' Strike, which lasted until 1970.

Delano Strike

The Delano strike started as a protest against the abuses of the growers in the region and their refusal to recognize their workers' right to organize a union. Early on, the strike was unsuccessful because it was easy for growers to simply hire new workers, but over time, the tactics used by the United Farm Workers and the support they received from other unions enabled them to win recognition.

Strikes by workers were difficult to sustain, particularly one lasting five years, because the workers still need to feed their families and they are not paid while on strike. In addition to hiring non-union workers (called Scabs), growers often called in the police to arrest striking workers, which sometimes resulted in violence. Below are two images from the San Joaquin Valley newspaper, El Malcriado, which show how local communities donated food for the striking farmworkers and how police were called in to break up the strike. UFW leaders like Dolores Huerta (third photo below) led striking workers and were sometimes targeted with violence as well.

Food,Prayers And Money

Keep The Strike Strong

Tons of food continued to pour into the strike area. Some came from people with good jobs in San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Jose. Other donations came from farm workers outside the strike area.

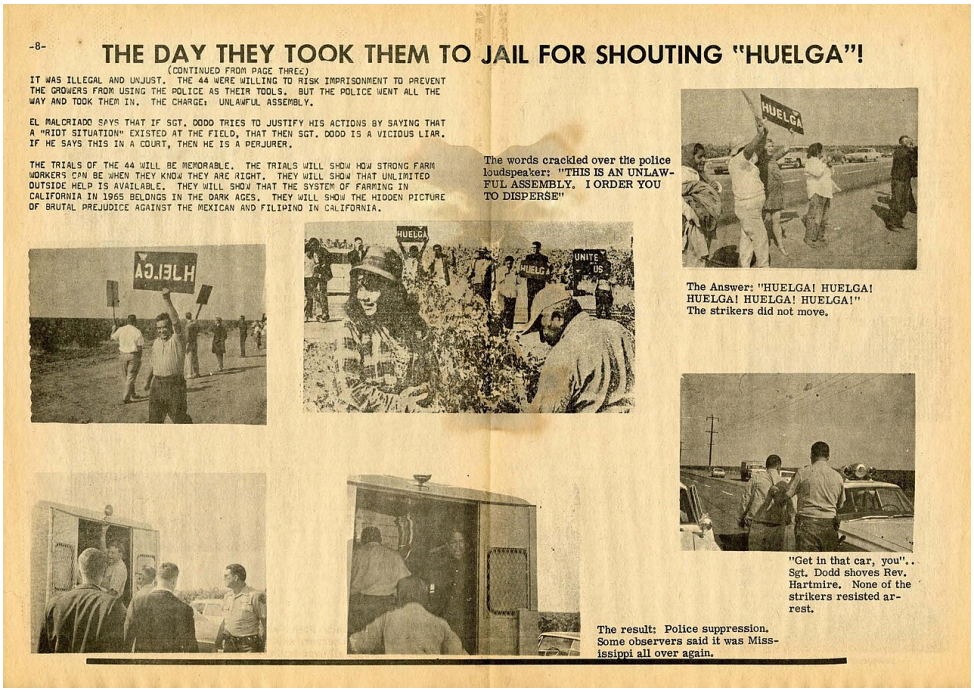
***Farm workers from Exeter, Lindsay and Farmersville raised over $80 to aid the strikers.
***Many, many more who gave more than they could afford, because they understand the meaning of our cause.

·PARLIER--The newspaper of Parlier, "En Nuestra Colonia", appealed for food for the strikers. Several hundred Parlier families made contributions which were sent to Delano. When the strike is won, the farm workers of Delano will help the workers of Parlier in their strike against injustice, discrimination and low wages. That day is not far off.

Outstanding or unusual gifts included the following:
***Two cars
***One station wagon
***A movie about the Farm Workers Association
***One ton of rice
***189 shoes
***3,250 cans of peaches, corn and spagetti.
***8 cubic yards of collard greens
***183 one dollar gifts
***One $300 gift
***Twenty dollars worth of photographic paper
***1,000 "Huelga" buttons
***A garage to store food and clothing
***Felipe Navarro of McFarland has given $5, $10, or $12 every week since the strike began. He works in a winery.
***Santos Chapa of Delano, who works as an irrigator on a cotton farm has given donations every week, sometimes as much as $30. He has eight children.
***Ted Natera, a Delano gardener has given a portion of his wages every week.

This huge truckload of food arrived in Delano on November 3 from Los Angeles, a gift of Teamsters, AFL-CIO, and others.

A portion of the flood of food coming into Delano to sustain the strike, a symbol of the strength and determination of people from everywhere to win the Strike in the Grapes.



-8-

THE DAY THEY TOOK THEM TO JAIL FOR SHOUTING "HUELGA"!

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE)

IT WAS ILLEGAL AND UNJUST. THE 44 WERE WILLING TO RISK IMPRISONMENT TO PREVENT THE GROWERS FROM USING THE POLICE AS THEIR TOOLS. BUT THE POLICE WENT ALL THE WAY AND TOOK THEM IN. THE CHARGE: UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY.

EL MALCRIADO SAYS THAT IF SGT. DODD TRIES TO JUSTIFY HIS ACTIONS BY SAYING THAT A "RIOT SITUATION" EXISTED AT THE FIELD, THAT THEN SGT. DODD IS A VICIOUS LIAR. IF HE SAYS THIS IN A COURT, THEN HE IS A PERJURER.

THE TRIALS OF THE 44 WILL BE MEMORABLE. THE TRIALS WILL SHOW HOW STRONG FARM WORKERS CAN BE WHEN THEY KNOW THEY ARE RIGHT. THEY WILL SHOW THAT UNLIMITED OUTSIDE HELP IS AVAILABLE. THEY WILL SHOW THAT THE SYSTEM OF FARMING IN CALIFORNIA IN 1965 BELONGS IN THE DARK AGES. THEY WILL SHOW THE HIDDEN PICTURE OF BRUTAL PREJUDICE AGAINST THE MEXICAN AND FILIPINO IN CALIFORNIA.

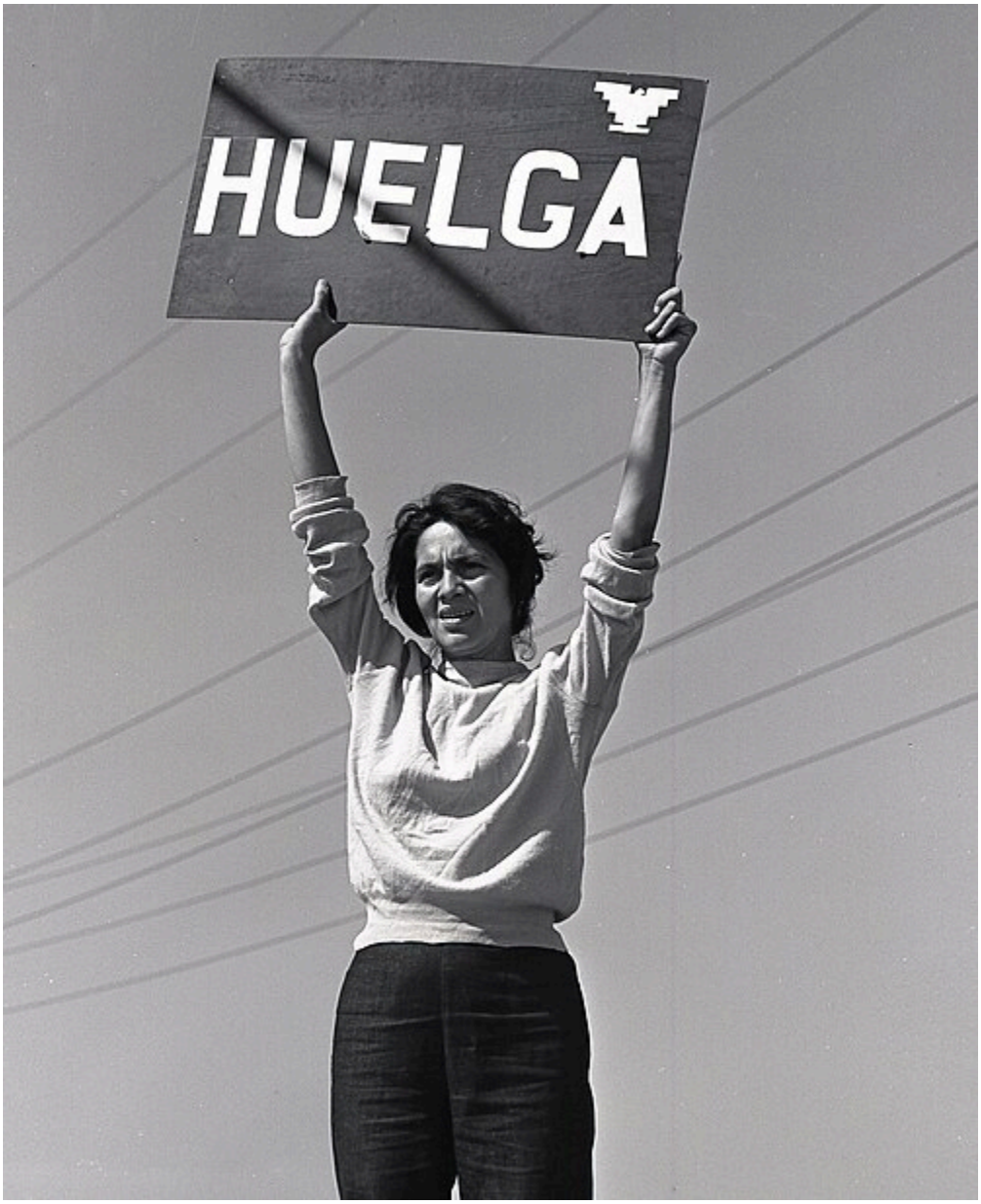
The words crackled over the police loudspeaker: "THIS IS AN UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY. I ORDER YOU TO DISPERSE"

The Answer: "HUELGA! HUELGA! HUELGA! HUELGA! HUELGA!" The strikers did not move.

"Get in that car, you".. Sgt. Dodd shoves Rev. Hartmire. None of the strikers resisted arrest.

The result: Police suppression. Some observers said it was Mississippi all over again.

"*El Malcriado, 1965, No. 23*" *by El Malcriado is in the public domain.*



"Dolores Huerta Holding Huelga Sign, 1965" *by El Malcriado, 1965, No. 21. is in the public domain.*

In 1966, the UFW sponsored a march from Delano to Sacramento in an attempt to raise awareness of their problem and speak to the governor, who ultimately did not meet with them. However, the march was successful in that it turned a largely local situation into national news and the workers eventually gained the support of the Teamsters Union, who agreed not to load or ship any grapes that did not bear the UFW label. People across the country began to boycott grapes that were not produced by workers from the UFW, which hurt Delano growers' bottom line. Finally, in 1968, Chavez went on a hunger strike, refusing to eat for several weeks to draw attention to the workers' problems and force the hand of the Delano grape growers. His tactic worked, and after months of negotiations, the Delano growers recognized the United Farm Workers and gave in to many of their demands, including providing water and bathrooms in the fields and banning use of the short-handled hoe. They signed a three year contract with the UFW, but in 1973, when the contract expired, they signed with another union and the UFW again called for a strike and boycott, which lasted more than a year. Finally, in 1975, the state formed the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board to oversee

the treatment and practices of growers towards their agricultural workers and to ensure compliance with agricultural laws.

The United Farm Workers union has achieved a number of victories for agricultural workers, including securing minimum wage, ending the use of child labor in the fields, and medical care for its members. After its initial victory in 1975, the UFW began advocating for the end of pesticide spraying while workers were in the field, a common practice that was shown to cause cancer and birth defects among agricultural workers, and was ultimately successful in banning the practice. Further, the success of the UFW spawned the organization of other unions for underrepresented workers, such as Justice for Janitors, and Mexican workers were no longer afraid to organize for their rights.

Question to Consider

Do you think labor unions are effective?

Chapter 26. Immigration Since 1965

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content, you will be able to:

1. identify the major immigration laws passed since 1965.
2. explain the controversies surrounding immigration.
3. explain how immigration impacts the Latinx community.

Immigration in the 20th and 21st centuries has become an increasingly controversial and politically polarizing topic, intermixing complex issues such as race, ethnicity, language, education, and the economy. Nativists continue to support a slowing down or complete end to immigration as well as the concept of the melting pot, an antiquated idea from the late 19th century that American culture is a blending of immigrant cultures, while those who support immigration continue to emphasize the positive impact of immigrant communities on the American economy and stress the importance of humane immigration laws. Over the last century, the United States government has passed a number of new immigration laws and programs aimed at finding a compromise between the two sides that will still serve immigrant communities.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the Immigration and Naturalization Act, which replaced the system of national origin quotas and East Asian ban that was passed in 1924. The new law intended to focus on a more humane approach to immigration, stressing the reunification of families separated by the previously harsh National Origins Act, undocumented immigration, and the Bracero Program. It also recognized the importance of importing a skilled workforce that would strengthen the United States' economy. The 1965 immigration law gave preferential status to immigrants who already had family living in the United States, those with marketable job skills, and refugees fleeing from dangerous political conditions. This law would dramatically change the ethnic make up of the United States, leading to an increase in immigrants of color not only from Latin America but the Middle East and Africa. While the law still placed a cap on the categories within the law, a more open immigration policy meant that it was easier to enter the United States both with and without documentation.

"President Lyndon B. Johnson Signing of the Immigration Act of 1965" is in the public domain.

Mexican and Central American immigrants continued to enter the United States even after the Bracero program ended, both with and without documentation, thanks to the continued need of cheap labor in the Southwest as well as political instability in countries like El Salvador. By the mid-1980s, hundreds of thousands of people were living and working without documentation throughout the United States, and many of these workers had children who were citizens or who had been brought to the country at a very young age. Further, most of these immigrants provided necessary work in a variety of industries, from agriculture to construction, often using fake social security numbers and documents to secure employment. Some Americans wanted to penalize the workers and their employers for this practice, while others recognized the human rights issues involved in deporting the undocumented parents of citizen children. Another compromise was needed.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 and Reagan's Amnesty Program

In order to prevent the hiring of undocumented immigrants by U.S businesses, the Federal government passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. This law provided financial penalties for employers that knowingly hired undocumented immigrants. While the intent may have been to reduce the number of undocumented immigrants working in the United States, instead, employers began hiring contract workers, which did not fall under the new law, thus transforming the way business was done for decades.

In addition to preventing employers from hiring undocumented immigrants, the 1986 immigration act legalized

hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants, as long as they had entered the United States before 1982, had been gainfully employed for most of that time, and had not been convicted of a crime. However, this law applied only to adult immigrants, leaving out a large group of children who had been brought to the United States by their families but were still living in fear of discovery and deportation. To solve this problem, President Reagan signed an executive order in 1987 which gave amnesty to these children, allowing them to become documented as long as at least one of their parents was becoming documented. The Amnesty Act, as it has come to be known, kept more than 100,000 families together, allowing them to become documented immigrants and eventually citizens if they chose.

State-level Immigration Controls

A series of economic recessions and terrorist attacks within the United States, most notably 9/11, caused some state governments to create laws designed to decrease the number of undocumented immigrants within their borders. Many of these laws played on the traditional Nativist fears that immigrants were bad for the economy because they "stole" jobs from citizens, drove down wages, and were public burdens. While Latinx Americans make up an estimated one half of undocumented immigrants, most state laws were clearly targeted at this community.

California's Prop 187

In 1994, under the guidance of Governor Pete Wilson, California voters overwhelmingly passed a ballot initiative called Proposition 187, which denied non-emergency medical care, public assistance, and public education to undocumented immigrants and required health care workers and educators to report any individual suspected of being undocumented to the Immigration and Naturalization Services. The law was immediately challenged by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and other organizations as a violation of the 14th amendment to the Constitution and Plyler v. Doe, which was a 1982 Supreme Court Decision that said all children are entitled to public education regardless of immigration status. Ultimately Prop 187 could not be enacted because it violated the law. However, the fact that nearly 60% of Californians voted for this law indicates that anti-immigrant sentiment is strong even in states with a large number of immigrants.

Arizona's SB 1070

In 2010, the state of Arizona passed its own law intended to stop undocumented immigration through its border, known as State Bill 1070 or the "Show me your papers" act. The law allowed law enforcement to arrest and detail individuals under "suspicion" of being undocumented as well as prevented local law enforcement from interfering with Federal immigration processes and increased penalties against anyone harboring undocumented people, including employers. Organizations such as the MALDEF, the ACLU, and the Arizona Association of Chiefs of Police challenged the law, arguing it violated the Supremacy Clause and the 14th amendment. Ultimately, the Supreme Court overturned parts of the law but continued to allow law enforcement to arrest and detail individuals for "suspicion" of being undocumented. This part of the law has led to racial profiling in Arizona against any person who looks "Mexican" which often includes Latinx citizens as well as Native Americans, who make up a large portion of Arizona's population.

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)

Undocumented immigration is a complex enough issue when dealing with adults, but it becomes far more complex when children are involved. As Reagan discovered in 1986, a program that applies to adults does not always apply in the same way to children since many are brought to the United States as young children and have no connection to their nation of birth. While the Amnesty program helped children who arrived prior to 1982, no new program was forthcoming that would help those who arrived after that year. By the time George W. Bush was elected in 2000, the Federal government was once again discussing a variety of solutions to the problem of undocumented immigrants at the national level. However, by the end of his administration, Bush was unable to put through any legislation and the problem continued into the Obama administration.

President Barack Obama was nicknamed the "Deporter in Chief" due to the large number of undocumented immigrants deported during his administration. Like Bush, he was unable to lead congress to create new legislation to help undocumented immigrants, particularly those who were brought into the country as children. In 2012, Obama issued an executive order that created the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA program. Like Reagan's Amnesty program, also created by executive order, DACA's beneficiaries were undocumented individuals brought to the United States by their parents before the age of 16. Additionally, DACA recipients have to be gainfully employed or a full-time student in good standing, have never been convicted of a crime, and have never received any type of public assistance, including financial aid for college. As of 2017, when Obama left office, approximately 800,000 individuals enjoyed DACA protection. However, unlike Reagan's Amnesty program, DACA participants do not have a pathway to citizenship.

When Donald Trump became president in 2017, many DACA participants were afraid he would make good on his campaign promise to end the program, but he was unable to do so. In July of 2020, the Department of Homeland Security stopped processing new DACA applications and reduced the protection provided by the program from two years to one year, among other new restrictions. These restrictions were challenged in Federal Court and in December of 2020, overturned. Currently, the DACA program is fully operating.

"U.S. Mexican Border at San Diego/Tijuana, 2007" *by Sgt. 1st Class Gordon Hyde is in the public domain.*

Walls and Cages

As shown in the above photo, the United States has already built a wall across large sections of the border with Mexico and the number of undocumented immigrants entering through the southern border has decreased in recent years. However, immigration continues to be an important political issue, and anti-immigrant sentiment aimed at the Latinx population is still extremely strong. For example, during his 2016 bid for president, Donald Trump referred to Mexican immigrants as criminals, rapists, and "bad hombres" and during his rallies the crowd was led to chant "Build the Wall!" Trump ran and won the presidency on the promise that he would build a wall between the United States and Mexico and that the Mexican government would be forced to pay for it, which did not happen. A few miles of new wall has been built and some repairs have been made to the parts of the wall that were built by the Bush and Obama administrations, but not to the extent that was hoped for by Trump and his supporters. Far more effective and controversial was the Trump administration's Zero Tolerance Policy.

In 2018, the Trump administration activated what became known as a Zero Tolerance Policy aimed at undocumented immigrants entering the United States. Under this new process, anyone caught at the border without proper documentation would be arrested and detained until their hearing, which could take weeks or months. The previous policy, started under George W. Bush and continuing under the Obama administration, allowed immigrants applying for refugee status to enter and live in the United States while awaiting their immigration hearing, adults being fitted with an ankle monitor. Under Zero Tolerance, no distinction was made between refugees, who have legal protection under international law, and undocumented immigrants at the border; all immigrants were detained until their hearings

and those traveling with children were separated from them, with their children being kept in separate facilities. Within a few weeks, the detention facilities, which had been built to house a few hundred adults, were inundated with men, women, and children who were awaiting their hearing with an immigration judge. Human rights organizations that visited the facilities reported babies in soiled diapers, children sick and hungry, and teenagers caring for younger children, all housed in open holding facilities without beds, blankets, or regular access to water and toilets.

Children in McAllen, Texas Detention Facility, 2018 by U.S. Government is in the public domain.

By 2020, the Zero Tolerance policy was mostly abandoned by the Trump administration and most children had been returned to their parents, although some were permanently separated from their families and were forced to enter the foster care system. The United States government still has not created an effective program for facilitating immigration, which can take a decade or more when done through the proper channels, nor has it created a humane program to deal with the large number of undocumented immigrants created by the lengthy and expensive immigration process.

Throughout the 20th and into the 21st century, immigration has been a controversial issue for the United States, with Nativists who mostly favor serious limits on immigration on one side and pro-immigrant activists on the other, often screaming across the divide at one another. In spite of the large number of immigrants, both documented and undocumented, from all over the world living in the United States, the negative stereotypes persist, namely that they are bad for the economy because they "steal" jobs from citizens, lower wages, and are public burdens. Another subtext to the issue is that immigrants are people of color and from Mexico or Central America, which is not true but adds to the racial stigma surrounding the issue. Most immigration laws passed since 1965 attempt to deal with the issue through

compromises between the Nativists and those who support immigration, but none so far have come up with a viable solution that is fair and humane for all involved.

Question to Consider

What do you think should be done to deal with the issue of immigration in the United States?

Chapter 27. Chicanx and Latinx Storytelling

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content you will be able to:

1. identify important personalities and companies in the telling of Chicanx/Latinx stories.
2. analyze the images of Chicanx/Latinx people in social and video game media.

Narratives and Identity

Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities have always used cultural tools, including storytelling and self-produced media, to build a sense of shared community and pride in one's identity. Prior to written stories, oral traditions have communicated tales of tradition, culture, and meaning from generation to generation, evolving and growing with the times. This has led to the cultural scripts that form today's literary contributions, ranging from bilingual children's literature and stories for young adults to novellas and epic volumes. For example, in 2008, Junot Díaz won a Pulitzer Prize for his book, *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*, which explores the experiences and identity of Dominican communities. Stories form the basis of shared identities and influence the meanings of day-to-day life.

Radio, Podcast, and News

U.S. Latinx/a/o newsmaking can be analyzed as far back as 1848 when Mexicans were made immigrants on their own land by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The traditional forms of Latinx newsmaking were corridos (story-based ballads) that originated in the U.S.-Texas borderlands prior to this time. By the early 1900s, Latina/o/x newspapers that emerged, like El Heraldo de México, El Fronterizo, Arizona Citizen, and El Clamor Público (Public Clamor or Shouting). Most of these newspapers exposed injustices and demanded public services, all the while urging their readers to mobilize against the mistreatment of Mexicans in the United States.[11]

The largest of the Los Angeles Spanish language newspapers (circulation of 4,000) was El Heraldo de Mexico (1916-1920), which billed itself as the "Defender of Mexicans in the United States." Its primary mission was combating discrimination and exploitation of Mexican immigrants. Headlines such as "The Exploiters Beware! Mexicans Beware!" illustrate calls for collective action, as do testimonials such as this one:

Excuse the molestation I bring in the name of more than 30 Mexicans who find ourselves here in the desert… They brought us with the hoax that we were going to camp at Salt Lake… A number of comrades have died on the road. The contractors promised us a wage of $ 1.75 daily, but it is a lie… Do me a favor and publish these words… so that they serve as a warning to other fellow countrymen: [that they] not allow themselves to be tricked.[12]

Today, Spanish-language radio targets Latinx audiences through niche marketing. Advertising campaigns on Spanish-

language radio are often developed with the ethnic groups in mind, such as Mexicans in Los Angeles or Cubans in Miami, each of whom has a unique set of Spanish words and cultural customs.[13]

Media Spotlight: Tune In! Spanish Radio Stations

You can find various radio stations, including Spanish-language stations, using the website Radio Locator. Some examples of local Spanish radio stations are listed here:

- Radio Nueva Vida. (Camarillo, CA)
- La Buena. (Santa Maria, CA)
- La Mejor Network (Oxnard/Bakersfield/Santa Rosa)
- La Bonita. (Porterville, CA)
- Radio Bilingue (Fresno, CA)
- Radio Sin Fronteras. (Somerton, AZ)

Spanish International network (SIN), now known as Univisión, launched Noticiero Nacional in 1981 as the inaugural Spanish language news program. The first Noticiero National broadcast on June 1, 1981, opened with a dedication from President Ronald Reagan (sitting before the U.S. flag, his words translated to Spanish with subtitles):

Buenas tardes. I want to say how happy I am to help inaugurate the first national news program carried in Spanish… I recognize the growing influence of Hispanic citizens in our communities and throughout the nation… The Supreme Court once wrote that a free press stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. The medium of television, in particular in a Special language newscast, is such an interpreter… Muchas gracias and buenas noches.[14].

Two popular news sites that Latina/o/x viewers prefer today are Univision. and Telemundo.. As shown in Figure 10.2.1, Univision is an established institution in the community, supporting local events and celebrations, such as the Dominican Day Parade, celebrating the ethnic and cultural heritage of Dominican origin people.

Figure 10.2.1: "*Univision Float at the 2009 Dominican Day Parade.*" *by André Natta, Wikimedia Commons., is licensed* CC BY 2.0.

In recent years, there has been massive consolidations between media conglomerates. The 2002 merger between the largest Spanish language television and radio station networks (Univisión and Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation) in a 3-billion-dollar deal consolidated a range of diverse viewers under a single network's influence.[15]. This was possible, in part due to the 1996 Telecommunications Act that passed to allow for increased competition, lower prices and higher quality telecommunication products. The Telecommunications Act. virtually deregulated radio, which enabled it to become more privatized. Companies were now allowed to own as many radio stations as they wanted because there were no longer caps that prevented them from doing so.

As of 2017, 699 Spanish-language radio stations existed in the U.S., out of 11,231 stations total (6%). These stations are widely utilized, with over 90% of self-identified Hispanics listening to the radio weekly. However, this is also an under-representation compared to the U.S. population, which was approximately 18% Latinx/Hispanic in 2017.[16]. Some Spanish Language radio networks emerge out of a need to keep the community entertained and informed (e.g., news and policy); as well as to benefit from the "untapped' Latina/o/x consumer market. Latinx news producers assert that their audiences have needs and interests that are distinct from that of the general market news audience–and that it is their professional responsibility as journalists to address those particular concerns.[17].

Community Spotlight: Radio Indígena

Radio stations may also be inclusive of Indigenous Languages from Latin America. For example, Radio Indigena was started as an online-only access station in 2014 by the Mixteco Indigena Community Organizing Project (MICOP). By 2017, the station had raised enough funds to set up an FM station, which currently broadcasts to the greater Oxnard area on 94.1 FM. The station meets the needs of predominantly farm working, Latinx Indigenous migrant communities. The content is culturally appropriate and broadcasted in multiple Indigenous languages, including Mixetco, Zapoteco, and Purepecha. The programs feature health, relationships, Indigenous language, culture, and music. Listeners around the country and the world can listen live from the station's app or a broadcast-by-phone number: 605-475-0090. For more information, including links to the apps for Android and Apple, as well as the station's schedule, visit the MICOP webpage..

With the emergence of independent and DIY media platforms, podcasts have become a popular venue for Latina/o/x audio productions and audiences. Show hosts and producers use platforms like National Public Radio (NPR), Apple Podcasts, Anchor FM, and Spotify to broadcast/stream to the public. Podcasts enable artists, journalists, and community members to resist the mainstream industry's hegemonic culture. Shows like Chicas Politicas, Afro-Latinas, and Maria Hinojosa's Latino USA utilize this platform to inform their audiences of local, state, and national politics, Latinx life, art, stories, and culture.

Latinx newsmaking produces symbolic systems by capturing and sharing the reality that places Latina/o/x peoples everywhere: as presidential candidates, first responders, essential workers, etc. Latino journalism provides a prism through which to analyze Latino political culture. However, we should recognize the limitations and constraints on Latinx newsmaking as well. Like other media, Latinx news must attract and maintain an audience that can be sold to advertisers through the mediation of audience measurement rating systems.

Latinx news is also a site of participation in the U.S. political process. Univision and CNN Español are prime sites for electoral news, including debates, polls, and relevant U.S. and Latin American policies. Nationalisms are explicitly pronounced in the process. Contemporary Latinx newsmaking, and conceptualizations of race, language, and class, are evolving social, political and cultural processes.[18]. Latina/o/x news makers understand the complexity of U.S. Latinx Identity and often highlight the interconnectedness between American and Latin American culture and society.

Sidebar: Maria Hinojosa, Futuro Media, and *Latino USA*

Maria Hinojosa established her own award-winning studio, Futuro Media, to deliver culturally relevant content to Latina/o/x audiences. As a Latina journalist, Hinojosa has overcome and resisted the tokenization of her identity as the first Latina woman to be hired at National Public Radio (NPR). Hinojosa is known for hosting her show, Latino USA, which is aired on NPR. She helped to start the show in 1992, became the Executive Producer in 2000, and founded Futuro Media Group to take over production in 2010. She has been widely recognized for her reporting and impact on the field of journalism and is the recipient of a Pulitzer Prize 2022, four Emmy Awards, and an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from DePaul University in 2010. Her work covers important social issues, including a frequent focus on communities of color, Latinx people, and immigrants. She is shown in Figure 10.2.2.

Figure 10.2.2: "Maria Hinojosa" by United Church of Christ, Wikimedia Commons, is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.

Video Games and Social Media

While video games are sometimes left out of broader conversations about media, their importance and role in culture are undeniable. Video games make up a $100 billion industry with millions of users. Games offer an interactive site for storytelling, cultural production, and critique. However, stereotypes are often reinforced and perpetuated by production and writing teams that are not representative of the stories they are telling. Further, in multiplayer and online games, virtual communities can perpetuate bullying, racism, discrimination, white supremacy culture, sexism, settler-colonialism, and other forms of systemic marginalization.

The disparities in gaming culture are reflected in the industry that produces games. There are major opportunity gaps within the game industry, which exclude communities of color. Only 5% of game developers are Latinx, 2% are Arab/Middle Eastern, 2% are Aboriginal or Indigenous, and 1% are Black. Hardcore gamers are the imagined audience for many producers, with white cisgender males as the stereotypical expectation. Disregarding and diminishing casual gamers delegitimizes women and people of color, who are less likely to fit the cultural script of a hardcore gamer.[19] Indie gaming industries have emerged to contest these dynamics and cultivate diverse narratives within games. However, they tend to have a much smaller reach than mainstream games with massive production and distribution budgets. Organized gatherings, like the Game Devs of Color Expo. cultivate the positive representation of communities of color within gaming communities.

Latinxs make up a proportional segment of the gaming community and are more likely to identify as a "Gamer" (19%), compared to the general population.[20]. However, Latinxs make up only 4% of game producers, and games widely include negative stereotypes of Chicanx and Latinx people. For example, Ubisoft's Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon: Wildlands falsely places a narrative of Mexican drug cartels in Bolivia, producing a harmful generalization of Latinos as "bad hombres" Gamers and producers are coming together to combat the bias in the mainstream industry and misrepresentation of Latinx gamers and characters, like the Latinx in Gaming. initiative and Latinx Games Festival.

Historically underrepresented groups in video games have used new media and increased access to technology to resist racism and intersectional oppression in the gaming industry. For example, interactive platforms like Twitch, Twitter, and YouTube allow gamers to create supportive spaces for communities of color to exist and game together. Expos, non-profits, and professional associations help support people of color throughout the gaming industry. Transforming the culture of oppression in gaming will require challenging long-held assumptions about who makes and who plays games.

Relatedly, the widespread use of new media technologies has fundamentally shifted the dynamics of pop culture and storytelling. In some ways, new technologies lead to greater opportunities for historically underserved groups to gain recognition and produce cultural narratives. Changes in the industry create openings for new voices and encourage diversity and inclusion. Many of these changes are then sustained to retain viewers and gain new followers. New technologies can also reproduce existing dynamics, especially of racism, sexism, and capitalist exploitation. For example, while YouTube lowers the barriers to entry for contemporary artists, the DIY approach contributes to reproducing the status quo because the platform does not specifically invest in artists of color.

Footnotes

[11] América Rodriguez, "Local Latino News: Los Angeles and Miami," in *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1999), 107–30, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233345.

[12] América Rodriguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks, California, 1999), 62, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233345.

[13] Mari Castaneda Paredes, "The Transformation of Spanish-Language Radio in the U.S," *Journal of Radio Studies* 10, no. 1 (June 2003): 5–16.

[14] Rodriguez, *Making Latino News*, 79.

[15] Paredes, "The Transformation of Spanish-Language Radio in the U.S."

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Chapter 28. Modern Chicanx/Latinx Music

Learning Objectives

After you have read the following content and participated in the associated discussions, you will be able to:

1. identify the major personalities in the development of Chicanx/Latinx popular music.
2. analyze the role traditional or folk music plays in the Chicanx/Latinx identity.

Regional and Local Styles

One of the common themes in Chicanx and Latinx music and dance is the use of regionally specific instruments, rhythms, melodies, and themes to showcase pride in one's identity and heritage. These songs are as diverse as the people who created them and represent distinct styles, sensibilities, and messages. And, to varying degrees, these songs reflect and reproduce existing socio-political realities like national identity, borders, and more.

Music played an important role in the development of Chicano identity and political movements. Groups like Chicano Batman and Las Cafeteras from Los Angeles and Califanes from Mexico City reflect the transnational character of Chicanx communities' experiences, which reflects the distinctive combination of Indigenous, Mexican, Spanish, and American traditions into something wholly new. Similarly, Tejano music, sometimes called Tex-Mex, is known for its use of vocal melodies that mirror traditional Mexican musical styles, combined with instruments and rhythms with American and European influences. This genre exploded in popularity in the 1990s with the rise of crossover pop star, Selena. It is also both geographically and musically similar to the Norteño. style, which is popular in northern Mexico and what is now the southwestern United States, and reflects a cultural blend of musical instruments and moving narrative ballads.[21].

Within Mexico, various musical styles are used to promote regional and national cultures. For example, rancheras. are songs that focus on love, beauty, and nature, as well as regional and national pride. They tend to take on a local character, with references to specific places and activities that resonate with audiences in that region, as well as form a symbolic connection to individuals who have personal or family ties to these other regions. Another common style is corridos., which use complex narrative to tell stories through song. This genre inspired American country music, which utilizes similar narrative formats and styles. In addition, boleros. are songs with a slow or moderate tempo and a repeating rhythm that supports a strong melody by the lead singer. These are rooted in Cuban and Spanish influences that were reinvented by Mexican composers.[22].

Artist Spotlight: Selena Quintanilla

Selena Quintanilla, more commonly known as Selena, was born on April 16, 1971, in Lake Jackson, Texas. Selena grew up speaking English, but her father taught her to sing in Spanish so she could resonate with the Latinx community and have

a broader appeal as a recording artist. Known as the "Queen of Tejano Music," Selena Quintanilla was a beloved Latin recording artist who was killed by the president of her fan club, Yolanda Saldivar, on the 31st of March of 1995 at age 23. In addition to the significance of her music, she was an important figure in representing Tejana culture. Related to this, Frances Aparicio stated:

Selena reaffirmed a Tejana identity through her repertoire, her fashion and style, and her persona… her musical selections, arrangements, and hybrid fusion of tejano music with other musical forms, allowed Selena to create a larger, Latin American and Latino/a audience that identified with her.[23].

After her untimely death, Selena has continued to be a central cultural figure for Tejanx, U.S. and Latinx cultures. As shown in Figure 10.3.1, a mural by Alan Calvo depicts Selena in the now iconic purple jumpsuit she wore during her last concert before her death.

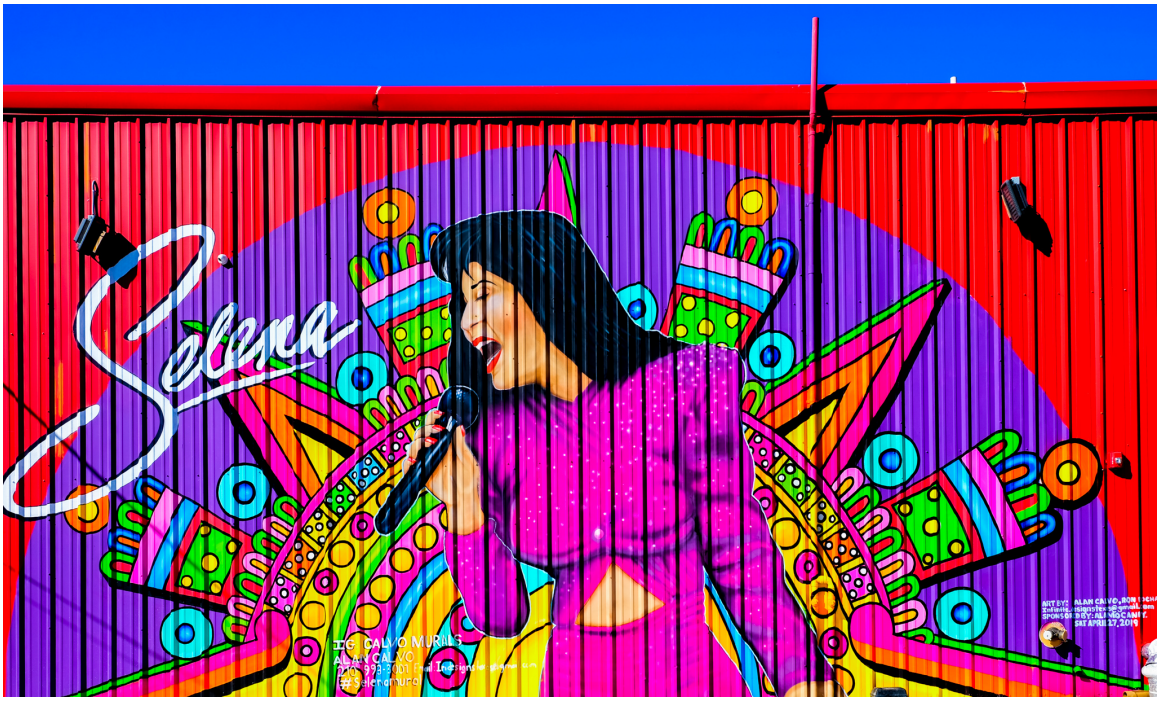

Figure 10.3.1: "Selena at Alamo Candy." by Alan Calvo via NoNo Joe., Flickr. is licensed CC BY-NC 2.0..

Other styles represent the history and identity of the places they are from. For example, bachata. grew out of the fusion of European and African influences with Indigenous Taino sounds, reflecting the rich and diverse culture of the Dominican Republic. Similarly, cumbia. comes out of Colombia and reflects the unique combination of European, African, and Indigenous influences of the Colombian peoples. Other styles, like reggaeton, have developed with a more regional and global character. While the genre originated in Panama, it spread to Puerto Rico and rose to prominence there and brought together Afro-descendent styles from Panama, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and the United States (particularly, Afro-Latinx communities in New York City).

Folk Dances

In 1952, Amalia Hernandez established the Ballet Folklórico de México, which synthesized local folk dances and Indigenous traditions into a nationalistic dance style. This effort was supported by the government, who encouraged the celebration of folk dance to promote a positive national identity, encourage tourism, and cultivate local economic

development. The style of ballet folklórico. has become popular in the United States, with local groups and schools sponsoring dance groups and holding lessons for children, adolescents, and adults. Figure 10.3.2 shows an example of a ballet folklórico performance.

Figure 10.3.2: "Ballet Folklorico Imagenes Mexicanas." by Benny Mazur, Wikimedia Commons. is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Before Ballet Folklorico emerged, danza. existed. In addition to the nationalistic style that celebrates the general tradition of Indigenous cultures in Mexico, communities also carry on specific dance forms and performances. For example, in Michoacan, the Danza de los Viejitos. (Tharep' Hiti Huarar'i in Purépecha) has dancers who dress in traditional attire with masks of old men and women. The dancers use canes and play at being hunched over and feeble throughout the dance. The early origins of this dance are thought to reflect narratives about aging and humor. After European and Spanish colonization, the dance changed somewhat, and now includes elements of poking fun at elderly Spanish men who have exerted colonial power. An example of this dance in Pátzcuaro, Michoácan, México is displayed in Figure 10.3.3

Figure 10.3.3: "Pátzcuaro Viejitos." by LBM1948., Wikimedia Commons. is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0..

Other local dances that are still carried on today include the Danza del Diablo in Oaxaca, Danza Azteca (Mi'totiliztli), and Danza del Venado (Maaso Yiihua).

Nationalism, Race, and Indigeneity in Cultural Productions

Nationalism. is a social construction, which then takes on its own authority and power to implement policies. While we often take borders for granted, it takes continual efforts to create and maintain a sense of national identity, which justifies and legitimates the actions of elected officials and government agencies. Nationalism exists based on the perception of the people who are part of that nation, and the symbolic connection between a seemingly unified political body.[24]. Nationalism often constructs and reproduces racial and ethnic hierarchies to enforce boundaries and uphold a sense of national identity.

Nations are primarily and fundamentally constructed through the creation and distribution of shared cultural narratives, images, and symbols. Contrary to some common conceptions, cultural narratives (e.g., music, fashion, television and more) are not the opposite of politics, but rather a different expression of societal systems and structures. For example, in a classical study of self-identity among Mexican Americans published in 1987, Roger Batra identified four key practices that aligned individuals with a collective sense of "Lo Mexicano":

- Shout the lyrics to José Alfredo Jiménez's "El rey"
- Whistle during ballet folklórico performances
- Purchase Frida Kahlo prints
- Visit Rivera's Siqueiros, or Orozco's murals[25].

The artists and pieces that centralize Mexican identity change over time, but the use of shared cultural legacies continues.

In Mexico, nationalistic cultural styles emphasize the commonalities and unifying symbols that can bring together diverse populations across the country. For example, mariachi. are bandas (bands) that typically wear full charro/charra attire, signaling a post revolutionary Mexican aesthetic. This historical reference is important, because this signals an emphasis on the political efforts to unify the Mexican people to overthrow colonial control and re-establish a locally governed system. The politics of mariachi are also gendered. Historically mariachi are often, but not always, male-dominated. However, key figures like Aida Cuevas have broken barriers for women to perform in this style as respected lead vocalists. As shown in Figure 10.3.4, groups like the Mariachi Divas highlight women artists and performers.

Figure 10.3.4: *Mariachi Divas. by Richard Sandoval., Flickr. is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.*

Performing National Identity in *La Tequilera*

In the Chicanx and Latinx music worlds, it is very common for popular artists to cover both new and traditional songs by others, sometimes changing the style and tone in their adapted version. For example, the song *La Tequilera* (The tequila girl) was popularized by Lucha Reyes in the 1930s. In her original version, the telling followed the ranchera style and

signaling the soldadera (soldier) imagery of women in the Mexican Revolution. Since then, the song has been performed by countless women, including Selena, Jenni Rivera, and Alicia Villaseñor, both reprising this story and infusing it with new meaning.

Astrid Hadad is a Mexican singer of mixed Mayan and Lebanese heritage. In her performances of *La Tequilera*, she utilizes the imagery of armed Mexican revolutionary women to signal the original Lucha Reyes version of the song. She also embeds aspects of rock and roll to bring the song into a more modern era, focusing on current issues related to gender equality and women's agency.[26] This signals the ongoing revolution against patriarchy and interlocking systems of domination. For example, in her concerts, when Hadad sings "Como Buena mexicana sufriré el dolor tranquila" (Like a good Mexican woman, I will suffer in silence), she whips herself, emphasizing how women have been socialized into their own marginalization in the name of cultural and national identity.[27] This is an example of disidentification, as Hadad is both deploying Mexican national identity through *ranchera* style, a traditionally male-dominated genre, as a way to critique patriarchal gender roles and patriarchy.

Lila Downs is a globally recognized signer from Oaxaca, Mexico and is shown in Figure 10.3.5. When she has performed the same song, she shifts the musical style to a norteña, both increasing the tempo and adding elements like the accordion. Because norteño music is associated with northern Mexico, Texas, California, the U.S. Southwest, and Mexican migrant communities around the world, this gives the song a transnational character and invites a global Latinx audience. Following this global-facing Mexican identity, Downs melds the *soldadera* style with dress that reflects both traditional Oaxacan styles, as well as the Mexican nationalistic aesthetic style of ballet folklorico.[28] This flips the significance of the narrative in the song from being about reflecting Mexican identity within a nationalistic community to representing Mexicanidad to a Latinx and global audience. Links to publicly available, copyrighted recordings of Hadad's and Downs's recordings of *La Tequilera* are included in the supplemental resources for this chapter.

Figure 10.3.5: Lila Downs. by mario, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Indigenous Rock

Indigenous identities, cultural practices, musical traditions, and dress are all key parts of Chicanx and Latinx music and dance. These are celebrated through traditional ceremonies, festivals, and rituals, along with day-to-day culture. For example, Pirekua. is music "that expresses the thought, feelings and pride of the P'urhépecha people from Michoácan, México, where creators (composers) and the pirericha (performers) manifest all their talent, their creativity and their most profound feelings."[29]. While this genre grows out of a long tradition, each generation has adapted and transformed the music to reflect the changing times and their modern identities.

For example, Hamac Caziim is a Comcáac punk group from Punta Chueca, Sonora that seeks to help young people find pride in their culture and language. They have also helped to encourage self-expression by helping new rock and punk groups form and organizing the Festival Xepe an Cöicoos to celebrate Comcáac communities. Similarly, Sak Tzevul is a Tzotzil progressive rock group from Zinacantán, Chiapas. They originally struggled for recognition especially among their Indigenous peoples but won over fans and support who were able to recognize the authentic connection of rock music to their cultures and values.[30].

Afro-Latinx Music

People of African descent have been widely influential in the creation of all types of culture in Latin America, despite being under-recognized in political, social, and cultural domains. For example, rhythms, instruments, melodies, and styles rooted in African traditions are embedded throughout styles like meringue, bachata, and cumbia. Further, prominent Afro-Latinx artists have operated through different contemporary genres like R&B (e.g., Cristiana Milian), reggaeton (e.g., Amara La Negra), and rap (e.g., Princess Nokia). These artists provide representation and cultural narratives that respond to the specific and diverse experiences of people of Afro-Latinx descent.

Artist Spotlight: Celia Cruz

Celia Cruz, in full Úrsula Hilaria Celia Caridad Cruz Alfonso, was born on October 21, 1925 in Havana, Cuba, and she died July 16, 2003 in Fort Lee, New Jersey, in the United States. She was a Cuban-American singer who reigned for decades as the "Queen of Salsa Music," electrifying audiences with her wide-ranging soulful voice and rhythmically compelling style. She was exiled from Cuba for her outspoken political and cultural commentary and her fame as an Afro-Latina singer. Even though the Cuban government had tried to erase her from its history, her fans still living in Cuba commemorated her death by chalking slogans that read "Azucar! Celia, Cuba te ama!" ("Azucar! Celia, Cuba loves you!") on walls throughout the island.[31]

Cubanidad can be understood as a Cuban-specific expression of Latinidad, particularly among the Cuban exile and diaspora community. Celia Cruz contests the homogenization of Latinidad by affirming her Cubanness and Blackness through musical style and performance. Cruz embedded political speech and acts into her concerts using the Spanish language as well as direct political claims, like "Bring Down Fidel Castro."[32] As stated by one commentator, the complexity of Celia Cruz can be understood in terms of "the image of 'azúcar negra'... as Celia's Black body, Afro-Cuban rhythms and voice together indexed the cultural survival of slaves in Cuba while she simultaneously vocalized the discourse of a pro-capitalist, white Cuban bourgeoisie while embodying colonial desire with her blonde wig."[33] An artistic rendition of Celia singing in her iconic blond wig is shown in Figure 10.3.6.

Figure 10.3.6: "Portrait of Celia Cruz." by Phillip Pessar, Flickr. is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Footnotes

[21] Angelique K. Dwyer, "Performing Nation Diva Style in Lila Downs and Astrid Hadad's La Tequilera," in *Race and Cultural Practice in Popular Culture*, ed. Domino Renee Perez and Rachel González-Martin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019), 132–51.

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[31] Christina D. Abreu, "Celebrity, 'Crossover,' and Cubanidad: Celia Cruz as 'La Reina de Salsa,' 1971-2003," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 28, no. 1 (2007): 94–124.

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