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Californio Local Liberalisms:

The Lasting Impact of Mexican Ideologies in California,

1848-1890

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

Citlali Lucia Riddell

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor Eric R Avila, Chair

After the U.S.-Mexican War, the Californio people, recent Mexican citizens, engaged with their new American surroundings by drawing on the long history of liberalism in Latin America. Having recently left the shadows of Spanish colonialism, Latin America and the northern parts of Mexico included developed local varieties of liberal ideology. As such, the Californios brought their uniquely local brand of liberalism to bear on American ideas about race, local infrastructure, immigration, and the rights of Native Americans. Drawing upon memoirs, speeches, newspaper articles, and interviews, this dissertation demonstrates that the

Californios used Mexican liberal traditions to both conflict with and support American political and cultural shifts in the periods before and after the Civil War. By focusing on the historical traditions of Mexican liberalism, this dissertation expands the perspective on the Californios to consider their ideologies. This dissertation outlines a case of ideologies continuing to exist among the Californios after the U.S.-Mexican War in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The dissertation of Citlali Lucia Riddell is approved.

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Acknowledgements

When I began thinking about the Californios I remembered my mother's stories that I relished as a child about her childhood in Colton, California. She remembered living among Californios who lived where she grew up and she thought they were significant in her historical memory. She remembered them as people who lived in her Mexican neighborhood and she also remembered the impact of them in her classes where teachers assigned them to act as Indians in Spanish Fantasy plays. The impact of the Californios was not lost on my mother as she grew up and joined the Chicano Movement and the struggles for civil rights in the 1960s.

In addition to origins of my ideas I want to thank the many people who helped me along the way. My professors and committee members helped to shape and sharpen my approaches to the field as I attempted to organize and make sense of this topic. I want to thank Eric Avila, Robert Chao Romero, Robin Derby, and Steven Aron for their support and helpful advice throughout this process. I want to also thank Vincent Bezares for his support and friendship while I was at UCLA. I also want to thank Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens at the History Department at CSUN for her wonderful support and for her academic feedback on Latin American work. I am grateful to the Chicano Studies Department at CSUN who helped keep me in graduate school when funding was difficult to obtain at UCLA. I want to thank Mary Pardo and David Rodriguez for their support.

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INTRODUCTION

The Californios were part of a worldwide community that was deeply influenced by the ideological tide of liberalism. Liberalism had become tied to nation building in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as nations struggled to actualize its philosophical ideas into practical ones. For the Latin American countries, liberalism had swept the nations and changed the most rigid institutions to their very cores, like the Catholic Church. Perhaps for this reason and their own racial mixtures, Latin Americans believed themselves to be uniquely positioned in the mid-19th century to offer suggests to the newly expanded American society with newly added multiple racial and ethnic groups.

Latin America was transformed by the development of the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812. The constitution was created when Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808 and toppled the Spanish monarchs leading to the creation of a Junta Central, or central committee that claimed to be the representative body in the absence of a true king. When the rival factions of the began to struggle, the liberal faction gained the control and convened legislative sessions known as the Cortes of Cádiz and with the participation of men from both Spain and the Americas, the Cortes developed a constitutional monarchy which institutionalized popular sovereignty and individual citizenship.

What was particularly significant about the Constitution of Cádiz was that the liberal reforms were introduced into Spanish law and forced the reconsideration of personhood. For the first time, Spanish subjects became citizens and the multiple ethnic groups that had been separately identified was transformed. The people went from being members of separately defined ethnic groups to individuals within one single nation. The

liberalism that developed from the Constitution of Cádiz required new languages and institutions in the young Mexican nation was filled with people beginning their lives as citizens, engaging in elections, representative government, land reform, and the military draft. But there were negotiations between the various factors and peoples who comprised the new Mexican republic and they had to negotiate liberalism every day and on the ground. There was not always a consensus of the meanings of liberalism and the national government, by the 1850s began to consolidate power and control, hoping to regulate the meaning of liberalism and its practice across the nation.[1]

As the Mexican scholar Josefina Vasquez has argued, prior to the 1860s, liberalism in Mexico was all encompassing and was just broad and loose enough that it was more than a set of political beliefs.[2] The broad Mexican society understood that what most significant was that they had moved from a monarchy in which the source of authority was unquestioned and had been replaced with a new vision of citizenship that held at its core, the notion of liberty.

In 1814, Ferdinand VII resumed the Spanish throne and he rejected the new constitution and attempted to rebuild the absolute monarch model of the Bourbon era but was unable to maintain his power when a faced a rebellion six years later leading to the reinstatement of the constitution.[3] In Mexico, there was a second wave of a Spanish constitutional government when from 1820 to 1821, the uprising of Agustín Iturbide declared its independence.[4] In all, the first Constitution of Cádiz had unleashed a wave

[1] Karen Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalisms in early National Oaxaca and Yucatán.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 2.
[2] Caplan, 5.
[3] Caplan, 39.
[4] Caplan, 40.

of popular support for widespread freedom, liberty, and rights among the multi-racial societies of Latin American and it would prove difficult to contain them again.

Liberalism in the Americas was transformed by their experiences of articulating their own freedom and independence. The ideas of race that had been discussed at the attempts to liberalize the Spanish Constitution developed into the independence movement, the Republicans, who fought for their freedom from Spain. Crystallized in their idea of freedom, the independence minded Republicans looked to their racial distinctiveness in the Americas to provide complete separation from Spain. The independence minded Republicans articulated a vision of their past and their future that included racial mixture and more specifically, a rooting in and a celebration of the indigenous past of the Americas. Cynicism aside, the Republican leaders of their new nations after independence did destroy many of the vestiges of racial categorization that the Spanish elite had used to control and organize rights and privileges.

After Mexico won its independence, the intellectuals and political thinkers began transitioned to the task of ending their colonial status and moving forward as a new nation. Most drew on discourses of liberalism in their ideas about the modernization of Mexico and the crafting of a constitutional republic and nation.[5] Liberalism was popular among a wide variety of people across social, ethnic and professional lines but it was a complex idea and understood in changing ways across Mexico.

Especially among the leadership, there were many men of letters such as Guillermo Prieto, Ignacio Altamirano, and Vicente Riva Palacio, and men who worked as urban professionals, dominating the political parties and discussions in the public sphere. In the

[5] Brian Hamnett, "Liberalism Divided: Regional Politics and the National Project During the Mexican Restored Republic, 1867-1876," *Hispanic American Historical Review 76, no. 4 (1996):* 659.

provinces, places like Alta California and other parts of the Mexican north opposed the centralizing measures in Mexico City in the post-independence era and hoped maintain regional power and autonomy, developing another type of liberalism.[6]

New analysis of liberalism as a defense of the local has challenged older historical studies that argued that "modernizers" enacted change upon passive peasants, aimed at reform. Even among the liberals there were moderate and radical elements, with moderates willing to compromise on issues of federalism, direct voter participation, popular participation in politics, the legislature, religious tolerance, and power of the Catholic Church in Mexican life.[7]

Among the Californios and it is important to recognize that conservatism and liberalism were not part of the intellectual discussion until after the 1840s. They conservatives were drawing on a more "traditionalist" while others were more "radical" but these terms were not used in political thought in Mexico until the late 1840s. The ideas emerged out of the same influences of liberalism that emerged from the 1812 Spanish Constitution of Cádiz. Prior to the 1840s, the concept of conservatism referred to values, which often existed in all types of thinkers. Rather, the politicians in this early nineteenth century period referred to federalism and centralism, which were not easily translatable to liberalism and conservatism.[8]

The roots of political liberalism lay in the principles of individual freedom and equality, the basis of which was explored in John Locke and enshrined in the American Constitution's foundational documents. Political liberalism in the eighteenth and

[6] Hamnett, 661.
[7] Hamnett, 663.
[8] Caplan, 4.

nineteenth centuries assumed the idea of individualism as an innate quality that was at the core of political subjects and their political agency, which they used to join forces to create a nation-state. This point had become especially clear to the Americans who were dealing with the tearing apart of political and religious authority, the main source of legitimacy in the Hispanic world, beginning with Napoleon's deposing of the Spanish king in 1808 and with each additional shift in sovereignty in New Spain and the independent nations of the Americas.

As rapid changes occurred in the Hispanic world, a shift from colonial to decolonial status, the stability of the old order and sources of legitimacy were increasingly threatened. This left the post-Spanish American world in the position of creating their own society and communities and deciding how much of their Hispanic world should be maintained.[9]

California History Under Spain and Mexico

We will begin where many of them begin in the story of the California Franciscan missions. Beginning in 1493, Spain created a chain of missions throughout present-day Mexico and slowly moving northward into what would become the United States. This mission system became the foundation of the Northern frontier of Nueva España(New Spain) and lasted into the post-independence period of Mexico. The Spanish Crown established land grants around mission posts, and gave communal land grants (as would the later Mexican government) to encourage settlement as a buffer between the precious silver mines of central Mexico and Native American populations in the North.[10]

[9] Raul Coronado*, A world Not to Come* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 337.
[10] Sara Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1989), 14.

In California, the mission system began in 1769 and flourished under the care of the Franciscan Order of the Catholic Church until 1833. Built with the dual intentions of proselytizing "Indians" and securing the increasingly contested region, with its valuable ocean access,[11] these 21 missions brought Native Californians novel Spanish diseases and a social model that destroyed their way of life. While the area rarely achieved a large population of non-indigenous people, the missions added presidios and grew into small towns.[12] By the time of Mexican independence, around 3,200 *gente de razón* lived along the coastal plains of the state and near the pueblos of Los Angeles, San Jose, Santa Cruz, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco.

Part of the Spanish frontier zone, the territory of California created as a bulwark against European and American encroachment as well as a site for Indian missionizing.[13] As the 18th century closed, the Spanish empire was in decline and efforts at reform did little to address problems of taxation and governing in the empire. The Bourbon Reforms were an attempt to modernize Spain and New Spain, but, despite the changes, parts of northern New Spain had begun to forge trade and commercial relationships along the Santa Fe Trail as well as waterways with the United States.[14] Of all the regions of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, California was the most isolated and cut off from overland trails, dependent entirely on the sea.[15]

Spanish governance came to a quiet close in California and brought independence to Mexico and the frontier, despite the chaos and fighting throughout the interior. While

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[11] The French, Spanish, English, and Russians wanted to gain control over the region.
[12] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 6.
[13] Weber*, The Mexican Frontier,* 122-123.
[14] Weber, *The Mexican Frontier,* 122-123.
[15] In 1781, the Yuma Indians had ousted the Spanish from the Colorado River crossing and ended connections between Sonora and Alta California. See David Weber, pg. 6. *The Mexican Frontier.*

the movement for independence brought the hope of foreign trade in place of Spanish stagnation, the newly formed territory of Alta California(Baja California Peninsula department after 1836), continued to struggle. While the Californios enjoyed improved credit and access to manufactured goods, their sale of cowhides and tallow rarely made them wealthy.[16] The economic pull of the United States, augmented by its political and social heft, drew frontier Californios to allow American immigration, much as in Texas. Despite this tendency California did not follow in Texan footsteps and fall to the United States until the 1840s. Instead, and despite being caught in a larger struggle between centralized and federal types of government, California sought and won autonomy from the central government in the 1830s.[17]

In California, the movement for independence and the era of the Mexican Republic were marked by significant differences from the rest of the nation. In California, the rejection of the Spanish *peninsulares* had failed because so many of the wealthy of the region held tight to their Spanish identity. Instead, many remained loyal to the Spanish crown and once they did acknowledge the independence of Mexico they remained wary of the new "father" figure, continued to understand the relationship in familial terms.[18] The Californios were continually frustrated by what they saw as Mexican ineptitude, believing that the new leadership had been the reason for their neglect, even under the Spanish viceroyalty. Even as the liberal fervor swept Mexico and California under the newly independent nation with new ideas of citizenship and private enterprise, the past

[16] *Ibid*, 139.
[17] For further discussion see David J. Weber's *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 260.
[18] Louise Pubols, *The Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California*. (San Marino: Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West, 2009), 54.

social order still weighed heavily on people's minds and the concept of patriarchal father figures and political patronage continued.

Coupled with the economic and political turbulence surrounding independence, new liberal movements ushered in the demise of the mission system in California and Northern Mexico as well as across the current American Southwest. The missions were to be secularized and the native population transformed from wards to parishioners, with some land distributed to them as individual property and the rest sold to the public.[19] Changes in the Mexican leadership and policies of secularization undercut the power of the Catholic Church and made the land available for investment, while ending legal inequality for the mission Indians and a new life as Mexican citizens, at least in theory.[20] Under the decades earlier liberal Spanish Cortés Constitution of 1812 when Spain was captured by Napoleon Bonaparte, Native Mexican Indians were granted legal citizenship. By the 1830s, liberalization and Native Mexican Indians legal citizenship under the Spanish crown paved the way for an end to land being held in common for Native Mexican Indian communities.[21]

Laws throughout Mexico were enacted to end the communally held property of indigenous people with the intent to integrate them into the national society as typical Mexican citizens. As Mexican intellectuals were particularly fascinated by the idea of land as the basis for the future wealth of independent Mexico, the Indians' communally

[19] Weber, 6, 46.
[20] Weber, 47-48.
[21] Virginia Guedea, "The Process of Mexican Independence", *The American Historical Review*, 105, No. 1 (Feb. 2000) : 125.

held lands became an antiquated vision. Instead, Mexican intellectuals and political actors envisioned the land as the basis for a republic composed of yeoman farmers.[22]

In the newly created territory of California under independent Mexico, pressure from immigrants from other parts of Mexico to access the fecund mission lands intensified the already changing ideas about Indians. New Liberal thought considered Indians to be capable of reason and owning land. Jose Maria de Echandía, governor of Alta California, passed the *Act for the Secularization of the Missions of California* on August 17, 1833, allowing purchase of former Church properties.[23]

In the first years of independence Mexico was both ebullient and fearful. They were excited by the belief that they could be at the crossroads of two parts of the world, the East and the West. They hoped to attract European migration to Mexico, idealizing them as agents of modernity.[24] Yet, they feared encroachments upon their territories and holdings by Europeans and Americans. But the eruption of the Mexican-American War in 1846 exposed Mexico's northern vulnerability. The United States had become increasingly interested in Mexican territory throughout the early 19th century, and viewed this expansion as part of her divinely ordained Manifest Destiny.[25] Despite this, California did not follow the example of Texas and fall to the United States but instead sought and won autonomy from the central government in the 1830s despite being caught in a larger struggle between centralized or federal types of government.[26]

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[22] José Angel Hernández, "From Conquest to Colonization: Indios and Colonization Policies after Mexican Independence," Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer 2020) : 301-304.
[23] Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 6, 43-45.
[24] Hernández, 308.
[25] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 162.
[26] Weber, 260.

Recent Latin American history scholarship suggests that a new attention is being paid to the independence era and "the powerful association among republicanism, nationalism, and racial equality that characterized the Spanish American independence period [and] cannot be taken for granted."[27] Marixa Lasso argues in her work, *Myths of Harmony* that contemporary historians and studies of race relations have approached the multiple declarations of racial equality across Latin American as mere stopping points on the road to racial inequality.[28] Yet, new scholarship suggests that Latin American racial equality was repeatedly revisited and fought over particularly during and after independence.

In 1846, Mexico's struggled grew when the United States declared war on Mexico but after a few short months, the Mexicans of California negotiated their own(non-binding) treaty, the Treaty of Cahuenga that ended warfare in the region. While the Mexican-American war raged for two more years, California was spared the warfare that plagued central Mexico and the southern port of Veracruz.

When the war ended, the Mexican nation struggled to make sense of the loss of its frontier and Americans examined the new people and lands they had swallowed in the Southwest. The region that had once held the promising Northern Spanish missions and that had become the Mexican frontier was transformed into an American Southwest. The great loss confounded the Mexican public as they struggled to rebuild and make sense of their society. What had begun as a concern among Mexico's intellectuals expanded to

[27] Marixa Lasso, *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism During the Age of Revolution, Colombia, 1795-1831* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007)
[28]Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, Politics and Ideas in Latin American Independence," *Latin American research review* 45, no. 2 (2010) : 232.

the masses as newspapers and periodicals sprung up and debated the state's impotence and need for reform as well as the failures of the Mexican military.[29]

In the decade after the Mexican-American War, the United States, flush with victory, delimited the term, "America" to itself and began to expound a racial expression of its dream of hemispheric hegemony.[30] The impact of the Romantic Movement and contemporary "racial science" encouraged this view of whiteness as a criterion of social status and justification of social immobility:[31] "White racial pride became steadily less generous in its expectations of 'improvement' of dark-skinned people."[32] Nineteenth-century racial hierarchies typically identified Germanic people in England and the United States (Anglo-Saxons) as having the highest potential for self-government and democracy.[33] In the United States the ideology of Manifest Destiny--that "civilized" nations should rule the "uncivilized"--became biologically as well as politically rationalized.[34]

The Mexican-American war was a significant marker in United States-Mexican relations and in American representations of Mexican racial identity, but such images flourished, faded, and changed in the ensuing decades. Various forms of representation of Mexicans emerged, as American popular writers separated elite Mexican-Spaniards from dark-skinned Mexicans and from Indigenous Mexicans. As popular culture became

[29] Four major newspapers and a number of smaller ones were developed during 1846 and became much more political and discussed the leading ideas of both the conservatives and the liberals. See Charles Hale for further discussion of the various ideas held by both sides of Mexican intellectuals and writers and the general public in the mid-19th century.
[30] Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (United States: Hill and Wang, 2006), 208.
[31] Bender, 208.
[32] Bender, 209.
[33] Bender, 209.
[34] Horsman, 184, 283.

more readily available to the masses through print media, motifs of the Spanish past and the Mexicans of California energized local tourism, real estate sales, literature, architecture, and historiography. This fascination with the Spanish/Mexican/Indian past of California has vastly impacted its landscape, historical memory, and built environment.[35]

California held a particular fascination for the Americans, which intensified in 1848 when gold was discovered. The California population, while small, also held a special attraction for the Americans, as evidenced by travel journals, novels, stories, poems, and letters. Richard Dana's 1840 *Two Years Before the Mast* exemplified the early interest, which the print revolution of the period magnified.[36] But the allure of the Californios did not stem from mere admiration. To the contrary, during the Mexican-American War, American Anglo-Saxons sharpened their own national identity through the epic battle against Mexico, mocked in the penny press as a "false nation."[37]

The public American conversation about the racial status of Californios and Mexicans continued after the Mexican-American War as the United States sought to locate them in the latest racial taxonomy. The Californios themselves argued for equality, as they were citizens under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, based upon their self-described *whiteness* and depicted themselves as competent and civilized,

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[35] For a larger discussion of the Spanish Fantasy Heritage please see Dydia Delyser's book *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); also see William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and Phoebe Kropp's, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)
[36] Shelley Streeby, *American sensations: class, empire, and the production of popular culture*. Vol. 9. (University of California Press, 2002), 39.
[37] Streeby, 39.

demonstrating how paramount the pursuit of whiteness was for attaining citizenship, social standing, and political power in the nineteenth century.[38]

The Transnationalism of Mexican Liberalism

Mexican liberals believed themselves to be the heirs to the American and French revolutions and thus liberalism became the main political and economic outlook for the government and intellectuals.[39] The Latin American countries had watched closely as the United States gained their freedom in the late 18th century and modeled many of their constitutions on the United States constitution.[40] The liberal and republican elements of Latin American society were particularly interested in following the model of American democracy.[41]

There was definitive talk amongst the intellectuals of Mexico that to achieve the kind of prosperity that the United States, Mexican leaders needed to clear any obstacles of the past and make way for modernization.[42] Across the political spectrum, Mexican liberalism was fraught with various ideas about how to promote modernity in Mexico and the concept itself was not always agreed upon. Overall, the various factions of liberals of

[38] Neil Foley, "Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and the Faustian Pact with Whiteness," *Reflexiones 1997: New Directions In Mexican American Studies* (1997): 33.
[39] F. Valdes-Ugalde, "Janus and the Northern Colosssus: Perceptions of the United States in the building of the Mexican Nation." *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 2 (1999) : 584.
[40] Argentina's Juan Bautista Alberdi developed the constitution in 1853 based on the U.S. constitution with an emphasis on universal male suffrage, separation of executive, judicial, and legislative powers, freedom of religion, and the end of slavery with a strong centralized state provision. See Thomas Bender 147.
[41] There were also more conservative elements in Mexican society, for example who did not agree with the American method of government but were still impressed with the obvious progress and strength of the American system.
[42] Valdes-Ugalde, 588.

the early period of Mexican society desired a change from the old colonial regime but they did not always agree on how to make that change and how quickly.[43]

Showing their desire to engage in finding the best possible form of liberalism that would suit their histories because many argued that was the best approach, Mexican liberal thinkers began to write about the differences between themselves and the United States. As early as the first two decades of the 19th century, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier was writing about the impossibility of Mexico copying the U.S. "[They were a new people], homogenous, industrious, enlightened and full of social virtues as educated by a free nation; we are an old people, heterogeneous, with no industry, enemies of work and lovers of public jobs as are the Spaniards, as ignorant as our fathers were and degraded by vices derived from three hundred years of subjugation."[44] These Mexican discussions of their relationships with and differences from Americans reached their apex with the Mexican-American War, which the Americans decisively won. The Mexican politicians, people, and thinkers were left to recover their sense of self in the wake of this catastrophic self and to redefine their sense of liberalism in the face of a powerful neighbor.

Connections with Historical Fields

[43] Valdes-Ugalde, 588.
[44] Servando Teresa de Mier, Pensamiento politico del padre Mier (The political thought of Father Mier), ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1945), 127 quoted in F. Ugalde-Valdes, "Janus and the Northern Colossus: Perceptions of the United States in the building of the Mexican Nation." The Journal of American History 86, no. 2 (1999) : 582.

This project connects with Latin American history by joining the conversation about the ideology of liberalism in the post-independence and recent scholars have explored the local ideologies and enactments. In the field of intellectual history, ?? American Civil War historians have expanded the field to consider the nineteenth century as a time of multiple wars of imperialism and capitalist development and my work joins this conversation. By studying the Californios who were dominated by the United States in the nineteenth century, this project joins recent works re-centering the geographies of American power. This project places the Californios at the center, examining them as one of the many rebellions of the nineteenth century as they challenged American ideas and pushed for their own definitions of liberalism to keep their power in the region.[45]

In joining the broadening project of the nineteenth century as an era of multiple civil wars, this project also discusses the new idea of multiple Reconstructions. In the period after 1865, Mariano Vallejo, a leader among the Californios discusses his own ideas of reconciliation and reconstruction that were based not on the American Civil War but on the Bear Flag Revolt.[46] Thus, this project joins a new conversation in the field of American history that resets the nineteenth century as period of contradictions between nation and empire.

In Latinx or Latino history of the nineteenth century, there has been continued growth in exploring the lives and culture of the Californios as a racially complex community. This project focuses largely on the intellectuals and those who left written

[45] This is in conversation with Steven Hahn's, A Nation without Borders: The United States and its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910, (New York: Penguin Books), 4. In this section Hahn discussions the various rebellions in the United States during the nineteenth century that questioned and challenged the federal government rather than focusing solely on the Civil War as the main rebellion of the period.
[46] On page 5, Hahn also discussions the broader idea of Reconstruction after these "wars of the rebellions" as a much broader concept that referred to more than the American South or ex-slaves.

record but is part of a recent parallel in Texas-Mexican history. This project works to build on Raul Coronado's work, *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture* at the intersection of intellectual and Latinx history.[47] Coronado's work begins with the Spanish Crown in the late eighteenth century and examines the impact of modernity on crown and the Spanish American borderlands to the period of the Texas Revolution. This dissertation like Coronado's work explores the Californios(Mexican and Spanish-American people before them) as intellectual actors in their engagement with the United States.

The Californios, like many Mexicans who were left on the American side of the border with the possibility of citizenship moved forward with a mix of intellectual traditions, influenced by Latin America and engaged with the United States. As Karen Caplan has showed us in her book, *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalism in Early National Oaxaca and Yucatan*, Mexican thinkers, governmental agents, and the public were profoundly swept up in the idea of liberalism.[48] Allowed a space in the American body politic despite racism and nativism, the Californios flourished at various levels of society, engaging both politically and culturally with their new nation especially in the early era after the U.S.-Mexican War.

This project is unique in its examination of the Californios as part of a broader Latin American world that was developing their sense of national identity and political culture. The Californios as Latin Americans allows for an exploration of their political values and ideologies as more than reactive against American racism or domination but as part of a uniquely regional and cultural liberalism that was flourishing in Latin

[47] Coronado, *A World Not to Come*, Introduction.
[48] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 4-5.

America. In Latin America, the discussions of race and citizenship were often unique and this was woven into the ideas of the Californios and they brought these ideas to the United States at a time of increasing narrowness of racial equality. This project resets the Californios as more than the Spanish Fantasy Heritage that they became in the late part of the nineteenth century as their image and mythology flourished throughout the nation. Instead, the Californios were a part of Latin America who became part of the United States and developed their own local liberalism that impacted the region and Latin America into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Methodology

In exploring the intellectual lives of the Californios, I drew on the approach of Charles A. Hale, an intellectual historian of nineteenth century Mexico who approached his work by using sources that are "conventional and traditional."[49] Similarly, I examine the writings of the intellectuals among the Californios who had newspapers, were involved in legislation, and political debates inside and outside of government. As Hale suggests, the point for intellectual historians is not to find previously unexamined materials but rather to look anew at the sources and re-examine the assumptions previously held by scholars. He suggests an approach by the early historian A.O. Lovejoy of the intellectual historians work to separate and examine the rhetoric of a political program to find the broader value systems that were built in Latin America and based on trends of international political thought.[50]

[49] Charles A. Hale, "The reconstruction of nineteenth-century politics in Spanish America: a case for the History of Ideas. *Latin American Research Review*, 8(2) : 61.
[50] Hale, 62.

Methodologically, the dissertation relies upon the traditional terrain of intellectual studies such as the political, social, personal, and cultural writings of the Mexican-Americans sources from seven archives and libraries. Dissertation research has been conducted at the *Bancroft Library* of the University of California at Berkeley, the *National Archives* branches of Washington, D.C., the *Autry National Research Center* at the *Autry Museum of the American West*, the *Seaver Center* at the *Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*, the *Special Collections of the University of California, Los Angeles*, and *The Huntington Library* in San Marino, California.

Historical scholarship is concerned with the fragments of the written words that have been left behind by those before us. The examination of diaries, letters, novels, autobiographies, and general personal material are often the mainstay of cultural historians hoping to glean a bit of evidence. The Californio community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was generally historically oriented and many were literate and proficient writers. The elite specifically was concerned with the historical record and hoped to have an impact through writing novels, letters, and cookbooks; giving speeches; and taking part in a newspaper writing culture.

The method of this dissertation will be to examine the writings of key intellectuals who wrote, gave speeches, and argued about the nature of identity, nationalism, and the historical significance of the *Californio* community. Key sources utilized in this study include: H.H. Bancroft's collection of nearly one hundred *Californio* personal narratives; the private letters and published works of public figure and writer, San Diego resident, Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton; the public speeches of politician and cultural ethnographer, Angeleño, Antonio Coronel; the papers of the California consular

representatives from Mexico between 1848 and 1900; interviews with *Californios* in Western magazines; the Spanish-language newspapers; writings from *Californio* historical societies; the personal and public writings of the significant historical and intellectual figure, Sonoma resident, Mariano Vallejo, including his letters to Ruiz de Burton; and the political and personal papers of the Santa Barbara leader, Reginaldo del Valle.

The *Californios* for this study were chosen based upon the criteria of Thomas Bender's "Intellectual and Cultural History" article by focusing on the social group as "a social type and as active and self-conscious participants in a continuous and ever-changing public discourse on the human condition."[51] Drawing from writers, intellectuals, and decision makers of Mexican and Spanish descent throughout California, this project considers a cohesive group of people who likely never met.

Antonio Coronel's collections are located in the *Seaver Center* at the *Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*. An important figure in the second part of the 19th century, Coronel held political offices in the Los Angeles area and was a crucial historical resource for White Americans who sought to write about the Mexican and Spanish pasts. H.H. Bancroft, the famous California historian of the 19th century interviewed Coronel as a source material for his epics, California Pastoral and History of California. He was also a significant connection for Helen Hunt Jackson in her visits to Los Angeles and her writing of the novel, Ramona. Coronel was also involved politically and was known for his lengthy Spanish-language speeches and his activism in the Democratic Party.

[51] Thomas Bender, Intellectual and Cultural History (American Historical Association, 1997), 182.

The collection of Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton has been helpfully compiled and "recovered" by the literature professors, Rosaura Sanchez and Beatrice Pita. The published work contains her letters to important American scholars and political figures such as Hubert Howe Bancroft, George Davidson, Abraham Lincoln, and Jefferson Davis' wife. Her writings also include letters to significant figures in Mexican and *Californio* political and cultural life through her correspondence with Mariano Vallejo, the Mexican diplomat to the United States, and her politically active cousin in Baja California. Her collection is almost completely published with the exception of a few of her lost letters to the Mexican diplomat to the United States.

Another significant figure, Mariano Vallejo was well known in California and was extensively involved in the writings of Hubert Howe Bancroft's books about California. He had attempted to write his own history of California and its earlier history, but failed. He commissioned artwork about *Californios* by artists of the region. His collection is largely located at the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley.

The work that I examined consisted of the newspaper, *El Clamor Público* of Los Angeles, published in Spanish during the second-half of the nineteenth century. I will also be drawing from various written testimonies of the *Californios* that were given to Hubert Howe Bancroft and his associates including: Juan Bautista Alvarado, Jose Maria Amador, Miguel Avila, Juan Bandini, Juan Bernal, Manuel Castro, Jose Fernandez, Jose Eusebio Galindo, Vincente Gomez, Jose del Carmen Lugo, Jose de Jesus Pico, Pio Pico, Francisco Rico, Ramon D. Sepulveda, Manuel Torres, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, and Salvador Vallejo. All of these are located in the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley.

The Californio Bancroft interviews consisted of more than a hundred reminiscences that were preserved at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Bancroft was an early historian, collecting primary sources and conducting interviews both personally and through his intermediaries who spoke Spanish and English. Bancroft and his team conducted interviews with both men and woman focusing on Californios who had lived through the Spanish and Mexican periods as well as a small group of Native California Indian interviews. The Californios were interviewed by the California historian, H.H. Bancroft through the period of the 1860s through the 1870s who was, by this time, a seasoned bookseller. Bancroft began his endeavors as a historian and bookseller by building an enormous collection of books and archival materials that he turned into the History Company, with a group of writers working through various types of material to turn into a larger book series about historical places and time periods. Bancroft was particularly interested in interviewing and saving the works of the Californios, whom he viewed as having been treated poorly by the United States. He spoke publicly of his support for the Californios and their rights and was even booted from the Society of California Pioneers for his statements about the American ill-treatment of the California and Mexican population.[52]

The interviewing planning and process were far from smooth as the H.H. Bancroft secured letters of introduction for each of the 100 or so Californios he interviewed to gain their trust to part with personal documents. The process was even further complicated because Bancroft did not directly visit the Californios whose interviewed and documents

[52] Marissa K. López, *Chicano Nations: The Hemispheric Origins of Mexican American Literature* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), 882.

but ultimately sent fluent Spanish speakers and his employees, Enrique Cerruti and Thomas Savage to the individual homes of the Californios.

As both Cerruti and Savage traveled through California intending to interview the men and women on H.H. Bancroft's list, a strange thing happened. The intended interviewee was not always available or often suggested that Cerruti and Savage continue their interviews with another person. In the 1860s, the Bancroft employees found themselves traveling California and following a narrative thread that led them through multiple families of Californios.[53]

The Californios the Bancroft employees interviewed told their stories based on a set of questions that they were provided with by Bancroft, but as oral histories often do, the stories took their own turns. The Californio men and women, as well as a Native American woman, told their stories in the methods they chose. They sometimes brought their own historical works to the conversation, in the case of Mariano Vallejo who wrote his own *recuerdos* or memories of his life. In these interviews, the Californios and H.H. Bancroft and his employees had their own ideas, agendas, and intellectual traditions, making for a very complex but exciting interviewing process. As Marissa Lopez has explored in her work on H.H. Bancroft and Mariano Vallejo, the two diverged in their ideas about historical truths and historical memory. While Bancroft believes that he stands outside of history and truth, merely processing information, Vallejo suggests that history does not exist outside of the personal or the self and is constructed as we write it.[54] It is this divergence and complexity that we must remember as we visit the stories of

[53] Today we might call this snowball sampling.
[54] López, 885.

the Californios as told through the lens of H.H. Bancroft's questions, his employees interviews and translations, and our modern lens.

The interviewers were interested in certain topics of warfare and the Mexican-American War, as H.H Bancroft had particular historical eras and topics in mind. Bancroft wrote his exhaustive story of California from 1884 to 1890 and later published the weighty seven volume *History of California*.[55] Bancroft was interested in writing a history of early California, emphasizing the periods prior to the American takeover and culminating in the 1860s.Bancroft interviewed people who had lived through these earlier times. Bancroft's team began to learn the stories and gain the documents of the Californios, who they believed represented "the ancient times of California."[56]

Bancroft and his employees were interested primarily in obtaining primary source documents that they wanted to use for Bancroft to create an archive of both the Spanish and Mexican government in California, the interviews were a lower priority. Once they did begin the interview process, Bancroft's assistants, Enrique Cerruti, Vincente Gomez, and Thomas Savage, had a list of prepared questions and the women interviewed were rarely allowed to deviate from it.

The women represented a mixture of elite women, middle-level women with elite names but little money, and one indigenous woman, and a few mixed-race women who were poor. In addition, the interviewers did not always know much about the women they were interviewing, their level of preparation varied. The interviewer sometimes acted as a narrator, listing the woman's voice in the third person, or shifting voices during

[55] Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, trans and eds. Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), xxii.
[56] Beebe, xix.

the account. Another layer of complexity was added to these documents when both Enrique Cerruti and Thomas Savage rewrote the interviews by cleaning them of any mistakes and inconsistencies and creating a final version that was then left at the Bancroft Library. Despite these limitations, the Bancroft interviews of the Californios have proved to be an invaluable source to writers and scholars interested in these rarely heard voices.

While the women interviewed may have largely been an afterthought of the seventy-eight Californio interviews the thirteen women did represent at least three sectors of Californio society, the elite, landowning families, and indigenous/mestizo.[57] The interviews were conducted by and dictated to Thomas Savage or Enrique Cerruti, hand-written in Spanish and translated to English at a later date. These dictations were guided by the interviewer who were interested in topics that centered on the politics and culture of Spanish or Mexican California.[58]

The oral histories that were done by H.H. Bancroft and his employees of the Californios have been examined as products of their historical time period, the 1860s and 1870s and examined in a number of different ways. Genaro Padillo, literature and Rosaura Sanchez, literature, or by historians who have drawn on the sources remembrances as a primary source to examine the historical time period of which the speakers remembered. A newer avenue of memory studies has begun to focus on the meaning of historical remembrances in the period in which they were actually crafted or reconstructed. As historians and other disciplines in memory studies have found, narratives and storytelling, such as the interviews and the interview responses of the

[57] Beebe et al., xxii-xxiii.
[58] Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Neither Activists nor Victims: Mexican Women's Historical Discourse: The Case of San Diego 1820-1850. *California History*, Vol. 74, No. 3, Mexican Americans in California(Fall, 1995) : 232.

Bancroft collection contain the power to both provide a window to the past but also to actively shape that past.[59] Historical subjects, just as modern subjects do, use their past-as-memory to make sense of and understand their present. More recent statistical studies have shown that memories are indeed powerful in affecting people's views of their present day.[60]

Overview of Chapter Contents

In the first chapter, I examine Pablo de la Guerras Noriega's arguments about citizenship and race at the California Constitutional Convention in 1849 in Monterey, California. He challenges the Americans and their constructions of Native Americans, suggesting the ideologies of Mexican liberalism that circulated in the 1840s. His ideas were part of a larger Latin American dialogue about Native American Indians and their rights and the changing rights of citizenship in new liberal democracies. This chapters challenges traditional thinking about Latin American ideas about race and their attitudes towards Native American Indians.

In chapter two, I look at the political forces pulling the Californios in the direction of the Republicans and the Democrats as the United States. As they explored their new local realities within the broader liberalism spectrum of Mexican thought, the Californios worked to reconcile their own values with the new American political parties. This chapter examines the writings of the Californio Francisco Ramirez as the leader of a

[59] Paul A. Shackel, "Changing the Past for the Present and the Future", *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 47, No. 3, Reversing the Narrative (2013) : 1-11. Also see Larry J. Griffin and Kenneth A. Bollen, "What Do These Memories Do? Civil Rights Remembrance and Racial Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Aug. 2009) : 594-614.
[60] Griffen et al., 595.

political newspaper and his engagement with the Californio, American, and Latin American public world of newspapers.

In the third chapter, the Californios became politically engaged in American society. They were courted by the political leadership of the developing Republican Party and the Democratic Party. In response, the Californios became engaged with the American political parties and shaped their ideas to engage with the two major parties.

In the fourth chapter, the Californio women become the center of the story as their growing conservative values become tightly interwoven with their views on the 1870s American society. They centered their conservative values on the Spanish past and their hope for a renewed surge of Catholic Church power. Their values were largely concerning the growing power of the California Indians and suggested similarities to growing tensions in Mexico around the Reform Movement and the wars of *La Reforma*. The women looked to the Catholic Spanish past as a better example of hierarchy and relationships between the different groups in the area.

In the fifth chapter, the Californio men and their ideas about the liberalism in a new era of shifting power dynamics for the Californios and a great loss of Indian life and culture. In this chapter, the men explore their own ideas about race, citizenship, and liberalism in the H.H. Bancroft interviews and I examine their differences and similarities with the women. The last two chapters explore the themes of gender in American California amidst a Latin American cultural group with both communities engaging with ideas of liberalism and race in a shifting landscape.

Chapter 1
"All the Work that Was Seen in California Was the Work of Indians": The Impact of Mexican Liberalism at the California Constitutional Convention of 1849

On September 3 1849, the California Constitutional Convention opened at Colton Hall in Monterey, California, with forty-eight delegates, eight Californios and forty white Americans.[61] The hall had been built by Walter Colton, who had come to Monterey as a chaplain on Commodore Stockton's vessel, *The American*, and he remained in the region. The small two-story brick building with two front doors, two front staircases, multiple windows, a flat roof, and four tall trees gracing its façade, Colton Hall kept the delegates for nearly two months within its white-walled halls as they sketched their plans for the golden territory.

After the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War and transferred one-third of Mexico's territory to the United States, General Bennet Riley was appointed the military governor over the region of California. General Riley presided until 1849 when the growing number of new white Americans settling into the region began to demand a new system of government. [62] General Riley responded to the public, calling for the California State Convention, issuing a proclamation on the 3rd of June, 1849.

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[61] The terminology is constructed by the cultures from which they came. The Californios did not call themselves white in the same way that the Americans called themselves white. I used the term white for the Americans to differentiate them from the American Indians and from African-Americans. The Californios are not racially labeled because they all called themselves white but differentiated by skin color.
[62]Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, "We Feel the Wants of Protection": The Politics of Law and Race in California, 1848-1878. California History, Vol. 81. No. ¾, *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California* (2003) : 103.

In addition to the delegates who represented the new influx of white Americans into the region there were the delegates who represented an earlier California. The people known as Californios were those who had been citizens and political leaders of the sovereign Mexican state prior to U.S. conquest of the region. They found themselves in an unusual position, defeated by the Americans yet allowed to share in the creation of the American government at the California Constitutional Convention of 1849.[63]

The area of California was transitioning from Spanish and Mexican codes to an English and American common law during the heady times of the Gold Rush.[64] Grass-roots public gatherings throughout California had begun in 1849 for a convention and ultimately ignored Congress, which was stuck deciding whether or not to expand slavery into the ex-Mexican territories. The California Constitutional Convention was called for after a short period of United States military occupation by Gen. Bennet C. Riley, the military governor without authorization from his superiors.

The first California Constitutional Convention became a site for delegates to debate the issues of privileges, monopolies, and banking and that most Californians were interested in curtailing the power of political institutions, especially the state legislature which was perceived as prone to corruption.[65] Historian Shirley Ann Wilson Moore focuses her work on how whiteness was legal basis for California after they Americans overrode the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and institutionalized racism at the California State Constitution. Moore explores how debate occurred at the convention surrounding

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[63] Hargis, Donald E. "Native Californians in the Constitutional Convention of 1849," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Old Los Angeles Print, March (1954) : 3-13.
[64] John Burns, Taming the Elephant: An Introduction to California's Statehood and Constitutional Era by John F. Burns, *California History,* Vol. 81, No. ¾, Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California (2003) : 1-26.
[65] Arthur Rolston, "Capital, Corporations, and Their Discontents in Making California's Constitutions, 1849–1911." *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2011) : 526-527.

the boundaries of whiteness and how ultimately a compromise at the state Constitutional Convention led to the California State Legislature being given the ability or discretion to extend citizenship to California Indians.[66]

The Mexican political institutions, such as the offices of *alcalde*, a legislative, judicial, executive, and law enforcement position continued to function. The treaty contained provisions that allowed all Mexican citizens who did not retain allegiance to the Mexican government to be granted American citizenship.[67] But, the treaty denied the rights of Native Americans to claim title to any ancestral lands to which they held title during the Mexican era and labeled them as "savage tribes."[68]

In this chapter, I examine how the Californios negotiated their relationship with the Americans based on underlying values of Spanish American independence liberalism that had swept Mexico and Latin America during the nineteenth century. In particular, these liberal values and ideals were deployed by Californios through the symbolic and actual lives of the Indigenous people in Mexico. Central to the liberal thought that fueled Mexican Independence, of which a number of Californio leaders and thinkers were a part, was the belief that the indigenous past of Mexico provided the insurgent population with an additional form of legitimation beyond colonial grievances. Leaders in Mexico, most strongly, argued that the indigenous empires and states of the Americas provided a coherent society that was separate from Spain and Spanish colonialism. Exploration of indigenous archeological ruins, Mexican literature, history, and other extensive studies

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[66] Moore, 102-103. Moore is in conversation with Almquist and Heizer, The Other Californians, Monroy, Thrown Among Strangers, Lisbeth Haas, Conquests and Historical Identities in California, and Rawls and Bean, California: An Interpretive History.
[67] Moore, "We Feel the Wants of Protection," 102.
[68] Moore, "We Feel the Wants of Protection," 102.

had already begun by the early nineteenth century and played a key role in the development of Mexican national patriotism and the call for increasing rights.[69]

This was the distinctly individual character of all people but Mexico had a large native population and struggled to move forward with an indigenous population who had long held a particularly collective relationship to the Spanish crown. Thus, indigenous Mexicans became a key point of contention, fascination, and deployment in the Mexican struggle with incorporating liberalism into their newly independent nation. The question of indigenous people in Mexico and how to incorporate them into the national and local levels.[70]

In California, the Californios faced the added factor of being incorporated into the United States and negotiating their own power, autonomy, and identity as "strangers in their own land."[71] The Californios drew on the symbolic figure of the Native, in particular the Aztec, that circulated in Mexican national culture while contending with the local Native California Indians. Viewing the Indians of California as both symbol and as people, the Californios also negotiated with the Americans for an expansion for Indian rights, in particular, at the California State Convention.[72]

While this has been examined much more closely in Latin American history, this has rarely been examined in the American history field of the borderlands. In this instance, I examine the Californios as a case study of how the figure of the Indian was incorporated

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[69] Rebecca Earle, "Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the 'Loyal Indian'," Past & Present, No. 172 (Aug., 2001) : 127-128. David Brading, The Origins of Mexican Nationalism (Centre of Latin American Studies, 1985) : 125-145. Brading's discussion of the exaltation of the Aztec past, the denigration of the Spanish Conquest, and the attacks on the Spanish(gachupines), as well as the devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe explain the useful concept of examining the Aztec past in Mexican nationalism.
[70] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens,* 6.
[71] Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), Introduction.
[72] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 11.

and deployed by the Californios as they articulated their identity in the presence of American citizenship and nationhood. While scholars of Latin American nations argue that the figure of the Indian had a place in the Latin American nationalism, my goal was to find if this occurred in a non-nationalist setting, in the creation of an identity and culture within the United States.[73]

By 1849, the Californios had developed their own localized liberalism that was both an ideology and a system of government that, as Caplan has argued, provided a new notion of citizenship rooted in liberty. The ending of the mission system and the vastly expanded definitions of citizenship during the 1820s-1840s had been a complex process in which Californios and California Indians had negotiated how liberalism would take shape in the new Mexican nation. Thus, when the Americans took power in 1848, the Americans encountered a diverse population that was continually in a state of negotiation over how liberalism would be enacted in a society that had to confront and overturn the Spanish past.[74] This was a marked turn from earlier Mexicanist scholars such as Charles V. Hale who viewed liberalism as a counterpart to conservative ideas that triumphed at the end of the century and based these ideas on the articulations made by Mexican chroniclers who were writing during the nineteenth century.[75]

As Louise Pubols has explored in her book, *The Father of All*, the Californio, de la Guerra family continued to act as patriarchs after the Americanists arrived, maintaining the relationship between themselves and the townspeople of Santa Barbara.[76] I expand

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[73] Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930,* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2007.
[74] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 2.
[75] Hale, *Mexican Liberalism*, 1-3.
[76] Louise Pubols, *The Father of all: the de la Guerra family, power, and patriarchy in Mexican California,* (Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West, 2009) : 243.

on this concept, examining how Pablo de la Guerra drew on his public impression as a patriarch, who used his connections, rank, and wealth, to take care of his household at the incredibly significant meeting with the Americans, the California State Constitutional Convention in 1849. Specifically, I consider how Pablo de la Guerra became not only a voice for Californio citizenship but also the broader population of both Californios and Native Indians.[77]

The de la Guerra men had proved themselves able to act as negotiators for peace and rights under the new government when they acted as representatives after losing the war effort against the Americans in the early part of the Mexican-American War. On January 11, 1847, Francisco de la Guerra and Francisco Rico met with John C. Fremont outside of Los Angeles and negotiated terms for the Californios of life, property, and freedom of movement.[78] Pablo de la Guerra, the second son of the elder patriarch, Jose de la Guerra and his cousin Luis Carrillo were elected First and Second Alcaldes of the Santa Barbara district and they used their positions and community support to initially challenge American authority by refusing to swear loyalty to the United States.

The California State Constitutional Convention began in earnest on September of 1849, with representatives flowing into Monterey from throughout the state. They represented a state that was demographically undergoing rapid changes with a fast changing population of 76,000 white Americans and 13,000 Californios, not to mention the shrinking but substantial numbers of California Indians.[79] Despite their small

[77] Additionally, I examine what exactly the "racial fluidity" that is regularly used to describe Mexican and Californio racial culture in the mid-1800s, by discussing how race was being discussed in Mexico at the time. See Pubols, Louise. "Fathers of the Pueblo: Patriarchy and Power in Mexican California, 1800–1880." *Continental Crossroads: Remapping US-Mexico Borderlands History* (2004): pg. 80.
[78] Louise Pubols, "Fathers of the Pueblo: Patriarchy and Power in Mexican California, 1800–1880." *Continental Crossroads: Remapping US-Mexico Borderlands History* (2004) : 67-93.
[79] According to Pablo de la Guerra there were at least 150,000 Native California Indians.

numbers in relation to the growing white American population, the Californio community sent their leaders from throughout the state. Californio elites like Mariano Vallejo, Manuel Dominguez, Jose Antonio Carrillo, José María Covarrubias, Pablo de la Guerra, Miguel de Pedrorena, Antonio Maria Pico and Jacinto Rodriguez converged in Monterey and began the process of creating a newly American state.[80]

In order to better understand the ways in which Californios understood liberalism we must first see how it was manifested in the United States and Mexico during this time. While California and the Californios who lived there were working from a set of basic assumptions with a set of baseline institutions of Mexican national liberalism that could be implemented in different ways. Mexican liberalism was created as it was discussed and enacted at the local, regional, national, and transnational level. This is the story of the Californios and the local Mexican liberalisms they created.

Native American Citizenship and Liberalism in Mexican California

With Mexican independence won from Spain in 1821, the national government of Mexican began to expand their definition of citizenship and the rights and privileges that it would entail. In 1824, the *casta* system was abolished, a disintegrating system that had separated people into racial categories with commitment rights and requirements. In the northern frontier, there were signs that the casta system had already lost its power

[80] Miguel de Pedrorena represented San Diego; Carrillo and Dominguez, Los Angeles; De la Guerra, Santa Barbara; Covarrubias, San Luis Obispo; Rodriguez, Monterey; Pico, San Jose; and Vallejo, Sonoma.[80](Hargis also has stats on the voting patterns of the Californios) in J. David Cisneros, "Being Made (non) White: Whiteness and the Construction of Racial Identity in the California Constitutional Convention," (paper presented at the Rhetoric Society of American Conference, Minneapolis, MN, May 2010) :13.

beginning in the late eighteenth century.[81] But legally, in 1826, all Indians were made into full and equal citizenships with equal rights and all forms of slavery were abolished in 1829. This raised the particular issue in California of the freedom, rights, and privileges that the mission Indians might have after the national laws were passed.[82]

Under the new laws of Mexico, the California Indians were given the right to claim a share of mission lands as citizens but there was a problem with the shift from colonial policy. New liberal ideas challenged the pre-existing system of the Catholic Church owning property as a corporate entity with its control over land, wealth, judicial privileges, education, and the events of life. The mission lands had been held as future communal lands for the Native Indians under the Catholic Church but new liberal ideas about land and citizenship were based on the idea that individual interested was based on the significance of property as an extension of the self. New liberal thinkers considered property that was held in Indian communities or by the Catholic Church for the Indians to be part of a corporate or government monopoly that challenged individual freedom, exchange between individuals, freedom of labor, and the advancement of the nation.[83]

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[81] Kelly L. Jenks, *New Mexico and the Pimería Alta: The Colonial Period in the American Southwest.* (University Press of Colorado 2017), 215. For further discussion on recent re-thinking of the fluid nature of race and the *Sistema de Castas* in New Spain see Schwaller, "Defining Difference"; Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), Maria Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, and "Interrogating Blood Lines: 'Purity of Blood,' the Inquisition, and Casta Categories," in *Religion in New Spain,* eds. Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 196-217; Aaron P. Althouse, "Contested Mestizos, Alleged Mulattos: Racial Identity and Caste Hierarchy in Eighteenth-Century Patzcuaro, Mexico" *The Americas* 62:2 (October 2005), 151-175; and Magali Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62:4 (November 1982) : 569-606.

[82] Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identity in California, 1769-1936.* (Berkeley: University of California Press), Kindle Edition, Chapter 1.

[83] Charles Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press), 4.

Thus, when the Mexican governor José María Echeandía arrived in California in 1825 with the instructions to craft and implement an emancipation and secularization plan for both the Baja and Alta California missions, the region was ripe for conflict.[84] The region would have to decide how to organize their own land while being controlled from the distance in Mexico City. Echeandía ultimately decided to restrict the emancipation of the mission Indians with a series of requirements but did begin the process in 1827. The issue of Native California Indians, citizenship, and mission lands were challenged again in 1834 when José María de Híjar and José María Padres headed a colonizing expedition of two hundred families with the federal orders to occupy mission lands, convert them into a town(pueblo), and open them to settlement for all. The California leadership, or the territorial deputation, responded with a full-scale emancipation in the two months before the arrival of the colonizing expedition which allowed for the mission lands and goods to only be given to Indians, rather than soldiers, settlers, or recent immigrants. Each mission would become a town(pueblo) and each town would only be occupied by the ex-mission Indians.[85]

In terms of legal rights, the California mission Indians would have the right to political representation for only the municipal officers who were in charge of their own towns or pueblos. The children of the mission Indians would return to their families and the Catholic Church would lose their control over Indian life. But, the new law of California did obligate the California Indians to perform common labor for their new towns and to work on undistributed land. One administrator would oversee this process

[84] Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identity in California*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 1.
[85] Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identity in California*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 1.

who would be appointed by the governor of the state.[86] But ultimately, the Californios and the ex-mission Indians agreed that the land of the ex-missions were legally owned by the Indians.[87] Just fifteen years later, California was radically transformed by a new national regime and an influx of Americans and other nationalities from the around the world.

The California Convention

Built of white stone, the Colton Convention Hall was a small hall with a lower area built for classes and a hall above, designed for public assemblies. The front of the building was devoid of ornamentation except for a portico. It was within the newly built hall, in the chilly ocean town of Monterey that the delegates, a mix of men, a young group largely under the age of forty, meet to discuss how to organize the territory. Of the delegates, there was a larger representation from the northern states, at twenty-two and with only fifteen men who represented the slave states. The men came together both by boat and by horseback, arriving haphazardly and without any idea where they would stay once they arrived. Others spent a great deal of the convention in various states of alcoholic excess.[88] The delegates were also paid sixteen dollars a day and were compensated for their travel miles to and from the town of Monterey.

While most of the delegates spoke English, the Californios largely spoke only Spanish with a minimal understanding or ability to speak English. Thus, an interpreter at the California State Convention translated proceeding to Spanish and whenever a

[86] Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identity in California*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 1.
[87] Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identity in California*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 1.
[88] Homer D. Crotty. *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 3(September, 1949) : 6-8.

Californio spoke, the interpreter translated his words into English for the rest of the fellow convention attendees.[89] J. Ross Browne acted as the reporter and recorder of the debates because in Monterey there was a lack of printing presses. Browne and his staff created daily printings for the delegates in order to stay abreast of the proceedings and the documents being created.[90]

Suffrage, Native California Indians, and Mexican Liberal Thought

The Californio who became a significant force in the California Constitutional Convention of 1849 was Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega. His family had been firmly entrenched as power players in the Santa Barbara area both before and after the Mexican-American War. In 1804, Jose Antonio Julián de la Guerra y Noriega married María Antonia Carrillo y Lugo in Santa Barbara, California, a remote part of the Spanish Empire.[91] Jose de la Guerra had elite lineage and was able to prove his connections to whiteness and a Spanish birth while Maria Carrillo y Lugo was the granddaughter of frontier soldiers in California. Despite their differences, the de la Guerra y Noriega family had twelve children, one of whom, was Pablo de la Guerra.[92]

As soon as the United States began its military occupation of Santa Barbara in 1846, the de la Guerra brothers (sons of Jose Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega) began to take positions in the new American government. According to Louise Pubols, the de la Guerra walked a fine line of a separate identity under American rule in which they revamped Mexican patterns of paternal authority to function under the new American

[89] Homer D. Crotty, *The Historical Society,*160.
[90] Crotty, *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 161.
[91] Pubols, *The Father of all*, 13.
[92] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 15-30.

system of government.[93] Pablo de la Guerra and his cousin Luis Carrillo, in 1847 were elected first and second *alcaldes*, respectively, in Santa Barbara and were able to negotiate as the second and third most powerful positions under the new governor with broad control over criminal and civil cases as well as having both executive and legislative roles.[94] In 1847, Governor Kearny demanded that the new Californio *alcaldes* swear an oath to uphold the United States Constitution in order to hold office, but both Pablo de la Guerra and Luis Carrillo refused.[95] While the two cousins were unable to hold office, they did finally create an informal relationship with the American occupiers that allowed them to have local power.[96]

By late 1849, Pablo de la Guerra and other members of his family began to rethink their approach to the United States and the American forces that governed them. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had passed and guaranteed full rights of religion, property, and citizenship to all Mexicans citizens and their own informal leadership in Santa Barbara gave them a measure of sovereignty. In June of 1849, the call for a state constitutional convention began and both Pablo and Francisco de la Guerra y Noriega were requested specifically by the American secretary of state.[97]

Pablo de la Guerra arrived in August of 1849 as a delegate to the California State Constitutional Convention, staying at his sister's home in Monterey. He was one of the only Californios, among the group of eight Californios, who spoke English with any

[93] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 272.
[94] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 273-274.
[95] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 274.
[96] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 285.
[97] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 285.

measure of fluency. While the other Californios had Spanish translators, Pablo de la Guerra became their leader, speaking for Californio interests.[98]

Beginning on September 12, 1849, the representatives considered who should be allowed to vote in elections--effectively, who would be a citizen in the new state. This first issue of suffrage brought the resolutions of the minority committee to the fore and the white American Charles Tyler Botts asked the convention to insert the term "white" into the franchise amendment to the original Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which referred to any "male citizen of Mexico."

Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega, a Californio from the Santa Barbara area, a powerful and popular politician, an educated lawyer, a government official, and a land-owner responded with a powerful question that suggested more than it asked. He asked of Charles Botts and the rest of the delegates, "It should be properly understood in the first place, what is the true signification of the word 'white'?", ultimately suggested that whiteness and those who proposed it were creating arbitrary categories. He moved away from the practice in the U.S. of coupling race and citizenship and suggested that Mexican political thought and practice had ultimately separated the two.[99] Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega argued with the Americans through the proceeding to allow for an expanded suffrage in the Antebellum period, "Many citizens of California have received from nature a very dark skin; nevertheless, there are among them men who have heretofore been allowed to vote, and not only that, but to fill the highest public offices. It would be very unjust to deprive them of the privilege of citizens merely because nature had not

[98] Pubols, *The Father of all,* 286.
[99] J. David Cisneros, "Being Made (non) White: Whiteness and the Construction of Racial Identity in the California Constitutional Convention," (paper presented at the Rhetoric Society of American Conference, Minneapolis, MN, May 2010) : 17.

made them white. But if, by the word "white" it was intended to exclude the African race then it was correct and satisfactory."[100]

This initial comment made by Pablo de la Guerra did not explicitly speak to the issue of Native Americans, but rather to skin color. Looking through the lens of modern issues of racism, scholars have struggled to understand why the Californios, Pablo de la Guerra in particular, chose to challenge the white Americans.[101] Jose Luis Benavides, in his article "Whom Do You Support", challenges early work, such as Tomas Almaguer's Racial Formation, which had suggested that the Californios used their position of whiteness to challenge the white American treatment of nonwhites. Benavides, examines the writing of Francisco Ramirez in El Clamor Publico and found that his treatment of Chinese immigrations was positive and looked at American injustice towards them. Yet, according to Benavides, Ramirez' discussion of African-Americans freedom from slavery was depicted as positive while reinforcing Black inferiority. The paper's depiction of the Native Americans was largely negative and stereotypical, although abundant.[102]

While this new direction in studying the Californios, represents a less celebratory approach than the previous generations perhaps, it stops short of telling us what this may mean in the mid-1800s. The point is not to argue if the Californios were racist, as we undoubtedly know that they were. But rather, to examine the ideas they brought with them, placing the ideas of the Californios in a transnational perspective.

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[100] J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California, On the Format of the States Constitution, in September and October 1849*. 1850, 63.
[101] Jose Luis Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support?" "*El Clamor Público*"'s Contradictory Role in the Racial Formation Process in Early California". *California History*, Vol. 84, No. 2, *El Clamor Público* (Winter, 2006/2007), 63.
[102] Jose Luis Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support," 63-66.

At this point in the discussion at the California State Constitutional Convention, Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega has not mentioned Native Americans but merely the gradations of skin color that differentiated the people of California, while recognizing that the Americans had their differences too. In contrast, the American, Mr. Gwin raised the question of "whether Indians and negroes are entitled to the privileges of citizenship under the Mexican Government." In response to further questioning from Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega, Mr. Botts admitted that he believed that both African-Americans and Native Americans had been granted citizenship in Mexico and that was why, "they had offered the amendment," hoping to exclude the two groups.

Pablo de la Guerra responded that "according to Mexican law, no race of any kind is excluded from voting." Taking it a step beyond voting, Mr. Gwin wanted to know if in Mexico, "Indians were considered Mexican citizens?" This was a significant point because citizenship rights meant much more than voting but also entailed the rights to work, to enter and leave the country at will, and standing for public office as well as the duties of jury duty, military participation, and taxes. De la Guerra responded that not only were citizens, but "that some of the first men in the Republic were of the Indian race." In this point, Pablo de la Guerra seems to be suggesting that not only had Indians become citizens but that the first men who held office and were substantial figures in the Mexican Republic, the first government after Mexican independence, had been Native Indians.

Among the Californios, the struggles over citizenship had been decided with Mexican Independence from the Spanish crown but they had never been resolved. These shifts began in Spain when the Liberal factions pushed through the Spanish Constitution of

1812, a document that profoundly affected citizenship and race as well as the independence movements in Latin America.[103] The Spanish leadership hoped to maintain popular support in the Americas and assembled a political event which gave a great deal of power to the leadership in the Americas, the *criollos*(American-born Spaniards) and opened the path to widespread citizenship despite skin color or race.[104]

Scholars since the early 20th century have debated the reasons for the Californio, Pablo de la Guerra Noriega wanting to extend the franchise to Native Americans. In 1954, the historian Donald E. Hargis argued that the Californios wanted to extend the franchise to Native California Indians because their racial mixture and their non-white skin was a significant factor in their desire to extend the franchise."[105] This approach has continued in the scholarship, ignoring the intellectual current among the Californios and other Mexicans, relegating them simply to wanting to 'save their own skin' as American citizens.

Yet, Pablo de la Guerra Noriega was willing to overlook the unequal treatment of African-Americans. He deferred to the other delegates at the convention, "But if the word "white," was intended to exclude the African race, then it was correct and satisfactory." While Mexican law allowed Afro-Mexicans to vote, achieving that level of equality had required significant struggle throughout the 19th century. The treatment of Afro-

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[103] There is a historiographic debate about the impact of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, the Constitution of Cádiz and its impact on the democratic origins of Latin America. One side of the historiographic debate contends that the Constitution of Cádiz had a radical impact while the other side argues that the Independence struggles narrowed democracy after independence. See Rebecca Earle's "Creole Nationalism", 126.

[104] While debates continue to rage in the Mexican historiography about the exact moment of cultural shift, the following decades brought Independence Movements to Latin America and, the new independent Mexican state included all racial groups as citizens.

[105] Donald E Hargis, "Native Californians in the Constitutional Convention of 1849," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Old Los Angeles Print, March 1954) : pp. 3-13.

Mexicans or people of Afro-Latinos under the Mexican nation and Spanish crown was particularly distinct from the rest of the population. In the first broad franchise under the Spanish with the 1812 Constitution of Cádiz, all adult men of Spanish and Indian descent were allowed the right to vote. Legally, those of more visibly African descent were denied suffrage. In reality a large percentage of the mixed-African population could vote because they were difficult to distinguish from other *castas*.[106] Despite the broadening of the franchise under the Spanish, Afro-Latinos were not allowed to vote until Mexican independence.

By 1821, attitudes in Mexico towards the enfranchisement of Afro-Mexicans had changed. The Mexican revolutionary proclamation, the 1821 *Plan de Iguala*, joined two leaders who fought for independence, Agustín Iturbide and Vicente Guerrero and called for the end of race based citizenship. Initially, Vicente Guerrero opposed the *Plan de Iguala* and did not want to ally with Iturbide until the revolutionary declaration allowed for the adult male enfranchisement and full citizenship regardless of race. In the Plan de Iguala, clause twelve opened citizenship to Mexican men of any race, and Iturbide and Guerrero essentially promised equal rights to all racial groups.[107]

This history of racial openness in the Independence era of Mexico stood in sharp contrast to the American anti-African-American attitudes. Like many of the frontier states which were sharply concerned with the competition of slave labor, California constitutional delegates outlawed slavery based on the belief that it gave slave owners an

[106] Guedea, "The Process of Mexican Independence," 125. The reason for this differentiation was two-fold: The Spanish wanted to limit the number of people who would be represented in the Spanish Cortés, and to appease the conservative Criollos who wished to limit citizenship.
[107] Vincent Anthony Pérez, *Remembering the Hacienda: History and Memory in the Mexican American Southwest*. No. 11. (Texas A & M University Press, 2006), 151-152.

unfair advantage and would ultimately degrade white labor.[108] At the constitutional convention there was even discussion of excluding all African-Americans from the state but were concerned that it would jeopardize their efforts to gain statehood for California.[109]

This may have been the case if Pablo de la Guerra had not continued his attacks on the American arguments for a narrowed citizenship. He specifically named not just the darker-skinned but the Native California Indians in particular, "Suppose he had to pay an equal tax with all other persons, to sustain the expenses of the State? Would it not be most unfair to deprive him of equal privileges, when he had to bear an equal burden?"[110]

After asking the Americans to consider the precedent of Mexican laws and attitudes and the widely popular concept in republican and liberal thought of the rights of representation and taxation, de la Guerra shifted to major themes in Mexican liberal thought that were popular and developing in Mexico at the time and applied them from the indigenous population of Mexico to the indigenous population of California.

During the Independence movements in the early part of the 19th century In Mexico, the republicans rooted their arguments in the illegitimacy of the Spanish conquest of the Indigenous people, creating a space for criticizing Spanish institutions, political practices, and culture. Liberals, as complex as they were, hoped to either enact radical change within the Catholic Church or to completely oust them from their politically powerful position in Mexico. The Catholic Church as well was not interested in assaulting liberalism but actually made claims for their own rights within the language of

[108] Moore 103.
[109] Moore 104.
[110] J. Ross Browne, California Convention 70.

liberalism.[111] Of considerable importance for the Liberals was also the rights of Mexican Indians, both the people who had preceded the Spanish conquest and those who lived during the nineteenth century.

Pablo de la Guerra suggested that the California Indians were like the Aztecs before the Spanish conquest, "they were a proud and gifted race, capable of forming a government for themselves." In Mexico, indigenous monarchies were praised as legitimate and virtuous in contrast to illegitimate and unjust Spanish conquests and colonialism, creating an image of a traditional past and usable past for the future, particularly in the periods immediately following the movement for Independence in which the Republicans who fought against the crown looked for a usable past.[112] Additionally, this creole nationalism invoked by Pablo de la Guerra was also a means of arguing for their legitimacy as independent nations, especially when he invokes their ability to form a government for themselves.[113]

After their Independence movements from Spain in the early part of the nineteenth century, most Latin American countries had drawn on their indigenous past as an example of nobility and power to create their nations. The insurgents looked to the pre-Columbian era as idyllic and celebrated the achievements of the indigenous people such as the Aztecs and Incas. Indigenous monarchies were praised as legitimate and virtuous in contrast to illegitimate and unjust Spanish conquests and colonialism, creating an image of a traditional past they hoped could bring them into a national future.[114]

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[111] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 5.
[112] Earle, Rebecca. *The return of the native: Indians and myth-making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Duke University Press, 2007. 381-382.
[113] Earle, *The return of the native*, 467.
[114] Earle, *The return of the native,* 381-382.

Throughout Latin America, cities, states and places were renamed to reflect the pre-colonial civilization.[115] While other Latin American nations had moved away from indigenous iconography in their national creation stories, Mexicans continued to label themselves as the sons of Aztecs, mentioning pre-Colombian Aztec lords and leaders in poetry and stories. [116]

In Mexico, Creole patriots deployed the Aztec past to justify their separation from Spain, this perspective emphasized that the new state that was being envisioned by the insurgents/Republicans had a longer history that could be traced back to pre-conquest times. Rather than envisioning the nation as a new nation, they were ending the tyranny of Spain and freeing themselves as an originally sovereign state. They turned the language around and call themselves liberators and patriots under this perspective.[117] This was the root of the rhetoric during the movement for independence, but by the 1840s, this rhetoric suggested a defense of the California Indians and the indigenous people of Mexico.[118]

Of course, Californios and Americans brought different historical approaches to citizenship to the proverbial convention table. At the time of the California Convention, Mexico had allowed for widespread suffrage regardless of race since 1821 while the United States did not allow citizenship for anyone of African-American, Native American, or Asian descent. Among the various American states, the battle over citizenship had become a heated one as issues of race, class and Native American sovereignty that precluded them from being considered American citizens.

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[115] Earle, *The return of the native*, 384.
[116] Earle, *The return of the native*, 394.
[117] Earle, "Creole Nationalism and the 'Loyal Indian", 128.
[118] Earle, "Creole Nationalism and the 'Loyal Indian", 128.

The Californios' representatives at the Convention weigh in during the debate, while the Americans questioned the meaning of Mexican "citizenship" since the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo stated that all "citizens of Mexico" were entitled to American citizenship as well. Pablo de la Guerra explained to the Americans that "no race of any kind is excluded from voting."[119]

The Americans were further alarmed that Native Americans might be able to vote, when de la Guerra clarified that "some of the first men of the Republic were of the Indian race," (mestizos or Native Mexican Indians).[120] Reminding the Americans that the leaders of Mexican Independence and ensuing Mexican political regimes(such as the Mexican Republic of 1824-1835) had indigenous backgrounds, Pablo de la Guerra Noriega argued for including Native Americans into American citizenship.

After taking a break during the early part of the day without calling the question of the amendment for the enfranchisement of Mexican citizens, the California Convention delegates returned in the evening. Returning after 8pm for a chilly Monterey night at Colton Hall, the various delegates from throughout California turned their conversation towards an examination of suffrage in other states in the union.

In response to Mr. Hoppe who had been considered with Native American voting rights and taxation, de la Guerra asked the Americans to consider the rights of Native California Indians. "Suppose he had to pay an equal tax with all other persons, to sustain the expenses of the State? Would it not be most unfair to deprive him of equal privileges, when he had to bear an equal burden?"[121] Drawing on a key principle of American

[119] J. Ross Browne, California Convention, 70.
[120] J. Ross Browne, California Convention, 70.
[121] J. Ross Browne, California Convention 70.

Independence, Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega challenged the Americans about the hypocrisy of American society. As a Mexican citizen and politician, de la Guerra y Noriega would have been well versed in American political documents pertinent to the American Revolution. In the 1820s, after Mexican independence, the American political documents of Independence became increasingly publicized and idealized by scholars and politicians in Mexico.[122] Pablo de la Guerra wanted the white Americans who suggested that the Indians be taxed without representation to "perceive the great injustice of such a provision of the Constitution."[123]

The ill-treatment of the Native California Indians also bothered Pablo de la Guerra and other Liberal Californios because they believed that the U.S. government and people were shirking their responsibility to improve the lot of the Indian peoples. Pablo de la Guerra admonished the Americans at the Convention table, reminding them that the Indian people were intelligent and could be taught "and it was the duty of the citizens to endeavor to elevate them and better their condition in every way, instead of seeking to sink them still lower." In Mexico, it was a key tenet of Liberal thought for the societal improvement among the non-Indians to improve the lives of Indians, it was based on their historical understanding of Indian lives.

The liberal Mexican argument during the mid-nineteenth century often maintained that the Indian people were not racially inferior but had been deeply demoralized and ruined by Spanish colonialism.[124] Drawing on Mexican liberal rhetoric, Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega argued at the California Convention that the California Indians had

[122] Josefina Zoraida Vazquez, "The Mexican Declaration of Independence. The Journal of American History, 85, no. 4 (1999) : 1362-1363.
[123] J. Ross Browne, California Convention, 70.
[124] Earle, *The return of the native*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 1.

created California into the beautiful and wonderful place that was in place when the American's ensnared it. Depicting the non-Indians as foreigners he suggested to the Americans that the Indian people were capable of civilization because they had built one. He instead blamed the religious fathers of the mission system saying that, "if they were not cultivated and highly civilized, it was because they had been ground down and made slaves of." The colonial period was dismissed in elite creole nationalist circles for being a time of barbarism and darkness.[125] This was a common theme in liberal Mexican thought after independence and one of the reasons why Mexico secularized the missions. Republican discourse during the Independence movement in Mexico argued that it was the Spanish conquest that degraded the Indians so that they did not resemble their past valorous and glorious ancestors, to make sense of the degraded contemporary presence they saw in the early 1800s. Their argument was that the Spanish conquest was entirely to blame for the Independence era sufferings and general terribleness of the contemporary early 1800s Indian people.[126]

The second issue that undergirded the Liberal Mexican attention to the plight of Native Americans was the idea of 'la felicidad pública' or public happiness, an idea that became popularized during the late eighteenth century. Public happiness was celebrated in the Hispanic Catholic world as a political virtue and began as way for the monarch to show that he cared for his people but evolved into an idea for the new political man towards his compatriots. This idea of a public happiness of the collective body of the society was different from the kind of liberalism of the United States and France whose ideas of the public good quickly turned to an emphasis on the well-being of the

[125] Earle, *the return of the native*. Kindle Edition: Ch. 4.
[126] Earle, Rebecca. "Creole Patriotism and the 'Loyal Indian'", 133.

individual, which led to the well-being of the state. In the Catholic Hispanic world, the collectivity of the social body was more critical, dedicated to improving the lives of their compatriots inside and outside the nation.[127]

Indian Civility

Pablo de la Guerra challenged white American assumptions about the California missions, arguing that the Californios were not alone in creating the region. He explained how the Spanish colonial subjects and the Indians created the twenty-one religious outposts of Alta California between 1769 and 1833:

> It had been asserted by some members that Indians are brutal and irrational. Let those gentlemen cast their eyes back for three hundred years and say who were the Indians then. They were a proud and gifted race, capable of forming a government for themselves. If they were not so much enlightened as now, it was not for want of natural gifts, but because the lights of science were not then so bright as now, even in Europe; and they could fall but dimly upon the natives of the soil. And he would say to those gentlemen who had sneered at the Indian race, that there might still be Indians in the Territory of California who were equally as rational and gifted as highly by nature as those who had depreciated them. He would not carry their recollections back three centuries, but bid them look back but for half a century. All the work that was seen in California, was the work of Indians led by some foreigners.[128]

In his argument, de la Guerra inverts the story of the creation of Alta California and its missions. Rather than providing the story that has become written into legend, the story of Spanish civilization and Junipero Serra bringing religious enlightenment, he empowers the Indigenous people. He dismisses the missionaries, leaving them nameless and insignificant.

[127] Coronado, *A world not to come,* 106-107.
[128] J. Ross Browne, *California Convention*, 304.

The creole nationalists were not only responding to their own desires to create nations but were also challenging the European arguments that condemned pre-conquest America and thus, the creoles as well, as barbarians.[129] Pablo de la Guerra adds an additional and more timely layer to the rhetoric of creole nationalists, he suggests that it wasn't merely three centuries ago but also the time of the Spanish missionization project.

Realizing he was having very little impact on the hearts and minds of the Americans at the California Convention, Pablo de la Guerra challenged the Americans with a final thought. "If it was the will of the Convention to exclude the body of Indians, he hoped exceptions might be made, and that those who were the holders of property and had heretofore exercised all the rights and privileges of freemen, might still be permitted to continue in the exercise of those rights."[130] Drawing on the Californio relationship with the ex-mission lands, de la Guerra suggests that property holders should have voting rights because under the Mexican nation, these Indians had local voting rights.

Despite the celebration of the indigenous past, many Mexican thinkers railed against the communal property values held among the Indians, a concept many argued was incompatible with the spirit of individualism and liberalism.[131] Their goal, with the creation of the Mexican Constitution, was not to exclude the native Indians per se, but to rally the nation around the idea that individual property ownership was central to the right to citizenship.[132] Across the political spectrum, Mexicans argued for the kind of liberal

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[129] Earle, *return of the native*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 1.
[130] J. Ross Browne, *California Convention*, 305.
[131] Hale, *Liberalism in Mexico*, 221-222.
[132] Hale, *Liberalism in Mexico*, 243. While Hale uses the conservative/liberal split to organize a disorderly population of Mexican thinkers, what's important here is the point that across the political spectrum, the idea of controlling Indians was central. According to Hale, while the conservatives were less powerful than the liberals, the conservatives argued that colonial practices of separation and social control had positively affected the Indian population. Both limited Native Mexican Indian enfranchisement through land and wealth regulations.

ideas of citizenship and land that were sweeping the world in the nineteenth century and many believed it would improve the lives of Native Mexican Indians.

In response, the American Mr. McCarver argued that he was completely opposed to any man voting who was not white and that all his constituents agreed with excluding the Indians and while he believed it was their duty to "elevate, and cultivate, and instruct the Indians," it was a separate issue from the right to vote. He suggested the constitutional convention attendees look to the example that had been set by Captain John Sutter who, "if so disposed, if he desired to become a politician, and wished office, could, by simply granting a small portion of land to each Indian, control a vote of ten thousand."[133]

He was referring to John A. Sutter who employed hundreds of Indians in his fields and shops and during the 1840s and had created a makeshift Indian frontier army in the Sacramento Valley. Sutter also used the Indian troops to force other Indians to work in his fields and force native workers to work for other ranchers. The Indians who worked for Sutter were largely Nisenans and Miwoks and he supplied them with a steady supply of trade goods and he protected them from other slave raiders while offering them power and status.[134] They were considered to be controlled completely by John Sutter.

Pablo de la Guerra informed the Americans that the basis for voting in the territory of California was based on land ownership under the Mexican system. He believed that those Indians who held land prior to the American regime should have kept their citizenship. This was a very small portion of the population. Per de la Guerra, "there was no fear of two hundred votes having any serious effect in a population of 60,000."[135]

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[133] Browne, *California Convention*, 305-306.
[134] Albert Hurtado, "California Indians and the Workaday West: Labor, Assimilation, and Survival." *California History*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Spring, 1990) : 5.
[135] J. Ross Browne, *California Convention*, 306.

While a population of 150,000 Native Americans lived in California in 1849, a small percentage owned property.[136] He also expressly reminded the Americans that under the Mexican system only a small portion of the Indian population had could vote, which suggests that citizenship did not necessarily equal voting rights.

The subject of rights and landholding was a central topic during the founding of the Mexican nation. Under the early foundations of liberal ideology in Mexico, owning land was at the heart of a democratic nation and without land ownership, more powerful and wealthier citizens would control the poor and uneducated. The liberals believed that land was critical in creating an agricultural class that would become productive farmers. [137]

When it came to figuring out how best to deal with the problems of the lives of the indigenous people of Mexico, Mexican nationalists(also called Republicans) placed the blame squarely at the feet of the Spanish colonial system. During the era of independence and throughout the nineteenth century attacked the Spanish colonial regime for keeping the Indigenous people segregated from higher learning, general society, and frustrated their ability to own private property.

Mexican liberal thinkers were particularly angered by the issue of communal land because it was believed to be keeping Indigenous people from having a sense of personal independence, thus, making them susceptible to outside control by strongmen and the Catholic Church.[138] Many viewed the Spanish missions in the north (American Southwest) with contempt for the perceived infantilizing of the Indigenous people. Only

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[136] Shirley Ann Wilson Moore. "We Feel the Wants of Protection": The Politics of Law and Race in California, 1848-1878. *California History,* Vol. 81. No. ¾, *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California* (2003) : 96-125.
[137] Charles A. Hale, " The war with the United States and the crisis in Mexican thought," *The Americas*, 14, no. 2 (1957) : 154.
[138] Hale, "The war with the United States," 221.

the Spanish pioneers of the early sixteenth century were valorized, while the rest of the mission system in California was considered incompatible with the ideology of personal independence.[139]

The Aftermath of the Convention

On the night of October 12, the convention closed and with an ending to befit the momentous occasion, the delegates held a ball for the citizens of Monterey. The ball was held in Colton Hall, emblazoned in red, white, and blue and with three brilliant chandeliers casting a stunning glow on the festivities. The townspeople of Monterey assembled and filled the great Colton Hall with men and women of both the Mexican nation (Californios) and Americans. As they danced to waltzes, the townspeople of Monterey were dressed in their finest dresses and suits of silk, satin, gauze, velvet, brocade, and wool.

After they danced, the townspeople and the delegates gathered together in one of the smaller rooms, awaiting their place in line for the feast. A smaller room, the Court Room provided space for the refreshments and the bountiful meats of turkey, roast pig, beef, beef tongue, and paté. While the food was plentiful it quickly began to be consumed and the ball attendees kept the evening activities in high spirits by partaking of the wines, liquors, and coffees that had been made available. The dancing resumed as everyone filled their bellies and whetted their appetites, and this continued throughout the entire night.[140]

[139] Hale, "The War with the United States," 221.
[140] Crosby, 164.

Despite Pablo de la Guerra's best efforts and his use of Mexican Liberal rhetoric, Native California Indians were barred from voting in the state of California. With the constitution ratified by the state citizens, the state of California moved forward without the Native California Indians as part of the political society.

Ultimately, the convention members reached a compromise, the California state legislature would have the power by a two-thirds vote to enfranchise certain Native California Indians. [141] While the anti-Native vote won the day, Pablo de la Guerra did add to the constitution a future possibility for Native Americans to have the vote. The new constitution meant that Native California Indians were left out, but the Californios did show that they wanted to promote ideas held by the Mexican nation and the intellectual thought of Latin America.[142]

While Pablo de la Guerra and other Californios who may have supported him did not achieve the kind of representative democracy that they had hoped they did signal the unfixed nature of the concept of representative democracy in Latin America. In the 1960s and 1970s, historians sought to incorporate the popular classes in the Latin American historiographies about independence movements and the founding fathers and in doing so suggested that the lower classes had gained nothing from independence and had actually lost. This project, like the newer work on Latin America seeks to rectify this this idea that the elite of Latin America were creating an illusion of representative democracy and the lower classes were deluded by this magic trick.[143]

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[141] Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 156.
[142] Moore, We feel the want, 103.
[143] Lasso, *Myths of harmony*, 4.

Instead, this work argues that the Californios, challenged by the Native California Indians to create a broader form of representative democracy, were interested in creating a localized liberalism that included the Native California Indians. While there were disagreements among the Californios about how to do so in the years after independence, the California State Constitutional Convention had proven that Pablo de la Guerra was interested in expanding suffrage to Native California Indians.

Chapter 2: *El Clamor Público* and the Making of a New Social Imaginary

In the last chapter, I explored the efforts of Pablo de la Guerra to expand voting rights to Native Americans at the California Constitutional Convention of 1849. Although he was ultimately unsuccessful in achieving Native California Indian suffrage or any type of citizenship, de la Guerra did make the case for a continuation of earlier practices of local Mexican liberalism. In the period after the California Constitutional Convention, Californios throughout the state became involved in the public square of newspapers and politics and they began to stretch their ideas to their new locations and identities. By the 1850s and the road to the American Civil War, the Californios had turned their attention away from the California Indians. The Californios began to explore other avenues for localized Mexican liberalism and became more politically involved in the United States.

In California, the 1850s were marked by Californios being involved politically at high numbers and a few Spanish language newspapers throughout the state debated political issues of the age. Californios were also interested in the politics of Latin America as well as the rest of the world in their Spanish language newspapers that flourished in the larger towns of California.

In addition to the Californio newspapers, the Californios debated their political ideals with broadsides, speeches, and letters concerning the political events around them in California and the United States. It is in both locations, the Californio newspapers and the political realm that the Californios discussed the Mexican liberalism that animated the first half of their nineteenth century. It was in the realm of Californio newspapers and the

political world that the everyday language and ideas of liberalism were contested and explored.

The Power of the Press and the Public Discussions of Liberalism

In this chapter, I examine the political ideologies that were explored by the newspaper editor, Francisco Ramirez in the first half of the 1850s when the newspaper flourished in Southern California. I suggest that earlier analyses of Francisco Ramirez have not accounted for the impact of Mexican, Latin American, and Hispanic intellectual thought, situating the Californios and the newspaper entirely within the American system of ideas and society.

One of the most significant voices and spaces of discourse in California after the Mexican-American War was the writer and editor Francisco Ramirez and his newspaper, El Clamor Público. After independence, newspapers became a critical realm throughout Mexico for the discussion of political ideas was among the newspaper writers, as Mexico moved towards greater civic participation and changing roles in a new society. Tejanos in Texas had also began to publish newspapers, histories, and memoirs, using the printing press as a means to teach and engage a broad audience beginning in the 1850s, a shift from earlier methods of hand-copied work read aloud to public audiences.[144]

Throughout the nineteenth century, Mexican journalists became the shapers of public opinion in a new social world. With a society in flux in the period after independence, Mexican journalists could gain social honor that had previously only been

[144] Coronado, *A World Not To Come,* 317.

possible through familial inheritance or military achievements.[145] Journalists on both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border were interested in publishing their ideas as they related to the newly developing state.[146]

These new values for Mexican journalists spread into California and the American Southwest as newspaper writers and publishers such as Francisco Ramírez pushed to affect public opinion and politics in the Californio community. In 1855, Ramírez argued that his newspaper would "follow…the independent flag and not the pendant of any party of religious sect" at least in the United States. But he stated his ideological credentials by suggesting that instead, "all our political convictions are reduced to this unique and deeply loved desire –The moral and material progress within the sphere of order," an often common theme within the waves of liberalism that swept Mexico. [147]

In his newspaper, Ramirez emphasized many of the popular Mexican debates about the future direction of the nation, usually discussed in relations to issues of liberalism and republicanism. Ramírez was less explicit about these ideological concerns when discussing the Californios but he did try to connect the Mexican debates and ideas to the lives of the Californios in the United States. The newspaper, run almost exclusively by Francisco Ramirez who selected, translated, and reprinted the news while also adding a smaller section of the local news in addition to letters written from the populace reflects a complex and sometimes anonymous series of voices.[148] Across the

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[145] Pablo Piccato, *The tyranny of opinion: honor in the construction of the Mexican public sphere* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), Kindle Edition: Ch. 1.
[146] Coronado, *A World Not To Come,* 317.
[147] El Clamor Publico. June 19, 1855, Vol. 1, No. 1, Page 2, Col. 1
[148] Nicolas Kanellos, "El Clamor Público: Resisting the American Empire," *California History,* Vol. 84, No. 2, El Clamor Público. *California History*, Vol. 84. No. 2, Winter (2006-2007) : 10.

political board in post-Independence Mexico, there were concerns about how to improve the people to become the proper citizens of the new liberal nation. They suggested improved educational access for the youth, new infrastructure, national sovereignty, anti-slavery, and immigration to Mexico.

Among the Californios, the most prominent political voices were often the political leaders of their small communities, a long-standing tradition from the pre-American period. As newspapers became more available, a new voice, Francisco Ramirez came to the forefront among the Californios. Ramirez had been raised in Mexico and had moved to the United States when he was young. Ramirez worked his way from a printer to the editor of the Los Angeles Star(an English-language press with a Spanish-language section) until he created his own paper, *El Clamor Público* in 1855.[149] Ramírez was trilingual, able to read and write Spanish, English, and French and he served as both editor and publisher of his newspaper.

The newspaper was written mostly in Spanish, although there were sections in English and French. Ramírez had access to newspapers from throughout the Americas as well as Europe, using his language skills and his dedication to reading and researching newspapers that had been brought to California by steamship and stage coach.[150] Additionally, *El Clamor Público* published four-page issues on a weekly basis and was distributed from Los Angeles to San Francisco.

The political economy of newspapers in California was precarious and few had the resources to create and fully fund new regular papers.[151] After the Mexican-American

[149] Jose Luis Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support?", 54-66.
[150] Kanellos, Nicolás. "*El Clamor Público*," 10-18.
[151] Pablo Piccato, *The tyranny of opinion*, Kindle Edition: Ch. 1.

War, the U.S. government paid the Spanish-language newspapers and sections of English-language newspapers to translate new laws into Spanish and thus, sustained the publications. The Santa Barbara Gazette(1855-1858) had a Spanish-language section, named, *La Gaceta* that lasted only six months.[152] A number of Spanish-language newspapers developed after the Mexican-American War throughout the Southwest, offering news from around the world. Unlike other newspapers in California that were beholden to California's government funds or English language newspapers, Ramirez's *El Clamor Público* was self-funded.[153] In addition to exploring the political shifts among the Californios and the sharpening divides in both the U.S. and Mexico, Francisco Ramirez and the writers of El Clamor Publico defended the Californios from public attacks, organized stories from their points of view, resisted ethnic violence, and criticized other newspapers for their perspectives on Californios.[154]

At the start of the second year of publication(1856), Francisco Ramirez continued to stay away from choosing a political angle in the American races, he wrote that *El Clamor Público* would, "do what is good for the country, show what is needed and the injustice, engage in equal consideration to all religions and political parties, and highlight the themes of independence, the nation, and liberty."[155] In addition to promoting broad ideals within the spectrum of Mexican liberalism, Ramirez raised concerns about the white American treatment of the Californios, particularly abuses and pointed to themes of corruption in California.

[152] Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support?," 56.
[153] Kanellos, "*El Clamor Público*," 10.
[154] Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support," 56.
[155] *El Clamor Público.* June 21, 1856, Vol. II, No. 1. Page 2, Col. 1.

Unwilling to claim a U.S. political party affiliation at first, Francisco Ramirez criticized both of the American political parties. He spoke glowingly of John Bigler's liberal credentials as the Democratic Governor who first won the election in 1852, "the Know-Nothings and the Squatters are opposed to him [because] he has always advocated in favor of equal rights and religious liberty." The writers at *El Clamor Público* hated the Know-Nothings, less popularly known as the American Party because of their anti-Catholic attitudes and often denigrated "the squatters" to refer to the people who moved onto Californio land grants that were often pending investigation by the California Land Commission.

Although Ramírez did not initially choose a political party affiliation, he did support the California Democrat, John Bigler for the 1856 election for the Governor of California. Bigler was part of the Free Soil Democrat faction(anti-slavery) which had split from the pro-slavery Chivalry Democrats immediately following the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Francisco Ramírez explained his support of the Democrat Bigler, writing, "he has signed laws that protect the interests of the native of the country; he has always disapproved of the impudence of the squatters that desire to appropriate all the lands of California and if it were possible to never pay a cent to the poor Californio."[156] Although John Bigler would eventually lose the 1856 election to J. Neely Johnson, a member of the nativist and Anti-Catholic American party, the Know-Nothings, Francisco Ramírez proved that his political support could cross party lines depending on the issue.

On 15 November 1856, Francisco Ramirez stated that he had changed the approach of *El Clamor Público* which previously, "did not support either National party."

[156] *El Clamor Público* August 14, 1855, Vol. I, No. 9. Page 2, Col. 1.

Instead, he decided to encourage the Republican Party because, "it opposes slavery and advocates for the system of internal improvements, like the construction of the Pacific Railroad." After an initial anti-partisan approach, Ramirez decided to endorse a political party and engage more directly with the American political system, near the end of the second year of publication.

The issues of race and citizenship were central to liberalism and nation building in Mexico and Latin America and as early as the 1810 debates at the Spanish Cortés, racial heterogeneity and representation were core issues.[157] There has been some recent discussion among scholars about El Clamor Publico and its work as an site of debate about race, representation and citizenship. Recent scholars have examined the attention that Francisco Ramírez and his work in *El Clamor Público* paid to the white people's poor treatment of Mexicans and Californios. Nicolás Kanellos argues that Francisco Ramirez wholly embraced the U.S. Constitution and its political system but that despite this attachment, he used his newspaper, El Clamor Público as an "organ of resistance" to the expanding American empire.[158] Coya Paz Brownrigg in her work, *Linchocracia* writes of Ramírez' work in critiquing white lynching and violence to critique American ideologies of democracy and equality.[159] These authors did not necessarily consider why Ramirez and El Clamor Publico contributors might have been interested in race and equality. There is an implicit assumption that as a proto-Chicano or as a Latino he was interested in race.

[157] Lasso, *Myths of Harmony,* 37.
[158] Kanellos, *El Clamor Publico*,10.
[159] Coya Paz Brownrigg, Linchocracia: Performing "America" in "El Clamor Público," *California History,* Vol. 84, No. 2, El Clamor Público, Winter (2006/2007) : 40-51.

Filibustering

Francisco Ramírez was additionally frustrated by the expansionist ideology of the Democratic Party, ultimately decided against the Democratic Party after supporting the candidate John Bigler. His key source of frustration with Democratic Party expansionism was in the military campaigns of the nationally popular filibuster campaigns that were privately funded and extra-legal campaigns outside of the American political war machine.

The term filibusters was used prior to the 20th century to describe American adventurers who either raised money for or joined in the creation of private military forces who invaded foreign countries, usually in Latin America. During the period between the end of the Mexican War and the beginning of the Civil War (1848-61) it was common for multiple U.S. filibustering expeditions to be preparing or in a state of actual filibustering.[160]

In 1853, William Walker, the most famous of American filibusters traveled to Guaymas, Sonora, Mexico to seek a grant from the Mexican government to create an American colony that would ostensibly function as a protection from Indian raids. Guaymas was a popular site for European and American individuals as many hoped it would lead to similar uprising as the Texas Revolution and achieve independence from Mexico. When Mexico refused to grant Walker a claim he began to recruit American supporters of slavery and the doctrine of manifest destiny, mostly Americans from Kentucky and Tennessee. After selling "scrips" or future land in the Sonora, Mexico, William Walker had raised enough money, weapons, and men to conquer the Mexican

[160] Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 20.

territories of Baja California and Sonora. Walker declared the region to be the Republic of Sonora and placed the region under the laws of the American state of Louisiana, making slavery legal in the region. After the Mexican government forced Walker to retreat, he traveled to California where he was put on trial for a violation of the Neutrality Act of 1794. An American jury acquitted William Walker in eight minutes.

In 1855, three years after the *filibustero* William Walker had attempted to establish an English-language speaking and slaveholding colony in Northern Mexico, he headed further south. In Nicaragua, a civil war began in 1854 between the two political parties, the Democrats(or Liberal Party) and the Legitimists(or Conservative Party) with Walker joining the Democrats. William Walker and his supporters obtained a contract from the Democratic president Francisco Castellón to act as mercenaries in support of the Democratic Party. As Ramírez explained in his newspaper, "the Democratic forces in Nicaragua triumphed and Walker triumphed with them…He will surely remain to proclaim himself Emperor of South America."[161] Concerned that William Walker was more interested in power for himself than in promoting democracy, Ramírez used the term "emperor" instead of leader or president.

Francisco Ramirez was frustrated with the American response to a violation of Latin American national sovereignty. He was pushed further when, U.S. President Franklin Pierce, a northern Democrat recognized Walker's regime as the legitimate government of Nicaragua on May 20, 1856. Walker declared himself the President of Nicaragua after a fraudulent election, was inaugurated on July 12, 1856, and quickly launched an Americanization campaign, reinstating slavery, declaring English and the

[161] *El Clamor Público*, November 24, 1855, Vol. I, No. 22, Page 2, Col. 5.

official language, and reorganizing policies to encourage immigration from the U.S. Two months later, on July 12, 1856, *El Clamor Publico* challenged the American government for supporting filibustering efforts in Latin America, "according to some news … the hostilities against the government of Walker have been frequent and decisive. It would be absurd to suppose that the government of a usurper would be acceptable to a nation…to whom he robs and oppresses. For this reason, the American government cannot justify its conduct protecting Walker's government."[162] Not only was Ramirez critical of the U.S. government but he was critical of Walker's role as a filibuster, labelling him a "usurper" rather than a legitimate leader or president.

Just as the American nation was recognizing William Walker's new regime in Nicaragua, Walker was already moving forward with a plan to attack and filibustering in Costa Rica after installing a provisional president, Patricio Rivas. After having defeated Nicaragua and declaring himself the Commander in Chief and then the president of the country in 1856, Walker continued to look towards Costa Rica to expand his territory and power., much to the chagrin of the writers of *El Clamor Público*.[163]

With the 1856 Democratic National Convention only recently convened in June, It was during his campaign for presidency, James Buchanan ran as a Democrat and with his support of the party platform he won the hatred of El Clamor Público. In November of 1856, Francisco Ramírez voiced his hatred for Buchanan and the Democratic Party for the anti-liberal action of filibustering. Ramírez argued that the Democratic Party, "supports the filibuster invasion and conquering of Nicaragua and its candidate, James

[162] *El Clamor Publico,* July 12, 1856.
[163] May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 20.

Buchanan is a *filibustero* and enemy of the *Españolas*."[164] . Considering that most of the filibustering campaigns consisted of European and American individuals attacking Latin America, his use of the term, the "Españolas" seem to suggest all of the Latin American people.

Just as the European and American filibustering of Latin America was a unifying force for the Californios around the concept of a Latin American or "español" community, American filibustering was a source of pride for Americans. According to historian Robert E. May's work on filibustering in the nineteenth century, the average American found a universal excitement in filibustering campaigns. Despite the problems that filibustering caused for the American government by disrupting American foreign policy. The filibustering campaigns impact was widespread and inspiring and exciting Americans at home. Often, the American filibusters believed that they were bringing U.S. democracy to nations that lacked Anglo-Saxon racial capabilities, finding morality in their efforts of dominance.[165]

El Clamor Publico offered a counter-narrative to the circulating filibustering in the U.S.. Instead of a glamorous vision of American manifest destiny, Ramirez suggested a sadder tale, "Walker agents were looking in San Francisco, and gathering crazy people from the mines to go fight in Nicaragua, offering land and good pay. And a sure death should be added."[166] Unlike William Walker who was able to engage in multiple filibustering campaigns, others were not so lucky. In Guaymas where Walker had made an earlier campaign, the French count, Gastón Raousett-Boulbón attacked on July 13th,

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[164] *El Clamor Público.* November 15, 1856, Vol. II, No. 21. Page 2, Col. 1, Los Angeles.
[165] Robert E. May. "Young American Males and Filibustering in the Age of Manifest Destiny: The United States Army as a Cultural Mirror", *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 78, No. 3(Dec., 1991), 862.
[166] *El Clamor Público*, March 28, 1857, Vol. II, No. 39. Page 1, Col. 5.

1854 but was held back by Jose María Yañez in the Battle of Guaymas. Raousett-Boulbón was killed by a Mexican firing squad on August 13th, 1854.

Despite the popularity of filibustering stories in the U.S., the campaigns were a headache for the U.S. government because as private citizens trampled the national sovereignty of other nations, they caused conflicts between the U.S. and Latin American leaders. As *El Clamor Público* noted, the Americans were trying to stop the filibustering with the Federal Government giving the state of New York the power to arrest anyone involved in sending troops or arms to Nicaragua. The editor of *El Clamor* expressed support for this act of prevention, "If only they might do the same here in California, with the expeditionaries that may intend to invade Sonora."[167] By 1857, the filibuster expeditions to Sonora materialized and chaos ensued.

El Clamor Público voiced their concerns about filibustering campaigns in Mexico, "A rumor is circulating these days that they are organizing a company of two thousand men in the entire State to invade Sonora, and destroy all by fire and shovel. Its objective is to avenge the death of [California State Senator Henry A.] Crabb and his party."[168] Ramirez, pointing to the 1857 event in which the Mexican politician Ygnacio Pesqueira invited the former California State Senator Henry A. Crabb to colonize the northern frontier region in the state of Sonora, because he hoped that the colonists would help him in the civil war and against the Apache Indians. When Henry Crabb and his 85 colonists arrived, they were attacked and defeated by Mexico's army who had already exiled the Conservative faction and no longer needed Crabb's group. Many in Mexico

[167] *El Clamor Público*, Page 1, Col. 2, El Gobierno y los filibusteros, Page 2, Col. 4, El Golden Era de San Francisco.
[168] *El Clamor Público*, Page 1, Col. 2, El Gobierno y los filibusteros, Page 2, Col. 4, El Golden Era de San Francisco.

and the U.S. saw the Crabb party as filibusters despite their sanctioning by the Mexican politician Ygnacio Pesquiera.

Francisco Ramirez did not appreciate the way the newspapers in the U.S. criticized the Mexicans who had killed State Senator Henry A. Crabb and half of his group, "The filibuster newspapers of the North continue declaring against the Sonorans that they committed *the crime of defending their fatherland*; and they advise the formulation of new pirate expeditions to invade the territory of Mexico."[169] This was a crime against liberalism for men like Ramírez who adhered to the supremacy of the citizen of the nation.[170]

Politicizing their efforts to protect the land and sovereignty of Latin American, *El Clamor Público* writers challenged the Monroe Doctrine. But rather than claim that it was an abuse of the Californios or Latin Americans, he suggests another problem. The editor, Ramirez points to the Monroe Doctrine as an early source of antagonism for the Californios. The Monroe Doctrine, which opposed European colonialism in any nation of the Americas beginning in 1823, was viewed in the U.S. as a defining moment in American foreign policy. Francisco Ramirez called the Monroe Doctrine an, "arrogant and unsustainable aspiration", which he believed would lead to the "isolation of the United States."[171]

Whitening and Immigration

[169] *El Clamor Público*, Page 2, Col.4, Noticias Generales de California
[170] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 40.
[171] "*El Clamor Público*," vol. IV, no. 31, p.1

In Mexico, after the Mexican-American War, leaders and thinkers were interested in colonization by white or European/American foreigners were viewed as solution to the dilemma of numerous social problems. Many leaders believed that the European or American immigrants would settle and cultivate unoccupied lands and create a type of "yeoman farmer", not unlike the American Jeffersonian dream.[172] Across the political spectrum, the value that liberalism placed on land ownership and democracy meant that many Mexicans were concerned with unoccupied and communally held land.

Leadership in Mexico considered the value of pushing for European immigration in particular, often called colonization, hoping to mediate the large indigenous populations, the perceived lack of civilization, and as a means of ameliorating any lingering racial tensions within the nation. Because many of the liberal leaders in Mexico were concerned that the poor, rural, indigenous, and mixed population would be slow in achieving a clear understanding of citizenship, in order to build their nation more quickly, Mexican politicians and thinkers discussed European immigration.[173]

Among the Californios, the issue of immigration was complicated by their discussion of potentially moving to Mexico(after the Mexican-American War) and becoming the colonizers or immigrants that Mexico was discussing. In the pages of *El*

[172] Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth Century Mexico,* 234.

[173] Charles Adams Hale, Mexican liberalism in the age of Mora, 1821-1853. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 241. During the 1850s, both the Liberals and the Conservatives in Mexico were concerned with immigration and its meanings for their ideologies and agendas. They debated issues of colonization and in the process, they solidified their ideologies and goals and many of these values would eventually become enshrined in the Constitution of 1857(Leyes de Reforma). These laws included religious toleration, the abolition of mortmain (corporate and church lands), the creation of civil registries, and the removal of religious restrictions concerning cemeteries. It was not a strict dichotomy between the Liberals and the Conservatives with the former in support and the latter against immigration, but the Liberals were generally more favorable towards the idea of welcoming foreigners to help populate Mexico.

Clamor Público, Californios debated immigration/emigration, beginning a broader conversation about Californios attitudes towards leaving the United States for Mexico.

As the Californios wrote editorials, letters, and responses in *El Clamor Público,* they voiced their concerns about the merits of their own return to Mexico and their attitudes towards the Mexican government, providing insight into the concept of liberalism and colonization in the context of California. Like their counterparts in Mexico, Californios understood that drawing colonists to Mexico's *terrenos baldíos* or vacant lands was a risk. Mexico's loss of Texas in 1836 and the loss of Mexico's northern territories in the Mexican-American War meant that many people in Mexico blamed American and European immigrants while others, mostly Liberals believed that Texas showed that colonization needed to be more carefully managed.[174]

In Mexico in 1846, Jose Maria Lafragua, the *Liberal Federalist Ministro de Relaciones Interiores e Exteriores*, called for the creation of a federal agency that would supervise the recruitment and settlement of immigrants and survey the allotment of vacant lands, but the project meant that the liberal approach towards a more centrally directed society would have to be created. Hoping to create a national approach that was centralized and religious liberal, the Lafragua suggested that a push for societal changes such as religious tolerance would make Mexico a more acceptable location for European immigration.[175] Just as liberalism meant an adherence to individual freedom, the potential for such freedom was believed to only be realized in a society that lacked traditional corporate entities like Catholic Church. Expanding religious tolerance in Mexico would

[174] David K. Burden, ed. "Reform Before La Reforma: Liberals, Conservatives and the Debate over Immigration, 1846-1855." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos,* 23, no. 2 (2007) : 284.
[175] Burden, "Reform Before La Reforma," 286.

mean a weakening of the Catholic Church and a movement to a more secular state in which citizens were loyal to the nation first.[176]

In Mexico, one concern in the colonization schemes was about the role that colonists could play in pacifying indigenous groups who were wild and outside of civil society. One approach that the *Junta Directiva of the Dirección de Colonización* intended was for the Mexican citizens to immigrate from the lands that had been lost under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. In June 1848, the Mexican Congress approved and set aside 800,000 pesos to provide transportation from Mexican families who intended to leave the land that had become the United States Southwest. Around 250 Mexican families left Texas before 1850 and around 1500 to 2000 left New Mexico but little is known about the rest of the region.[177]

On May 24th, 1856, *El Clamor Público* published an anonymous letter attacking the editor, Francisco Ramirez for his support of the colonists who left or were planning to leave California for Sonora, Mexico after their homes became part of the United States. In his letter to Ramirez, the author, "Un Californio" argued that "you have grossly erred in believing that the Mexican Government is capable of protecting against the colonization of its frontiers, nor providing aid."[178] An example of the Californios who were unwilling to leave was concerned with the problems in Mexico of instability, a common concern for immigrants who were not choosing Mexico as a point of arrival.

According to the signed author*, "Un Californio"*, Californios would not find themselves well situated if they became colonists of Mexico. He argued that their return

[176] Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth Century Mexico*, 4.
[177] Burden, "Reform Before La Reforma," 295-296.
[178] *El Clamor Público,* May 24, 1856, Pg. 2, Column 5.

would be ruined by the chaos that existed, "Sonora is where the gaggle of undisciplined military and mercenaries have the population ruined in impressment and forced quartering; where also those famed warriors the Apaches have the people so harassed of such a horrid manner without limit. Will there be pleasure? Will there be homes? Will there be families?... no good Sir, the only thing that there will be will be the most minimal of relief." Concerned with the chaos of Mexico at the time, the author also points to the difficulties of living on the (newly)Northern Mexican frontier where Apaches continued to control their territory and periodically attack the villages of the region.

While the Californios were settling into their reasons for staying in the United States, it seems that not everyone was supportive of Un Californio's criticisms of Mexico. While there was little positivity about the United States, the author saved his entire criticism for Mexico. As a response, "El Colon", another reader of El Clamor Público responds with his own assessment of life in the United States. "It is a manifest act that toward Mexicans there will be no administration of justice on their behalf, there will be no respect towards their property, nor will there be liberty to exercise their own industry. The recent murders in the north, and the insults that we daily witness prove amply what we have suffered."[179] It is particularly in this political, social, and cultural milieu that the Californios became politically engaged in the United States as well as staying interested in the occurrences in Mexico. They were critical of the United States because they felt vulnerable and unequal.

[179] *El Clamor Publico*, May 31, 1856, pg. 2, Column 1. According to historian David K. Burden and Richard Griswold del Castillo, the only existing evidence of Mexican-Americans moving to Mexico after the war was from Texas and New Mexico. Clearly the topic was debated in California.

The author, "El Colon" invokes the term "justice" in assessing the failings of the United States towards the Californio community, drawing on a long-standing conversation in the post-Independence period about the new meanings of justice in a world that did not rely on the power. of a monarchy. In the post-Independence period in Mexico it became contingent upon the entire community to define justice, a concept that under the monarchy had been an objective truth. In invoking the term justice, the new Mexican citizens depicted a new concept based on preexisting vocabulary and used it to define the new era.[180]

In California, "El Colon" draws on this concept of justice and uses it to voice his frustration with the United States and their treatment of the Californios. As the Californios are beginning to transform their newly conceptualized Mexican "justice" into American "justice", they built a political community. Drawing on the past and the world of ideas they continued to engage with, the Californios rebuilt a new world of ideas for themselves in which they joined the American conversation about "justice" and about citizenship, nationhood, and liberty at precisely the moment at which these concepts were most vulnerable, the 1850s.

Education and the Catholic Church

In this chapter, I examine the political divisions among the Californios and their applications of Mexican ideologies onto an American reality. *El Clamor Público* advocated for educational opportunities for Californio youth and included advertisements

[180] Elias José Palti, "Beyond Revisionism: The Bicentennial of Independence, the Early Republican Experience, and Intellectual History in Latin America." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 70, No. 4. (Oct., 2009) : 611.

in the paper for academic institutions. Prior to the 1850s, there had been a lack of educational opportunity in California and for most men and women, there were few teachers around the area or money to attend school. During the 1850s, the school, *Hermanas de la Caridad* opened to the young women of Southern California, a definite shift in approach to educational access.

Education was a major topic of the liberal project in Mexico in the early Independence era as the shared system of a new society meant that the society had to be transformed to create new institutions.[181] Promoting the values of liberalism in a new shared institution that would enhance the citizen, Francisco Ramírez suggested that "the parents should remember that in all of Southern California not one establishment of this class exists, and if they want their daughters to distinguish themselves through their education, good manners, and fine behavior, this is the best occasion for making themselves perfect."[182] There had been an expansion of the public role for women in politics under liberal thought across as the world without feminization of the public sphere as long as they emphasized particular skills.[183] Women's role in the political sphere in California appeared to be focused on type of liberal civility that required educational access.

After Mexican Independence, Mexican women's lives changed despite being left out of direct participation in the process of nation-building. There was an expansion of the women's schools, moving education from the home and practical skills to a new

[181] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens,* 5.
[182] *El Clamor Público*, June 7, 1856, Vol. 1, No. 50. Page 2, Col. 2.
[183] Brian Vick, "Liberalism, Nationalism, and Gender Dichotomy in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Contested Case of German Civil Law," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (September 2010) : 580.

emphasis on academic skills of reading, writing, and math as well as an expansion of the roles for women in the public sphere. Women could work, there were new religious orders established that were oriented towards servicing the public, women were mobilized during the War of Independence, and women-led charitable organizations were established.[184] While women were not able to be vote or act as citizens, there was an increased attention to women participating in political life and some intellectuals argued for the expansion of women's rights.[185]

According to scholars of New Spain's Independence period, Mexican leaders approached education as an opportunity to attain a better society. The debates in Mexico concerning political ideologies extended to the realm of education upon which reformers fixated. In 1822, a new educational system was erected, beginning with the *Escuela del Sol*, built, pointedly at the Palace of the Inquisition as a statement on the transformation into a new nation rooted in new values. Drawing from the ideals of the Spanish Enlightenment, the Liberals wanted to reform the Catholic Church because they valued its importance as an institution while believing it needed to serve in a new more useful way in Mexican society.[186] In addition to the new post-Independence understanding that the law created worthy citizens, education was also key.[187]

A popular choice for college among the Californios was the American, Santa Clara College located near the Mission Santa Clara de Asís, which had been built by Father Junipero Serra in 1777. Santa Clara College began as an all-boys preparatory

[184] "Will Fowler, "Dreams of Stability: Mexican Political Thought during the 'Forgotten Years'. An Analysis of the Beliefs of the Creole Intelligentsia(1821-1853), *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 14, No. 3(Sep., 1995) : 55.
[185] Fowler, "Dreams of Stability" 55.
[186] Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora,* 161.
[187] Coronado, *A world not to come*, 310.

school, founded by Italian Jesuits John Nobili and Michael Accolti in 1851 and began offering college courses in 1853. In *El Clamor Publico*, Santa Clara college was suggested because it offered "the good discipline that is observed(Colegio de Santa Clara) and the high order of instruction, [would] leave nothing to desire to those that want to take advantage of its benefits."[188] Apparently, Santa Clara College also had a great deal of Spanish instruction because Ramirez wrote, "to all the parents that desire to see their sons instructed in *our* (my emphasis added) language and religion, we request that you consider how many advantages the establishment of a school of this class will provide them."[189] Eager to develop and maintain a sense of Californio identity, Ramírez suggested that language and religion might be method of cohesion while engaging with the American institutions like the educational system.

While past scholars of the post-Mexican Independence period have depicted the Catholic Church as a conservative force that was eradicated by the enlightened and secular state, new scholarship has suggested that an enlightened movement of religiously Catholic liberalism advocated for a reform of the Church. The enlightened Catholics attacked corporate privilege and aimed to create a "true religion" rather than aiming at a secular state, hoping to reach God through the personal and pared down, rather than through the Church hierarchy and ostentatious exterior displays of religiosity. Francisco Ramirez endorsed religious education if it promoted moral improvement and strong discipline, all ideals preached by the new reform Liberals who believed that the wealthy were too ostentatious and the poor lacked the moral fiber for true citizenship. [190]

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[188] *El Clamor Publico,* August 14, 1855, Vol. I, No. 9. Page 1, Col. 2.
[189] *El Clamor Publico*, February 7, 1857, Vol. 1I, No. 32. Page 2, Col. 1, Nueva Escuela.
[190] Pamela Voekel, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico.* (Durham: Duke University Press) : 8-9.

Francisco Ramirez also paid attention to the occurrences in Mexico concerning the criticisms of the Catholic Church hierarchy and the new piety that was pushing for reform. In 1855, Ignacio Comonfort, the son of French immigrants, became president of Mexico, hoping to enact moderate liberal goals, eventually drafting the Constitution of 1857 and creating the Second Federal Republic of Mexico. Concerning the new administration of President Comonfort in Mexico, "among the reforms that have been taken place is the abolition of rights and privileges granted to the clergy to judge their own order of offenses against the law, before the ecclesiastical courts, rather than civilian courts."[191] The new laws meant that the Catholic Church in Mexico would come under the civil laws of the newly reformed nation.

But the Catholic hierarchy was not always quick to accept the shifts. While there were church members of the hierarchy who were interested in Church reform, there existed entrenched leadership. Recounting the events in Puebla, the editor wrote, "the Bishop of Pueblo[a] refused to hand over the books that contained the account of the property of the Church. The official then assembled some soldiers to make him obey, and upon arriving at the doors of the Bishop's palace found that the bishop has fixed a notice excommunicating all those who may have helped the orders of the government.[192] As the dissent grew among the Church leadership, the more radical Liberals pushed for continued pressure on the traditional privileges of the Catholic Church such as land holdings, revenues, control over education, and religious freedom.

Clearly, the entrenched clergy was not happy with the changing political tides. On May 16th, 1857, Ramirez wrote, "The clergy were revolting against the Mexican government.

[191] *El Clamor Publico,* May 3, 1856, Vol. 1, No. 45. Page 2, Col. 3.
[192] *El Clamor Publico,* June 7, 1856, Vol. 1, No. 50. Page 2, Col. 3, Mexico.

In Mexico City, the governor and others were not allowed in a cathedral. The rebellion was defeated in two hours.) "The ease with which this revolt was suffocated shows the prestige and popularity of the government, and the little that remains to the clergy of its old colossal influence."[193] The Liberals such as Francisco Ramirez believed that they had the effective support of the populace in their criticisms of the Catholic Church and their attacks on the hierarchy and privileges of the Mexican Church.

Ultimately, while several leaders in Mexico viewed the Catholic Church as an impediment to modernity and progress, even the most radical were not aiming to eradicate religion.[194] The liberal philosophy demanded equality before the law and opposed the special legal position the Catholic Church held, allowing for the hierarchy to function as legally autonomous. Passing the Ley Juárez in 1855 and the Ley Lerdo in 1856, the Liberal government wrenched civil matters away from the Church and ended corporations from buying more property and forced them to sell any properties they held, respectively. The Mexican Constitution of 1857 was ultimately ratified and in addition to abolishing the privileges of the Catholic Church proclaimed the Church as the most favored faith. But it was not enough, the nation descended into the War of Reform(*La Reforma*), a civil war between the clergy and the conservatives on one side and the moderate and radical Liberals on the other side.

Race and Slavery

[193] *El Clamor Publico*. May 5th, 1857, Vol. II, No. 46. Page 2, Col. 5, Mexico.
[194] Don M. Coerver. "From Confrontation to Conciliation: Church-State Relations in Mexico, 1867-1884." *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 1990), 68-69.

As the northern anti-slavery voices grew louder in the period following the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Californio Republicans connected the Democrats to the expansion of slavery. There was growing fears in the U.S. that the South was looking to expand slavery into Latin America, the west, and to expand their power into the North. The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act meant that the American federal government had to protect the property rights of slaveholders even in non-slave holding areas.[195] In 1854, Ohio Senator Salmon Chase proposed the radical Free-Soiler theory about the moment when national degeneration had begun in the U.S., caused by the land expansion that led to the growth of slavery. He argued that the annexation of Texas and the land acquisitions from Mexico were part of a larger plan for the "slave power" to expand into Cuba, Mexico, and Central America.[196]

By the 1850s, El Clamor Publico exemplified the political realignments across the U.S. with the rise of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party as entirely sectional parties and with slavery as the crucial dividing line.[197] Northerners and Westerners in the U.S. had their worst fears realized with the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott case and they believed the South would do anything to fight for the expansion of slavery.[198]

By the 1850s, Latin America and Mexico had struggled to deal with the issue of race and citizenship despite having abolished slavery throughout the region, a classic problem of democracy regarding who would rule at home. The Latin American independence movements had struggled with the confluence of race, slavery, and

[195] Louis Masur, *The Civil War: A Concise History*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 14-15.
[196] L. Wilson, "Free Soil Concept of Progress and the Irrepressible Conflict." *American Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter, 1970), 12.
[197] Masur, *The Civil War*, 15.
[198] L. Wilson, "Free Soil Concept of Progress", 14.

citizenship quite directly in the 1810s-1820s but the problem was not easily resolvable as each local part of each nation struggled to enact the federal laws while maintaining local power and reflecting their local realities.[199]

Just as Mexico continued to struggle internally, the United States confronted its own divisions about slavery and the nature of race and slavery. After the California Constitutional Convention, Pablo de la Guerra and his Californio compatriots found themselves politically divided along more clear American political parties as the U.S. grew increasingly divided, sometimes reflecting earlier differences and other times, newly created divides developed. The Californios explored in their political writings the Mexican liberalism they had grown with in their youth and that was visible just across the U.S.-Mexican border with their local lived realities in the United States.

It was the election of 1860 that was a pivotal moment for the Southern Secession from the Union. Abraham Lincoln carried all the free states except New Jersey, which he split with Stephen Douglas, the candidate of the Northern Democrats and he lost Missouri. Vice President John Breckinridge of Kentucky was the candidate of Southern Democrats and took eleven slave states while the Constitutional Union Party candidate, John Bell took Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Lincoln won the electoral vote handily.

[199]Side note: an often neglected and underexamined explanation for the creole movement for independence in the Spanish Americas was that their was a great fear of social revolution that would be brought about by demographic shifts and little attention from the crown about the potential power of the non-white masses. In 1778, the Spanish crown promoted blacks and mulattos in the militia, enacted new slave codes in both 1784 and 1789 and granted racial dispensations to nonwhites in 1795 which appeared to the creoles to be an attempt by the Spanish core to created new alliances with the excluded groups while neutralized creole power.(See George Reid Andrews, Afro-Latin America 1800-2000(New York, NY, and Oxford, 2004), p. 49 in Historiographical reviews: The Dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy by Gabriel Paquette – Cambridge University Press. *The Historical Journal*, 52, I (2009), 175-212.

It was exactly this election of Abraham Lincoln that gave the Southern proslavery movement their opportunity to lead their states out of the Union. Like the other Republicans, Lincoln believed in the dream of a nation of free laborers and viewed slavery as immoral, socially corrupt, and politically evil. South Carolina seceded from the United States on December 20, 1860 and after the New Year, the Southern states of Missississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed[200] Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee would all join the Southern call for secession in the spring of 1861.[201]

Perhaps shocked that the United States was often held as the template for Latin American democracies while maintaining slavery, the Californios mentioned the continued reality of slavery in their nation in horrified tones. The editor of *El Clamor Publico* wrote of his frustration with American slavery, "this happens in the United States, where slavery is tolerated, where the most vile despotism reigns unchecked-in the middle of a nation that they call the 'Model Republic.'" Among American abolitionists, the language of republicanism and liberalism provided a set of terms to explain their own understanding of faith and they drew on terms like "despot" to explain how slavery created a blind obedience to human power, that was ultimately despotic.[202] Francisco Ramirez, like other Californios were critical of U.S. policy and attitudes, citing American hypocrisy as a "model republic" that should not allow any form of "despotism", allowing slavery to exist.

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[200] Masur, *The Civil War,* 18-19.
[201] Masur. *The Civil War*, 24.
[202] Daniel J. McInerney, ""A Faith for Freedom": The Political Gospel of Abolition," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 11, No. 3 (Autumn, 1991) : 373-376.

Drawing on the international language of liberalism, Francisco Ramirez connects the despotism of American slavery to its desires to expand into Latin America, as an example of the particularity of his own Californio existence. Francisco Ramirez and his fellow writers at *El Clamor Publico* connected slavery and its possible expansion in 1855 to attacks on Mexican lands, specifically the ideology of manifest destiny, "it is enough that these institutions[slavery] are unique in a country that tries to consume everything due to its "Manifest Destiny."[203] Perhaps suggesting that slavery is not the unique form of despotism in American society, Ramirez argues that "manifest destiny" is equally problematic, a claim that was made across Latin America and a true source of conflict. Southern political leaders had been outspoken about their expansionism during the 1850s and had explicitly expressed their interests in slave-owning Cuba while their own citizens had engaged in filibusters in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America.[204] Drawing on this Latin American concern that Americans hoped to spread southern slavery further south, Ramirez re-emphasized the Californio republican and liberal values to check slavery and manifest destiny.

Francisco Ramírez mentioned the incident of the capture of the Mary E. Smith in a criticism of the Democrats, suggesting that James Buchanan was a hypocrite and a supporter of the outlawed international slave trade. On August 24, 1855, U.S. Deputy Marshall John H. Riley was handed warrants to arrest Vincent D. Cranotick and Charles Martin, captains of the schooner Mary E. Smith which was loading for a sea voyage at

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[203] Kanellos, "El Clamor Publico," 110. Also*, El Clamor Publico,* Francisco Ramirez Editorial, July 24, 1855.

[204]Patrick J. Kelly, "The Cat's-Paw: Confederate Ambitions in Latin America," in *American Civil Wars: The United States, Latin America, Europe, and the Crisis of the 1860s*, ed. Don H. Doyle (Durham: University of North Carolina Press 2017) : 62-63.

the dock in East Boston. The sailors of the Mary E. Smith cared little for the efforts to arrest them and offered a bribe to Riley and his officers, who feared resistance from the crew. Riley and his men left the schooner on a tug boat headed back to Boston, allowing the Smith to sea.[205] In 1856, the schooner Mary E. Smith of New Orleans attempted to be introduced into Brazil with 370 slaves aboard having been captured at the Port of St. Matheos with Vincent Cratonick, an Austrian by birth but a naturalized U.S. citizen as the captain. The schooner had been built for the slave trade in Boston, picked up slaves in Africa, took the cargo to Brazil and was captured by the Brazilian government.[206]

The newspaper *El Clamor Público* and its editor, Francisco Ramírez worked to connect their readers with the people and the ideas of Latin America. Spanish language newspapers, beginning in the 1850s were a means to shape communities by consolidating a group identity both at the local level and with a global world. The newspapers were also a way for the readers to become politically active citizens.[207] The newspaper editor Francisco Ramírez created a local version of the political language of Mexican liberalism, creating new Californios.

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[205] Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 124-126.
[206] Gerald Horne, *The Deepest South: The United States, Brazil, and the African Slave Trade*, (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 136.
[207] Coronado, *A World Not to Come*, 323.

Chapter 3: Mexican Liberalism Meets American Politics: The Road to the American Election of 1860

In this chapter, the Californios boldly expand their intellectual work to consider issues of nineteenth century liberalism, hoping to influence the American public and California politics. They engage with the American public and a time of broad political issues of race, slavery, private property, and labor while facing concerns about the challenges they had in California. As Californios, the political leaders struggled to develop an expansive liberalism that engaged with their new surroundings while dealing with their unique cultural, religious, and transnational particularities.

In this chapter, I consider how the Californios drew on Mexican liberal thought to make sense of their new American reality and to find a way to become involved in the shifting ground of American politics in California. The political power of the Californios as measured by their right to vote, testify in courts, high social standing, and access to the labor market was fairly high in the new American California, but their status was never entirely secure.[208] The Californios were drawing on their political values and this was the impetus for their political involvement in the various American political parties.[209] This project instead looks at the Californio political ideologies and ideas and how they organized these ideas about nation building to work with the political parties of the 1850s.

[208] Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support?", 54-66.
[209] Scholarship in the Chicano Movement period often began with the assumption that the Californios were mistaken in their inability to coalesce politically, leading to a diluting of their political voice but this negates the complexity of their intellectual thought.

There were two main political parties in the United States during the period before the American Civil War were the Whigs and the Democrats and they different on a number of key issues. The Whigs were interested in an "American System" with a program for government supported economic development, an emphasis on developing manufacturing, supporting tariffs, support of a national bank, internal improvements in transportation, and favored moral reforms like temperance. The Democrats favored a much more limited approach to government power and opposed any type of national power over local power. The Democrats were concerned particularly with the individual liberty of White Americans, states' rights, territorial expansion, and expanding slavery.[210]

The Californios and the American Political System

During the 1850s and 1860s, a small but substantial group of elite Californio men become involved in California state, regional, and local politics achieving an upswing in power and popularity that was often greater than their numbers may have seemed.[211] Politically elite and powerful families like the De la Guerras of Santa Barbara combined the methods of their older methods of political organizing with the new California state government.[212] In Los Angeles for example, Californios such as the brothers, Antonio and Ignacio Coronel ran in the city and county elections with them both winning offices in the early 1850s. In addition to the town of Los Angeles, Californios maintained political power in smaller towns such as San Jose, Santa Ana, and San Salvador(San

[210] Masur, *The Civil War,* 10.
[211] Pubols, *The Father of All,* Introduction.
[212] Pubols, *The Father of All,* 284.

Bernardino Valley town) as well as in Santa Barbara and Monterey, choosing Californio leadership in the early 1850s.

Perhaps surprisingly, the Californios held diverse political ideas, having been influenced by wide varieties of liberalism that spread from throughout Latin America, Mexico in particular, and the United States. In many ways, this translated to their American political engagement in California as the Californios became involved in different political parties and engaged with politics across the spectrum. They became involved in both the Republican and Democratic parties and some of the smaller parties that proliferated in California.

The Californios also had to contend with the political realities of California and American politics, a political system that was deeply fragmented in the early 1850s. Both the Whigs and Democrats lobbied for Californio votes at the local and state level by suggesting a common kinship along religious lines and while painting the opposing side as Anti-Catholic.

Ramón Carrillo: The Republican Party

Among the Californios, the infrastructural development of the nation was a major topic of interest because of its impact on nation-building and the problems that plagued Mexico. Many in California viewed the expansion of the railroads to connect with the rest of the country as a critical way to expand wealth. Many Californios wanted to have the railroads built near their land. This concern with the railroads and the infrastructure that it entailed was a main part of the Californio Republican party platform, as described by Ramon Carrillo, "the Republican Party is in favour[sic] of a Railroad to St. Louis, or

some other connecting point on the Atlantic side; the leaders of the Democratic party in Congress, the ruling section of the party, are against it."[213] While Francisco Ramírez had barely mentioned infrastructural improvements and their impact on Californio life, the Californios of the Republican Party discussed this issue at length.

The railroads had transformed the eastern United States in the years before the American Civil War, creating massive industrial growth. By the 1850s, few doubted that a transcontinental railroad would but be built but the decisions about where, when, and how to build it became hotly contested. New Orleans, Saint Louis, and Chicago were all in competition to become the eastern starting point for a transcontinental line. In 1853, the American Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Survey Act, appropriating four hundred thousand dollars to explore and survey the West to provide further information to make a decision about the best path west. [214]

Ramón Carrillo argued that the railroad should be through the northern part of the country and would be critical to development, "without a Railroad the value of ranches and stock, horses, mules, cattle and sheep, will be depreciated; they will sink down to a nominal sum. But with a Railroad once commenced, our city, our county, our State will soon feel the good effects of the enterprise. Property will augment in value population pour in upon us; manufactories will be established in our midst; the mechanic arts will be fostered and flourish; houses will go up as with magic."[215] Clearly interested in the

[213] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."
[214] Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 274-281.
[215] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."

significance of railroad development, Carrillo thought this infrastructure was critical for California's development.

Infrastructural improvement was perceived by many to create both societal and economic progress throughout the nation. Most political parties suggested measures to increase infrastructural improvement like the creation of canals, railroads, and roads. But what often became complicated was devising the best means of improving infrastructure and dealing with occupied or unoccupied land that would be required.

Mexican political leadership drew on liberalism by pushing for progress through greater infrastructure but focused mainly on selling public lands, *terrenos baldios,* that had been surveyed, blueprinted, and then publicized and missed the hard work that had been done in the United States to create stability and infrastructure such as The National Road, canals, railroads, and other means of transportation.[216]

Ramon Carrillo felt much like his fellow Republican, Francisco Ramírez, hoping for a transformative power to create a better society. Carrillo placed his faith in the power of the railroads, "Los Ángeles will soon grow into a city of 15000 or 20000 inhabitants; the county will be dotted over by beautiful villas and farm houses, and a general rejoicing and happy time generally spring up and be inaugurated in the very centre[sic] of our business community. There is no hope for the construction of a Railroad outside of the success of the Republican Party."[217] The Californio political leaders drew direct parallels between the advancement of society and the development of national infrastructure.

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[216] Burden, David K., ed. "Reform Before La Reforma: Liberals, Conservatives and the Debate over Immigration, 1846–1855." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 23, no. 2 (2007): 291.
[217] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."

Among the Californios, the political leadership drew on their land concerns through the lens of the Californio land grants and the American attacks on Latin American national sovereignty. Liberalism in general and Mexican Liberals were concerned with the issue of land because it was viewed as a critical part of the democratic puzzle that allowed any individual, regardless of race, to be a strong and engaged citizen. For example, many Mexican Liberals believed that they had to break apart communally held or corporately held property to create citizens out of an "Indian" identity and available land for the public.[218]

With the creation of the California Land Commission in 1851 to decide the boundaries of Californio land that had been inherited from the Mexican Spanish periods, the Californios struggled to keep their land after the Americans took power. The Republican Californios reminded the public that the oft hated California Land Commission had been initiated by a Democrat, the California state senator, William Gwin. William Gwin presented a bill that was approved on March 3, 1851, which established a three-member Board of Land Commissioners that were appointed by the President for three-year terms(later extended by Congress into a five-year term) in order to determine the validity of Spanish and Mexican land grants in California.[219]

Ramon Carrillo connected the Californios unhappiness with their land losses to the Democratic Party, "Gwin is a Democrat and has merited the just hate of the Californio people for having started the Land Commission that has ruined and delayed

[218] While scholars have suggested that Californios were bothered by their loss of land because it caused them to lose their wealth, their political ideology was missed. Just as the Free Soil, Free Labor ideologies connected the expansion of white landholders and workers to the cost of slavery, Carrillo made a parallel claim.

[219] W.W. Robinson, *Land in California*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press) 1948, 100.

progress in California."[220] Turning the arguments around of those who wanted to lay claim to the Californio lands, Carrillo argued that the Land Commission was stopping progress, although he gave little explanation. Carrillo reminded the Californios of both the poverty they faced as well as the pain they felt, "look at the Native Californians and Old Settlers. See how they had to prove their titles to land their grandfathers owned or occupied fifty or one hundred years ago."[221]

Ramon Carrillo united the newly independent "American" nations and declared: "On one side is the great Republic Party…this party adheres to the old landmarks of our Revolutionary Patriots such as nerved the arm and inspired the heroic fortitude of Washington, Bolívar, Hidalgo, and the other great Apostles of Freedom of North and South America to contend for Liberty, Humanity, Civilization, and the sacred Right of Man."[222] It was common for many of the new independent nations to exhort the democracy of other nations who had either led the wars for freedom or represented democracy in the older period of ancient Greece and Rome.

Mexican and Californio liberals drew on liberalism, they also hoped to assert the concept of sovereignty and democracy while eschewing the hierarchies of the past. In the call to exhort the Californio public, Ramon Carrillo argued that the Republican Party of the United States best represented their continued vision of government and society. The Republican Party, "asks for justice to the human race, and peace, and goodwill to the nations of the earth," and it could be achieved by creating a citizenry who were properly

[220] El Clamor Publico. January 19, 1856, Vol. 1, No. 30. Page 2, Col. 1.
[221] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."
[222] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."

cultured and educated and filled with "civic virtue".[223] The proper citizen was literate, a property owner, and an autonomous individual making the person capable of self-government and equal rights.[224]

Carrillo described the goals of the Republican Party, "strives to reform, not to destroy; to improve the moral, mental, and material conditions of the human family." In this language, the "human family" could be anyone of any race, class, or gender. Ramon Carrillo also believed that to create citizens, they needed to "educate the masses" to be proper citizens. While describing his ideal citizen, Ramon Carrillo used the popular terms of liberalism, to "teach all men to be sober, virtuous, industrious, free, happy and contented," despite have suggested in other parts of the letter that women could be citizens as well.[225]

Ramon Carrillo added to this conversation about slavery and race and was particularly angered by the potential expansion of slavery into the west, as many in the United States feared. Carrillo wrote, "behold the introductions of 'Guinea Niggers' from Africa, winked at by the President, and the "piratical slave trade" countenanced by the Federal Courts and Juries of the South. Are not these enough to startle well-meaning and thinking men?"[226] Not only was the Democratic president allowing the continued importation of slaves, according to Carrillo but the American South allowed it and admitted the slaves on their lands.[227] Similar to Francisco Ramirez and the Republican

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[223] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."
[224] Nancy P. Appelbaum, et al. *Race and nation in modern Latin America*. (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 4.
[225] Ramón Carrillo in "El Clamor Público," Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1859, pg.4, cols.1-2):"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen."
[226] *El Clamor Publico*, Ramon Carrillo, 1856.
[227] The term 'guinea niggers' was used to refer to Africans brought from the Guinea coast of Africa.

Party, Carrillo argued that "the SLAVE CODE is sought to be introduced among us, and if the Democratic party are again seated in power in 1860, who knows but Colorado Territory will spread over with 'Guinea Niggers.'"[228] Like the more radical wing of the Republican Party, Carrillo was suggesting that the slave powers of the South sought to extend slavery into new territories in order to amass further power at the national level and create an entirely slaveholding nation.[229]

Jose Luis Benavides, a Chicano Studies scholar of journalism challenged earlier works in Chicano Studies in the early 2000s when he challenged a common trope of resistance to white supremacy in the field. He argues instead that by reading the lack of attention to Indians and African-Americans as well as some racist language of the writers and editor of El Clamor Público as a sign that assuming Californios resistance to white racism had to be re-examined. In his work, "Californios! Whom Do You Support," Benavides suggests that El Clamor Público often reproduced white supremacy towards other minority groups besides the Californios.[230] In particular, Benavides suggests that the Ramirez and the position of Californios was one of privilege and subordination in the U.S., which led to their attitudes towards other subordinate racial groups.[231]

Writing in 1859, he mimicked the attitudes of the general California Republican Party but his ideas reflected the concerns of the Californios rather than the general Republican Party. By linking the extension of slavery to the land losses of the *Californios* and the filibustering campaigns of the Latin American nations, Carrillo created a liberalism that was simultaneously local and international in scope. Thus, the

[228] Ramon Carrillo, El Clamor Publico, August 13, 1859, Republican Letter"
[229] Wilson, 12.
[230] Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support?", 54-66.
[231] Benavides, 66.

Democratic Party becomes the problem for the Californios and under this Republican story they do not respect the sovereignty of Latin American land, either at home or abroad.

The Californios used the extremely racialized language and race-baiting popular in American culture of the antebellum period in regards to African-Americans, showing their belief in African-American inferiority. The Californios, like their Republican Party comrades engaged in the kind of race baiting that Race baiting – "Guinea niggers" – Carrillo also engages in race baiting, chiding the Democratic Party for their extension of slavery and their supposed support for bring African-Americans to take the jobs of the "white race". The overt kind of racial baiting often used by the Democratic Party and the Republican Party as well, the Californios drew on racial dialogue of the time, citing concerns with the spread of blackness across the continent. "

Enrique Avila: The Democratic Party

In 1856 and 1857, the Democrats had won easily in Southern California with Californios generally supporting the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party nominated a good deal of Californios for political offices in county elections such as Julian Chavez, Tomás Sanchez, and Juan Sepulveda, and Francisco O'Campo. But by 1859, the Democrats were falling apart in California (like the rest of the nation) over the question of slavery, with public squabbles between the factions of Democrats and the Californios staying loyal but divided.[232]

[232] Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios: A social history of the Spanish-speaking Californians, 1846-1890,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 199-204.

In Santa Barbara, specifically, the Californio elite worked with the Whig Party in the early years after the war but moved towards the Democratic Party by 1854.[233] The four most prominent leaders in Santa Barbara were Pablo de la Guerra, Jose Antonio de la Guerra, José María Covarrubias and Joaquín Carrillo. These four leaders may have had the most power in the region but other Californios held power in Santa Barbara Board of Supervisors the Democratic County Committee, as port inspector, surveyor, and county assessor.[234]

In an 1860 letter to a fellow Californio and Republican, Enrique Avila drew on Mexican liberal thought and made a case for the Democratic Party in the United States. Drawing on the flexible notions of liberalism and the strands of royalism from the independence movements, Avila against an expansion of freedom for multiple racial groups in Mexico or California.[235]

Enrique Avila provided a Californio example of this type of thought, applying it to the U.S. and slavery, writing, "Unfortunately, this party[the Liberal Party] triumphed in Mexico, and what was the result? …And this is what you want to do to the Negroes, take them from the state in which they find themselves, happy and useful to the man, and degrade them like the Indians of California!"[236] Following the 1847 beginning of the Caste War of the Yucatán, the Mexican Conservative political party solidified their position on the Mexican Indian population, showing a consistent response that was not as

[233] Pitt, *Decline of the Californios,* 135.
[234] Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 136.
[235] The political parties in Mexico complicated matters by naming one of their parties the "Liberal Party", the ideas of liberalism infused both the Liberal and Conservative Party in Mexico.
[236] Enrique Avila, "Open Letter," Coronel Papers, GC 1001, 66, Seaver Center for Western History Research.

clear in the Liberal Party, but both parties and were concerned about the future role of indigenous people in Mexico.

Politically speaking, the Mexican civil war, the Reform War was between the Conservatives and the Liberals, it was not a war for or against liberalism, but rather a war over the meanings and implications of liberalism and republicanism. The foundations for the struggle began in 1855 when the Liberal government of Mexico passed a series of laws known as The Reform Laws, which aimed to curb the power of the Catholic Church. The Lerdo law, as it was known, was part of a general Liberal upswing during the 1850s that concerned the power of corporate bodies to own land, such as the Catholic Church. Eventually the Native Mexican *ejidos,* or communal lands were outlawed under the Lerdo law. The Catholic Church hierarchy responded to the laws with a series of official responses and they supported the conservative Tacubaya revolution in December 1857, the beginning of the Reform War.[237]

The more radical insurgents believed in the ideals of a Mexican revolutionary movement in which freedom and equality were inalienable human rights. Moreover, slavery and the racial caste system needed to be abolished in addition to the radical redistribution of property, to create equal opportunity for all.[238] Miguel Hidalgo was executed by the Spanish on July 30, 1811 and Jose Maria Morelos met the same fate on December 22, 1815. Ignacio Rayón was held as a prisoner from 1817 to 1820,

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[237] Robert J. Knowlton, "Clerical Response to the Mexican Reform, 1855-1875. The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Jan., 1965) : 519. From the period of the war for Mexican Independence that began in 1811 to the Reform War (1857-1861), a great deal of political ideologies emerged from the Spanish Loyalists and the Creole Republicans. The various ideologies that emerged had different visions about the meaning of Mexican Independence that they attempted to enshrine into the future and into historical writings. For the more radical insurgents like Miguel Hidalgo, Ignacio Lopez Rayón, and José María Morelos, independence was both an emancipation from Spain and a social revolution.

[238] They were others who believed in these ideas who struggled for them at the Constitution of Cádiz in Spain.

effectively ending the hopes of achieving the early revolutionary ideas.[239] The post-war period was fraught with the kind of political infighting that characterized the 1850s and led to the three-year Mexican Reform War.

The tides of political groups and ideas shifted in Mexico as the Liberal Reform began in 1854 with the Plan de Ayutla. A group of liberals ousted the more conservative president and dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna hoping to rebuild Mexico with more liberal principles and created the Constitution of 1857. The major goals of this movement were to create a more modern and progressive society that meant undermining the power of the Catholic Church, a greater separation between the church and the state, a reduction of the power of the Mexican military, and the creation of an educated citizenry from the various indigenous populations, *castas* (people of African descent), and mixed people that lived in the nation.[240] The liberal politicians who took power in 1854 envisioned secular education as a method to create a Mexican citizenry, they hoped to limit the privileges of the Catholic Church and the army as well as limited the landholdings of the Catholic Church and indigenous communities. The Conservatives refused to swear allegiance to the liberal Constitution of 1857 and instead, created their own conservative government, leading to the civil war known as the Reform War and the defeat of the Conservatives on the battlefield. The triumph of the Liberals may have been short lived but it led to the victorious presidential election of Benito Juárez.

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[239] Fowler, "Dreams of Stability," 287-288.

[240] Ann Twinam, *Purchasing whiteness: Pardos, mulattos, and the quest for social mobility in the Spanish Indies*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2015. According to Twinam, the Mexican people who had African heritage were referred to as *castas* while those of indigenous descent were labeled differently. I use her terminology.

The Mexican Conservative Party criticized the republic by contrasting the instability of the modern times with perceived "stability" of the colonial era. The Conservative Party, in their newspaper, *El Universal*, wrote steadily of the three centuries of Spanish rule as a time of cooperation and morality that was led by the twin powers of the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church. They argued in their newspaper that the Indians had gained nothing under the new system of equality and had been turned into slaves who were forced into the military, stripped of their communal lands, and forced to bear new taxes. The Conservatives also argued that the Catholic Church had provided a protective balm and authority that the Indians did not see in the Mexican Republic's authority in which they felt oppressed and disillusioned them.[241]

This group of liberals of Latin America wanted a return to the colonial period in which privileges for the Church and landed elites existed and there was a clear hierarchy of difference. This group could be racially inclusive but they did not aim for being egalitarian or creating equality among people. They included non-white in their agendas both politically and culturally, but they often highlighted the racially subordinate status of those they included.[242] Looking back on the Spanish colonial period, Enrique Avila wrote, "these Indians were living content and happy, sober and industrious, under the care of the venerable Fathers of San Francisco who were instructing them in religion and teaching them virtue and work."[243] This group offered as a prescriptive for Mexico's problems that were largely looking at the past and

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[241] Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora*, 242-243.
[242]Nancy Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds. *Race and nation in modern Latin America*. (Durham: Univ of North Carolina Press, 2003), 4.
[243] Enrique Avila, "Open Letter," Coronel Papers, GC 1001, 66, Seaver Center for Western History Research.

"pacifying" the Indians through morality and religion and calls to rebuild the mission system.[244]

After the Mexican-American War, the Liberal Party had triumphed in Mexico and they had continued their criticisms of the Catholic Church for their treatment of Native Mexicans and their power within the nation. Not everyone was thrilled with the relationship between Mexican liberalism and the Catholic Church and responded strongly. This strain of thought within Mexican liberalism was filled with thinkers who reminded Mexicans of the past triumphs of the Catholic Church in converting Native Mexicans and the failure of Independence to create a unified nation, which had led, in their minds, to the failure of Mexico in the Mexican-American War.

Avila was not alone in looking back on the Spanish period as a bucolic era, among the Mexican liberal thinkers who thought that the Independence movement had been problematic by allowing for the citizenship of Native Mexicans. Mexican were increasingly attentive to the memory of the Catholic Church and its role in maintaining social order in the present, especially after the Mexican-American War. They focused on the Catholic religion as the binding force between all the diverse people of Mexico, avoiding discussions about Indians.[245]Crucial to the values of liberalism was the belief that citizenship should be broadly defined but the Mexican people were not always viewed as capable of citizenship due to their supposed failings. Avila, for example, viewed Indians as unfit for citizenship, instead, challenging the humanity of Native Mexicans, writing that they had, under Independence and Mexican citizenship, "turned into a drunk animal, working only to obtain sufficient liquor, to become intoxicated."

[244] Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora*, 243.
[245] Hale, *Crisis in Mexican Thought,* 168.

For an increasing Mexican population that was turning its back on the earliest promises of an expanded suffrage, they hoped to articulate themselves not as persecutors of anyone, but as defenders of the public order.[246]

While liberalism and its public enactment were largely defined by masculinity and manhood in the public sphere there was some attention to the roles of women. Native Mexican women were also singled out for attack, Enrique Avila decried how after Mexican independence, "Indian women turned into prostitutes-the plague of society."[247] He blamed, as many Mexicans also did, the Liberal Party for their power after Mexican Independence in 1821, "But the party rose up like yours(the Republican Party), speaking of humanity; and of the evil it was to hold the Indians in servitude." [248]

The compromise of the California legislature over the issue of Native American voting and citizenship rights was a loss for the political vision of Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega led to the terrible treatment of California Indians in the decades that followed the convention. The California legislature never pushed for any kind of Native California Indian voting rights and instead, they passed the *1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians*. Intended to help California Indians, the act created a system in which white justices of the peace adjudicated all cases that concerned Native California Indians and also made Indian removal possible from land. The law also permitted the indentured servitude of Native American children and the mandate that all adults could be forced to work or sold for their labor.[249]

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[246] Burden, *Reform Before La Reforma*, 301.
[247] Enrique Avila, "Open Letter," Coronel Papers, GC 1001, 66, Seaver Center for Western History Research.
[248] Enrique Avila, "Open Letter," Coronel Papers, GC 1001, 66, Seaver Center for Western History Research.
[249] Michael Magliari, "Free Soil, Unfree Labor: Cave Johnson Couts and the Binding of Indian Workers in California: 1850-1867," Pacific Historical Review 73, no. 3 (2004) : 357.

In September 1850, California was admitted to the union as the thirty-first state, four months after the ending of the first legislature. The era that followed the California state convention was one in which the Native California Indians were subjected to the ills of becoming un-free labor. Without voting rights or citizenship, the Native California Indians had little power in the Antebellum United States, their position proved precarious. Despite the California Constitutional delegates prohibiting chattel slavery, there were two loopholes that allowed for "voluntary" systems of servitude which included the custodial wardship of minors, indentured servitude as an "apprentice," convict leasing, and debt peonage.[250]

Despite the efforts of Pablo de la Guerra y Noriega to allow Native American citizenship, white Americans were not alone in their terrible treatment of California Indians. The Californios also began to exploit these loopholes in the years that followed the convention. Drawing on their past treatment of Native Americans and mixed with various types of liberalism in Mexican thought about the meaning of citizenship and ideas about Native peoples, the Californios held Native California Indians in various degrees of servitude. In the ranch economy that lasted a short time, from 1850 to 1854, Native American labor was vital in sustaining the ranch economy among many Californios.[251]

The white Americans and Californios' treatment of Native Californian Indians continued into the 1860s, but improved by the American Civil War. But it was not until Radical Reconstruction changed the U.S. labor system with the passage of the Anti-

[250] Magliari, "Free Soil, Unfree labor", 350.
[251] Magliari, "Free Soil, Unfree labor", 353.

Peonage Act of 1867. The Anti-Peonage Act ended the abusive treatment of Native peoples across the American southwest.[252]

Enrique Avila blamed the expansion of rights in Mexican and Californio society for the public ills. He used the Democrats reasoning that his Liberal counterparts like spent too much time worrying about native peoples like the "Republican speaks too much concerning the Negro; much more than about the white man." Reminding the Californios and his friend Antonio that the situation in California was substantially different from the South and the East, "What do we have to do about the Negro here?"

Speaking to the events of the secularization of the California Missions, Enrique Avila suggests that the African-Americans were divinely located in the American South and as slaves, "Where God has put him for his good ends, where the law declares that he exists, let us leave it there, you gentlemen want to do with the Negro what the Mexican Government did with the Mission Indians in California."[253] Avila was not alone in building a connection between the more conservative strands of Mexican liberal thought with the Democratic political party in the United States. At least two Californios, Servulio Varela and Tomás Sánchez joined the southern war efforts as soldiers while other Democrats supported the federal government. The Californios saw a connection between themselves and the American Southern whites and in some cases, the Confederacy. The Californios even created the militia, Lanceros de los Angeles, a twelve-man group captained by Juan Sepulveda and they wanted to stay part of the Union."[254] Enrique Avila continued his political life in Los Angeles, serving on the

[252] Maglieri, "Free Soil, Unfree labor", 386.
[253] Enrique Avila, "Open Letter," Coronel Papers, GC 1001, 66, Seaver Center for Western History Research.
[254] Perez, *Remembering the Hacienda*, 60. Also see, Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*, 230-231.

County Board of Supervisors in the 1860s. Several Californios stayed in both the Republican and Democratic parties and largely stayed loyal to the union.

Californios: A Question of Significance

In examining the writings of a small group of California citizens in the mid-to late nineteenth century, I must consider the impact of this group on the larger population. Did the Californios matter in the larger political conversation or were they merely yelling at each other or yelling at the wind? The Californios brought ideas from Mexico and Latin America, regions that were strongly engaged in debates about liberalism and the nation. Yet, it is also clear that the white Americans were interested in either engaging with or connecting politically with the Californios when at least one pamphlet from the important 1860 election I mentioned earlier was written by an American and translated into Spanish and expressly written towards the Californios.

An American Democrat, Phillip Roach wrote a broadside pamphlet to appeal to the Californios for the 1860 election. He wanted the Californios to be a part of the Democratic Party and appealed to their historical roots in California, their wealth, and their cultural elitism. Phillip Augustine Roach was an immigrant from Ireland who grew up in New York and worked in goldmines as a forty-niner in Monterey, California until becoming involved in politics. He represented his northern California town at the California Constitutional Convention of 1849 and elected a judge, a mayor, and a state senator. Phillip Roach was heavily involved in the Democratic party and an early critic of Chinese immigration to the U.S.[255] Phillip Roach, in his later life as state senator and as a

[255] Gyory, Andrew. *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act. (*Durham: The University of North Carolina Press), 80.

newspaper editor continued to include the Californios in his vision of whiteness and good citizens on his tours to denounce Chinese immigrants.[256]

He suggested that the Californios look towards their bonds with the American South, "In the South the planters occupy a position very similar to the rancheros of California; they have lands in large partitions in which the father of the family as chief has all in his name." Not only does he suggest that the Californios are part of the landed elite with huge properties but also that they are part of a patriarchal structure that is based on gender norms and expectations, the role of the father in the family, and the role of landed wealth in their cultural heritage.

Phillip Roach then pivots to explaining to the Californio public, in his broadside, how the Democratic Party could offer them a reprieve from the land losses they have faced starting with the California Land Law of 1851. Roach suggests to the Californios that their land losses occurred because the Americans of the Northern states are filled with a general hatred towards those with land. He explains, "and the possessing of such lands is employed in the North to excite the hatred of those *without land* against those of the South, like here in California the same *without land* observe the same conduct against the rancheros."[257] Reminding the Californios of both the Land Commission and the squatters, who by 1859, had claimed ownership over many lands once owned by the Californios.

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[256]When Roach went on a speaking tour in 1873 against the Chinese, he described how, in contrast, "thousands of Spanish and American cigarmakers were thrown out of work by the Chinaman." Roach, Felipe A. "Pronunciado en idioma español, en San Juan, Condado de Monterey," el dia 2 de Octubre de 1856.

[257] Broadside 3. Phillip/Felipe Roach uses the term "sin terrenos" which can literally mean "without land" or the "landless". I use "without land" because it flows in the translated sentence. He calls himself Felipe Roach but his real name is Phillip Roach and he was Irish-American. Roach, Felipe A. "Pronunciado en idioma español, en San Juan, Condado de Monterey," el dia 2 de Octubre de 1856.

Just as the Americans had dishonored the Californios with their racist attitudes and their conquest of the region, they also reached out to them and honored them by creating connections between the white Southern planters and the Californio elite. Perhaps excited about this connection, the Californio Democrats expounded upon the idea that their experience with Native Mexicans after Mexican Independence gave them a unique insight for dealing with the question of African-Americans in the antebellum period.

Conclusion: The Election of 1860 and the Road to the Civil War

The nineteenth century was a time when the newly constructed nations of the England, France, the United States, and Latin America choose a republican method of government and struggled with their newly human created societies. The European and Latin American nations faced similar problems and all of them looked the classical republics and the early modern city-states for examples of how to solve their problems, such as Greece and Rome.[258] These internal struggles to define themselves as nations tested the ideologies of liberalism and each nation recovered their sense of liberal nationalism in a unique way, like the United States and Mexico, for example. The liberal nationalisms of each nation were discussed among people who were often in conversation with those of other nations, providing a cross-fertilization of ideas. The Californios were in a position to be part of this cross-fertilization of Mexican liberalism to an American audience and stayed in dialogue with Mexican as well.

[258] Sabato, Hilda, "Arms and Republican Politics" in Spanish American in *American Civil Wars: The United States, Latin America, Europe, and the Crisis of the 1860s*. Edited by Don H. Doyle. (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2017),186-187.

Mexico began its own internal officially ended their Reform War(civil war) in 1861 after having fought internally for four years. The Reform War was a response to the signing of the Mexican Constitution of 1857 in which the writers had built a plan for economic development, infrastructure, modernization, a centralized authority, a federal republic, and a bill of rights for its citizens.[259] With the coup that followed, The Liberal Party eventually triumphed but guerrilla fighting continued to occur throughout the countryside on behalf of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party also conspired with French forces to install Emperor Maximilian I in December of 1861. Thus, the Liberal Party victory was short-lived but they returned in 1867 under the leadership of Benito Juárez. With several Californios holding Mexican land, having ties to their previous nation, and traveling between Mexico and the United States, many struggled to make sense of the challenges Mexico faced in the late 1850s and 1860s. The Reform War, a civil war, had shown the Americas the fragility of the new human created nations.

The United States was struggling internally as well. The elections held on November 6th, 1860 were the immediate impetus for the American Civil War and the presidential election was divided between four political parties, the Republicans, the Southern Democrats, the Constitutional Union Party, and the Democrats. The Democratic Party had split over the issues of slavery and Lincoln was elected. Before Lincoln's inauguration on April 4th, 1861, seven states had succeeded from the union and the United States were on the verge of civil war. In California, the American Civil

[259] Colin M. MacLachlan and William H. Beezley, *Mexico's Crucial* Century, *1810-1910: An Introduction. Liberalism, Reform, and Napoleon III.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 86-87.

War was largely a distant war and the Californios avoided the bloodshed, just as they had during the Mexican-American War.

The broader trends of liberal thought among the Californios existed in the United States, Mexico, Latin America, and the rest of world were built on intellectual ideas from the Enlightenment of liberalism, republicanism, monarchism, and conservatism. In the nineteenth century, the Californios drew on these trends to create their own intellectual thought that would serve them as they became a part of the United States. Contending with the uniquely California and American trends of the 1850s and the divisive 1860s, the Californios connected their own world to the building division in American society that led to the American Civil War.

Chapter 4: Californio Women and a Gendered Liberalism: The Catholic Church, Memory, and Intellectual Thought

In discussing during the post-Mexican-American War period, many of the Californio women suggested through their memories and stories, that the past offered important lessons for the future. This became a powerful prescriptive practice among the Californio men and women who were writing their own memoirs and being interviewed by Americans about the Spanish and Mexican past. Both the Californio men and women offered these history lessons, not for the dismissive idea of nostalgia but as a lesson for the future and to provide a plan for a better California society.

The Californio women discussed the entirety of their lives and the eras they had lived through such as the Spanish period, the Mexican era and the American period, from the early 1800s to the late 1860s. The women explored in interviews and their writings in the post-American period their frustration with the changes they witnessed from the 1820s to the 1870s. As a response to shifting culture in California, the women suggested that a re-visiting of the Catholic mission past was the proper turn for the future, the self-discipline and self-control of the Catholic fathers and missionaries. What is particularly notable is how the Californio women enshrine their differences from the Californio men and suggest their own methods of future success. As one of the women, Maria Angustias de la Guerra Ord makes clear in her statement about the unique perspective of women, "the taking of California was not at all to the liking of the Californios and least of all to the women."

During their time as Mexicans, the Californio women had been enshrined into the sphere of domesticity as angels of the hearth, or the '*angeles de hogar'* that was

particularly popular throughout the new nations of the Atlantic Revolutions.[260] At the same time, women throughout Mexico were making demands of the new nation, despite being largely kept in the home to ensure that the new liberal values of the new democratic nation were being extended to them. As James E. Sanders has explored in his work, women were making claims on the new nation to ensure their liberty despite being supposedly ignorant of public life. In Mexico during the 1820s, despite being largely bound to the home and the small worlds they likely lived in, women in Mexico were able to create multiple spaces to discuss the new meanings of liberalism and republicanism that were at the core of the new democratic nations of the Atlantic world and the Americas.[261]

In Mexico City, the period of the Mexican-American War was a time of great rupture in which women created a space in the world of literary print culture in newspapers and magazines. On the eve of the war and during the late 1840s, a loosely cohesive group of women expressed themselves in the new language of Romanticism that had developed as a means of expressing introspection, experience, and emotion. Throughout the Americas and Europe, the flourishing of Romanticism allowed a particular space for women because women were believed to have authority over the realm of emotion and in this flourishing space, Mexican women .[262] Testing the boundaries of the public sphere elite and educated women such as Maria de la Salud Garcia, wrote an article that was published on August 31, 1846 in the Mexico City

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[260] Christopher Conway, "Sisters at War: Mexican Women's Poetry and the US-Mexican War." *Latin American Research Review* 47, no. 1 (2012): 3.
[261] Nicole Sanders, "Gender and Honor in Mexican History: Liberalism and Revolution in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Mexico." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 27, no. 1 (2011): 214?
[262] Conway, “Sisters at War,” 4-5.

newspaper *El Republicano* where she called for the Mexican men to rise against the Americans or face that the women might go to war in their steed, drawing on the women of history who had done so before them.[263] This moment of a Mexican woman creating a genealogical tradition of women as patriots, nationalists, and warriors became an early moment in the Mexican female tradition of making unique claims for the rights of women and for their particular knowledge as women in hopes of improving and saving their nations.

In the historiography of Mexican liberalism and the Catholic Church, the works have largely focused on the political roles of men as they struggled and wrote in the public sphere hoping to change their fortunes. Women, on the other hand were not expected, in the nineteenth century to actively engage in their newfound citizenship in the public sphere but instead expected to relate to the nation through their role within the household.[264] Recent scholarship has examined the roles of women in developing the localized liberalism, as described by Kaplan. In these local environments, women could make local and national claims and due to the openings provided by the values of Romanticism, women could make their unique case as nationalists. According to historian Earle, the Mexican public believed that women were more emotional than men and thus, they were believed to have a greater potential for patriotism, because patriotism was considered a sentiment. Thus, as sentimental actors in newly formed nations who were struggling to enact localized liberalism, Latin American women could be both kept

[263] Conway, "Sisters at War," 6.
[264] Earle, Rebecca. *The return of the native: Indians and myth-making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Duke University Press, 2007, Kindle Edition: Ch. 2.

out of the public sphere of citizenship while being quite involved in the struggle over ideologies.[265]

Studies of the ideologies of Mexicans-American in the United States and Mexico has largely focused on politics rather than the more private realm of the home or the interior lives of women. I depart from this line of inquiry, to focus in this chapter on women because they have largely been excluded from examinations of liberal and republican thought in the late nineteenth century.[266]

As members of the elite of California, women had certain expectations of their lives based on their role within their communities and their families. Yet, many of the Californio women were subject to rapid shifts in the power of their communities and their role within the changing society as Spain gave way to Mexico and Mexico gave way to the United States in the region of California. The women were in many ways like their Latin American counterparts despite living in a frontier society that often brushed against other empires, nations, and indigenous people in a more conflictual space then in the core of Mexico.[267]

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[265]See Earle's footnote #25 in *Return of the Native* concerning the way women were seen in Latin America and Conway, "Sisters at War," 6-7.

[266] I am in conversation with Rebecca Earle's work in which she examines how the political male elite viewed their nations or *patrias* and what the position was of indigenous culture, not necessarily indigenous people within the creation of a nineteenth century national history. See Rebecca Earle's, "Padres de la Patria" and the ancestral past: commemorations of independence in Nineteenth century Spanish America." *Journal of Latin American* Studies 34, no. 4 (2002): 778. In examining the historiographic discussions of liberalism in regards to women in Mexico, recent scholarship has examined how working-class women made demands for rights in the public sphere and how liberalism as the major political influence meant that the court systems in Mexico regulated family stability, patriarchal authority, and female sexuality. Within Mexican liberalism, a goal was to reform the family and family honor by making the domestic sphere a more modern location. Also see Nicole Sanders' "Gender and Honor in Mexican History: Liberalism and Revolution in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Mexico," 214.

[267] The Californio frontier women were often more racially mixed than their status as elite women might signal, with many having become Hispanized natives or mestizas, racially mixed women from throughout Mexico. Many were forced to adopt the local Indian customs and foods because of the isolated manner in which they lived, far from the core of Mexico and without rapid or easy transportation available to them.

For women, the impact of independence movements and the liberalism that was such a significant philosophy throughout the Americas thoroughly altered their relationship to the state as they lost their role as subjects of the crown without becoming citizens of the new nation. Instead, women were believed to be virtually represented by the men in their lives and their role in society shifted. In the United States, white women's new role in society was to nurture public virtue in the new nation. As women were disassociated from economic activities, they could claim the kind of disinterested virtue that was popular in American politics.

Sources and Methods

In this chapter I examine the primary sources from the Hubert Howe Bancroft interviews that were done by his employees Thomas Savage and Enrique Cerruti from 1874 to 1878. Bancroft organized the interviews for his larger project, the seven volume History of California that he wrote from 1884 to 1890. It is in the broader work of obtaining interviews of Californios that Bancroft and his employees, Savage and Cerruti interviewed thirteen Californio and Native California Indian women. What I have chosen to focus on with these sources is a new perspective on the historical period of which they were written and bring the historians craft to bear on their authors and ideas.

When H.H. Bancroft and his employees, Savage and Cerruti interviewed the Californios, they focused largely on the pre-American period. Despite not having saved their questions for future readers, the three interviewers clearly asked of their subjects to remember the events of 1846, because many discussed their recollections. As the interviewees looked back to a period 30 years in the past, they spoke about not only their

memories, but about their emotions. In remembering the Mexican-American War, the Californio women and Mariano Vallejo had mixed feelings. But one point of continued frustration among the Californios was towards the members of the Bear Flag Revolt.

The idea of writing a more objective history arose in the 1870s with the writings of Hubert Howe Bancroft, the son of staunch abolitionists who entered the world of history from the business side. Bancroft began as a bookseller, creating a business of publishing and of collecting during the 1850s. His collection numbered in the tens of thousands of volumes of which a good deal was original historical material. In the late 1860s, Bancroft abandoned the business and devoted himself to writing and publishing history with the goal of publishing a history in thirty-nine volumes of the entire Pacific coast region of North America, from Central America to Alaska.[268]

Beginning with California and a new approach to writing history, Hubert Howe Bancroft and the employees/collaborators he hired began in the 1870s to look for interviewees for a history of the pre-American period.[269] Hubert Howe Bancroft hired two Spanish speakers, Enrique Cerruti and Thomas Savage during the 1870s to interview a wide number of Californios about their experiences in California for his larger book project. After considering who might have saved the most significant documentary evidence, Hubert Howe Bancroft and his employees interviewed the political and social elite among the Californios, asking them questions about their pre-Mexican-American

[268] Lopez, *Chicano Nations*, 17.
[269] Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West", *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* edited by Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 20.

War lives, the Mexican-American War, and about any oral histories that had been passed down in their family.[270]

Bancroft and his employees interviewed a series of Californio women whose male members were deemed significant by Mariano Vallejo and other Californios. They considered the women important because they were related to elite men or elite families who had been politically or economically powerful at some point in California history. The women had the potential of having kept primary sources, being privy to family oral histories, and sometimes having experienced the broader political events of the nineteenth century. The women were almost entirely part of the Californio elite and all three had been married to white American men at some point in their lives.[271] As oral histories, the Bancroft interviews provide a different perspective on the events that occurred in the 1840s because they tell us how the Californios gave meaning to past events.[272]

While Mariano Vallejo had access to the American public as a noted figure and politician, many of the stories relayed or written by women, gained less prominence. Mariano Vallejo published his *Historical and Personal Memories Relating to Alta California* during his lifetime. California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft and his employees interviewed and then rewrote for their own works, the writings of the Californio women discussed in this chapter.[273] The writings of Maria Amparo Ruiz de

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[270] Out of 125 Bancroft interviews or dictations (as they were then known), 12 were done with Mexican-American females of which one was Native American. Beebe, *Testimonios*, xxii.
[271] Maria Raquel Casas, *Married to the Daughters of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880*. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009), Introduction.
[272] Alessandro Portelli, "The peculiarities of oral history." In *History workshop journal*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 96-107. (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1981): 99.
[273] Beebe, *Testimonios*, xxii.

Burton were published during her lifetime but she wrote under the pseudonym C. Loyal and gained minimal attention.[274]

Surprisingly this is a change of method for many of the academic projects which have largely focused on the Californio testimonios or dictations as examinations of the period they were written about rather than when they were written. Because of the dearth of sources, this was a critical method for learning about the early Spanish and Mexican periods of California and the American Southwest in general but it loses the intellectual work and ideas of the Californios and dismisses their ideas as mere nostalgia.

These interviews have been examined since their early inception in the nineteenth century and have contained to be a subject of much scrutiny with even their conceptualization being examined as they were originally named "dictations" and have subsequently been renamed as "testimonios" because they have been connected to a broader narrative of Latin American "testimonios." Literary scholars have examined the "testimonios" as a unique source from autobiographes in which the author has control over each aspect of their material. In this case, in a testimonio, the text is not self-generated but instead part of an interview, which contains its own dynamics.[275]

A significant concern when examining testimonios is their nature as mediated sources in historical research. In this case, the sources were mediated by the interviewer, the people who were involved in the interview process, the translations of the interviews, the transcriptions of the interviews, and the nature of the interview itself.[276] Secondly,

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[274] Amelia Maria De la Luz Montes and Anne Elizabeth Goldman. *María Amparo Ruiz de Burton: critical and pedagogical perspectives*. University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 13-14.
[275] Rose Marie Beebe and M. Robert. Senkewicz, trans. and eds. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815–1848*. (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015): xxii.
[276] In the introduction to Testimonios, Beebe explores the multiple aspects that complicated these testimonios as mediated sources.

these interviews were also situationally created, meaning that the dynamics of the interview was complicated by the people involved and the nature of power between American male outsiders and the Californio women whom they interviewed.

In this project, I examine the interviews of the Californio women in a published English translation with attention to the intellectual and ideological discussions about liberalism, their ideas about race, and their ideas about possible prescriptions for future improvements in California and American society.

A Gendered Liberalism

In Mexico, there were two types of liberalism that existed in the nineteenth century, with one being more significant, according to Karen Caplan. She argues that liberalism was both an ideology that motivated and a group of ideas and institutions that governed everyday interactions between the state and the public. The more significant one in many Mexicans' lives was the second one because it created an opening for change at the institutional level. The most significant and contested government relationship that came under scrutiny was the dual ethnic structure that differentiated indigenous and nonindigenous people. The shift in Mexican society from a dual society towards a society of universal participation and ethnic neutrality meant that there was a daily negotiation.[277]

In Mexican society, the first sense, especially in more rural and distant lands that a new nation had been formed was when new people came from Mexico City to California to spread the word of independence. The first memories that the women

[277] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 12-13.

shared about Mexico, which they were pointedly asked about by H.H. Bancroft's employees, were about the initial commemorations of the new Mexican government through public events. There were "great fiestas to celebrate the changing of the flag," according to María Inocenta Pico who also remembered the impact that this event had on those who were Spanish. She explained that she witnessed "the tremendous emotion expressed by the Spaniards, especially by the missionary Fathers, because of this event. The Fathers never adjusted to the change," marking the transition to the Mexican nation. She also noted that in addition to the festivals for Mexican Independence there were "feasts to celebrate the changing of the flag, there were salvos, processions, mock battles, an oath to support independence, parties, dances, bullfights, and other activities that lasted for three days or more." The other Californio women noted this critical moment, marking the shift from the Spanish Catholic world of monarchs and the missions to a new society of liberalism and republicanism as well as greater turmoil.

These types of events to commemorate Mexican independence were part of what Rebecca Earle describes as the nineteenth century development of a symbolic language to represent the new nations of the old Spanish America. Often, in the beginning of independence, the new nations substituted anti-Spanish and colonial iconography for pre-conquest imagery, although Maria Inocente Pico's explanations suggest a less overtly anti-Spanish message in the iconography of California.[278]

But the liberal ideas were not far behind and when another Californio woman looked back on the new shifts that began under Mexican Independence, she used the language of the new age of liberalism. Maria Angustias de la Guerra Ord, remembered when she

[278] Earle, *Return of the Native*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 2.

remembered hearing about the first stirrings of liberal and republican ideas in California and even where they had come from. She remembered back to the 1820s, describing when Governor Echeandía had "arrived in California in 1825 he talked about republican and liberal principles that were stirring in the minds of the Mexicans of that time."[279] While she would have been a young girl of ten in 1825, she recalled that Jose María de Echeandía "was a man of advanced ideas and enthusiast and lover of republican liberty, and was sent to California "to introduce the new regime and he certainly put those ideas into practice".[280] Angustias de la Guerra recognized the liberal and republican transition from monarchic Spain to independent Mexico, pointing to the public discussion of these ideas and the relationship that women had to the political and public sphere of ideas.

The works of Guy Thompson, Peter Guardino, and Florencia Mallon, beginning in the early 1990s, engendered the world of political thought to indigenous people and peasants, ultimately creating a notion of "popular liberalism."[281] The women in this chapter are a mixture of Californios of the elite, the middling classes and poor who were mixed-race mestizas, yet they are part of the "popular liberalism" that has largely missed Mexican women. The women engage with "popular liberalism" from their position as women, deeply involved members of the Catholic Church, and as American citizens living in American California, after the U.S.-Mexican War.

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[279] Maria Angustias de la Guerra, Interview, trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 223.
[280] Maria Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview", 225.
[281] See Guy P.C. Thomson, "Popular Aspects of Liberalism in Mexico, 1848-1888," Bulletin of Latin American Research 10:3 (1991): 265-292. Also see Peter F. Guardino, Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Thomson with David G. LaFrance, Patriotism, Politics, and Popular Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Mexico: Juan Francisco Lucas and the Puebla Sierra(Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1999); McNamara, Sons of the Sierra; and also see Florencia E. Mallon, Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995)

Looking back to the Mexican period, she showed an extreme frustration with life after Mexican Independence and citing widespread problems. Maria Angustias de la Guerra explored her frustration with the Mexican period in a larger explanation of her reasons for disliking the American takeover, conceding, "But I must confess, California was on the road to utter ruin. On the one hand, the Indians were out of control, committing robberies and other crimes at the ranchos. Little or nothing was being done to curb their pillaging. On the other hand, there was discord between the people of the north and south. In addition, both north and south were against the Mexicans from the mainland. But the worst cancer was the widespread thievery. There was such a squandering of government resources that the funds in the treasury office had bottomed out.[282] She provides the main criticisms of the Mexican period that many of the other Californio women also explored in their statements about 1821 to 1846, specifically, Native American violence, political discord, and government corruption.

Born Maria Angustías de la Guerra in San Diego on June 11, 1815, the younger sister of Teresa and Pablo de la Guerra who would have had familial access to leaders in Alta California. In 1833, when de la Guerra was eighteen years old, her father arranged her marriage to Manuel Jimeno Casarín, one of three brothers who had come to Alta California from Mexico in the late 1820s. Maria Angustias de la Guerra and her husband had thirteen children and they lived in Monterey where her husband began a lucrative career path acquiring a number of land grants. In 1853, at the age of forty-two, Maria's husband died. This left de la Guerra Ord the task to figure out a way to recover some of her husband's property and wealth in Mexico. After proving unable to do so, due

[282]Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview", 265.

to the engendered social restrictions involved in property ownership, she returned to California in 1856. At the time of her interview, de la Guerra Ord had remarried and divorced an American doctor, James L. Ord(1856-1875), and lived in Santa Barbara, California.[283]

De la Guerra reminisced about the problems facing California during the Mexican period, in an effort to find a way to chart out different solutions to these problems that led to a weakening social and political class. Like many thinkers across Mexico in the 1870s, the Californio women were beginning to show signs of frustration with the Mexican period ideas and American society by the 1870s and instead reminded the public sphere of the great deeds of the Spanish Catholic priests and their work in the mission system. Maria Inocente Pico exemplified this trend when she reminisced on a 1836 revolt in Monterey, California, which created a change in political administrations.

Maria Inocente Pico discussed the events of the 1836 Monterey Revolt, in which Commander General Don Nicolas Gutierrez brought Mexicans from the southern portion of the nation to takeover Alta California. Drawing on the language of liberalism and republicanism, Maria Inocente Pico criticized the "despotism" of the Mexican leadership, "The revolt did free us from people who wanted to treat us more despotically than what we had ever experienced during the absolute rule of the Spanish governors."[284] Clearly, according to Pico, she understood the concept of "absolute rule", a term of associated with criticisms of the Spanish kings and queens but she suggests that the Mexican period was actually worse. Maria Pico has learned the language of liberalism and republican,

[283] Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview",193-198.
[284] Maria Inocente Pico, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 308.

the language of independent democratic nations at a time when independently minded people around the world were comparing monarchies to despotism.[285]

Teresa de la Guerra agreed with Maria Angustias that the early Mexican period was filled with Indian attacks against the Californios and that the Catholic fathers at the missions were the best able to deal with this situation. The first major issue that wracked California under newly independent Mexico was the Chumash Revolt of 1824, in which the California Indians proclaimed their new rights as citizens. By 1824, Mexican independence had led to the abolishment of the distinctions between racial groups, Europeans, Africans, Indians, and mixed people in California in addition to the Mexican government decree that outlawed the use of the term "indio" to be replaced with the word "citizen".[286] But, there was a great deal of turmoil surrounding these shifts in citizenship and rights that were seemingly democratic on paper were not always realized throughout the nation.(Kaplan) Recent scholarship has aimed to fill the gaps between the ideals and realities to conclude if the Latin American nations who were at the forefront of challenging racism internationally, were able to achieve their own ideals.

The Chumash had apparently imbibed and enjoyed the new principles of republicanism and liberalism and according to Fray Payeras, a mission father at La Purisima, the Indians in his mission had voiced approval for the Mexican message of

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[285] Maria Inocenta Pico's grandparents were part of the second Anza expedition and her parents were married at Mission Santa Barbara in 1801. She was the fourth of ten children and was born in 1810. In 1826, she married Miguel Avila, a soldier at the Monterey presidio company and they had ten children. Miguel Avila became a rancher, receiving the San Miguelito rancho land grant near San Luis Obispo. They struggled to stay afloat financially after the Americans arrived and then later with the droughts of the 1860s. After Miguel Avila's death in 1874, María stayed on her ranch with two of her daughters. Not exactly part of the elite, Maria Inocente Pico was at least considered by the Americans to be significant enough to be interviewed by H.H. Bancroft.

[286] Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and citizens: Indigenous histories of colonial missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), Kindle Edition, Ch. 4.

liberty and understood the new government ideologies and political practices.[287] The Mission La Purisima was one of the main sites were the Chumash Revolt began in addition to Mission Santa Inés and Mission Santa Barbara before spreading to surrounding villages. As Lisbeth Haas has established in her work, *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California*, the Chumash Indians had learned about the political changes in the region brought about first by the Spanish constitution, which made them equal to the "gente de razón" and had a strong sense of their new citizenship status, that began during the 1810-1814.[288]

The Californio women were concerned with their perceived sense of increased violence of the Native California Indians towards the Californios and the general lawlessness of the Mexican period. Teresa de la Guerra explained that the early years of the Mexican period were extremely rough because the native people were largely opposed to the Californios and she blamed the new democratic ideals of liberalism and republicanism. Teresa de la Guerra recalled that "Pacomio, the Great Indian chief, had taken all the necessary steps to carry out a successful combined operation to eliminate all the *gente de razón* living in Alta California." Maria Angustias de la Guerra also remembered the Chumash Revolt threats to "kill the gente de razón families."[289]

Even after the Chumash Revolt, there was a general uncertainty among the Californio women about their own place in the hierarchy in relation to Native Americans. Viewing the California mission system as a positive, the women contrasted the free and non-

[287] Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 4.
[288] Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, Kindle Edition, Ch. 4.
[289] Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview," 205.

mission Indians as "savages".[290] In her interview, Dorotea Valdez described the experience of having Chief Solano, visit Monterey during the 1830s. "I firmly believed that they were devils who had been let loose from hell…I heard Señora Amesti say that the arrival of these savages in Monterey was a plague sent by God to punish us for our sins."[291] Explored through the lens of religion, Dorotea Valdez had likely experienced interacting with Native Americans but she seems shocked by free Indian people who were meeting in a more equal capacity with Mariano Vallejo in the Monterey area.

Valdez also made a point of criticizing liberal attitudes towards the Native California Indians. She explained that he would routinely visit Monterey from his home in the Sonoma area and when he did he would, "place some of his Sonoma savages outside the front door of his house, and everyone who passed by had to take off their hats and salute."[292] This act of respect was usually meant only for the elite but independence and the emphasis on freedom and liberty under the new Mexic changed the relationship between the indigenous and the non-indigenous. The fact that Valdez remembered the event so vividly, suggests it was a shift in attitude and approach that was sweeping the region, the treatment of indigenous people as equal citizens.[293]

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[290] Dorotea Valdez, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 36.
[291] Dorotea Valdez, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 36.
[292] Dorotea Valdez, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 39.
[293]Despite the outlook of these Californio women, the indigenous people of California had grown increasingly powerful within the mission system as the soldiers and settlers during the 1820s began to rely on the missions and the Indian laborers. The power of the Franciscans was waning and the Indians who had gained access to leadership positions within the mission system turned against the Spanish system. In the 1820s, a number of Indian *alcaldes* lead other Indians against the missions although they were eventually subdued by local soldiers. The rebellions showed both the unhappiness of the Indians with the Franciscans, but it also reveals the dependence of the Spanish colonial system on Indian authority and the power of the Indian officials at the missions.

This shift can also be found in the opinion of Maria Angustias de la Guerra as well. She suggests, the Californio women have begun to blame the shifts in government, ideology, and authority after Mexican Independence that brought seeming chaos to the borderlands in California. In this case, she blamed government mismanagement, Native Americans, and political differences for the chaos in Mexican California. But two recurring themes throughout the Californio women's thinking were changing ideologies of citizenship that had altered the identities and actions of Native Americans as well as the loss of Catholic Church authority. The two intertwined for these women as well because they viewed the Catholic Church as a stabilizing force that taught Native Americans to be subjects rather than citizenship. One of the first signs of the Californios who felt that values of republicanism and liberalism had failed them was both a re-assessment of the Spanish period of monarchs as idyllic. While most did not go as far as to suggest reintroducing a monarchy, most were grateful for the American intervention, albeit with caveats.

Chicano historians, focusing on issues of political agency and political activism among Californio women and men searched for moments of resistance against American rule, something that has continued to influence our contemporary readings. Challenging the earliest Chicano literature readings of Genaro Padilla who suggested that the Californio women were speaking against the Americans with subtle challenges in their tone, rather than directly challenging American rule, was Historian Richard Griswold del Castillo. He suggested that he did not find the kind of political activism that had been a more assessment of the Californios from the 1970s to the early 1990s. Instead, he proposed that the Californio women were not activists in the Chicano movement kind of

way, but were indeed active agents who added their story to a more complex understanding of California and Mexican history.

Building on this debate within the field of Chicano history and literature, several scholars joined the fray hoping to challenge the early concept of activism that had been locked onto the Mexican-American past. In building this challenge, newer scholars also set their sights on redeeming the women from their resistance paradigm along the more nationalist ideals while also showing their challenges to patriarchy as women.

In contrast, the Californio women were much more critical of the Native Americans and the societal shifts that had created a new hierarchy. The Californio women yearned much more deeply for the power of the Catholic Church and for the church to be remembered for their role in the creation of California. The women wanted the Catholic Church to return to its earlier power that had installed a hierarchy with themselves as matriarch and the Native Americans as children. The Californio women went as far as to remember the Catholic priests as mothers to the Native Americans of California, highlighting a matriarchal world and positioning themselves as the descendants of the priests.

There has been a great deal of attention on Californio women in the fields of Chicano and Western history as well as Chicano literature because these women left a distinctive writing trail that scholars have analyzed to delve on the gender and race themes. Miroslava Chavez-Garcia and Maria Elena Castas have contributed to the analysis of women in the field by exploring the agency and power of Californio women who challenged gender and marriage norms. In the field of Chicano literature, scholars have seriously considered the writings of women such as Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton

and the Bancroft interviews, suggesting the efforts to women to make claims for their own property and to challenge the American takeover of the region.

In the literature on Mexico and liberalism, the Californios are generally ignored as outside of the body politic and there is very little attention on women. The literature on Mexico suggests that women were not involved in the political process because they were not technically citizens. This projects suggests looking at the autobiographical writings of women as a new approach to consider questions of liberalism and republicanism and how everyday people understood these broad ideas.

Scholars of women's history in the region of California and the frontier zones of the Spanish, Mexican, and American borderlands have traced the role that women and ideas about gender played in the numerous conquest of the area.[294] Among Chicana historians and historians of the U.S. who have examined Californio women, their scholarship has largely focused on women's resistance against both patriarchy and American power. Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, Antonia Castañeda, and Lisbeth Haas focused on the early to late 19th century and argued that Californio and indigenous women in California resisted the powerful reach of patriarchy by buying and owning property, engaging in male dominated professions, challenging marriage, and struggling against the Catholic Church.[295] Raquel Casas, in *Married to the Daughters of the Land*, explored the role of intermarriage among the Californios and white Americans, arguing

[294] Please see Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), xv.
[295] Casas, María Raquél. *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in Calif., 1820-1880*. University of Nevada Press, 2009.

that the role of marriage and women had played a decisive role in the Spanish conquest of land.[296]

More recent work on the Spanish and Mexican presence in the borderlands and California has opened the field to the issues of compromise, negotiation, and resistance in new ways. Historian Miroslava Chavez-Garcia has explored the ways in which women in post-American Los Angeles used the legal system to alter gender relations and create space for elite Californios, middle-class and working class mestiza women, and indigenous women. Examining the same era, historian Maria Raquel Casas also explores the agency of Californio women in their marriages and relationships with white American(European) men during the early American period as they carved out lives in a changing society. The work of Chávez-García and Casas, along with the work of Barbara Reyes, Linda Heidenrich, Antonia Castaneda, Lizbeth Haas among others have highlighted the agency of women while depicting the differences among them as indigenous, mixed-race(mestiza) middle-level women, and elite women.

In the historical literature, most attention to the California missions has come from the work of borderlands scholars, Native American scholars, and California historians with minimal attention from Mexican historians who study the borderlands. While, the Spanish past of California, with the Franciscan abuse of the Native Americans as laborers and converts was generally accepted and viewed positively in American society, Californios were not always viewed as such. Any failures that had occurred

[296] Please see earlier metioned works by Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, Marisa K. López, Raquel Maria Casas, Lisbeth Haas, and Louise Pubols for more work on gender and the nineteenth century Californios and the state of California.

among the Native Americans since that time were because of the failure of the Mexican/Californio population who misruled them.[297]

In her interview, Alicia Machado de Riddington recalled a story her father had told her during his time as a friend of Governor Jose Maria de Echeandia of California, the Mexican governor who had served after independence from 1825-1831 and from 1832-1833. During the period, she spoke about in her interview in 18??, she recalled the time of the early 1830s when California missions were in a period of crisis as the national government decided what to do with them after independence. Despite the stated goals of secularization of the California mission system and growing liberal thought that meant the independence of the Native Indians, the Californios were unsure of the new regime and the new ideas.

Alicia Machado de Riddington was born in San Diego on March 8, 1814, during the tumultuous years of Mexican Independence. Her father was a soldier in the San Diego presidio and her mother was a native of Santa Barbara. Alicia Riddington recalled that because of the friendship between her father and Señor Echeandia, her father advised him to curb his enthusiasm for Indian freedoms. She recalled what her father said to the Governor, "try to keep the Indians in check, because many of them were traitors. He said that on any given day the Indians could revolt and kill the white people, including Echeandía himself, the man who has giving them so much encouragement."[298]

Alicia de Ridington recalled that when her father returned, "he told my mother that the missionary Fathers had told him that Victoria had promised them that everything

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[297] Roberto Ramón Lint Sagarena, *Aztlan and Arcadia: Religion, Ethnicity, and the Creation of Place*. NYU Press, 2014), Kindle Edition, Ch. 2.
[298] Alicia de Ridington, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 226.

would be as it was before. The missions and the Indians would remain under the care of the Fathers. This made them very happy. We all rejoiced when we heard that news, because at that time, we believed the Fathers to be holy men. To prevent the Fathers from managing the temporalities of the missions would be a huge theft against the Church and an injustice to the Fathers.[299]

Maria Inocente Pico recalled that Jose de Jesus Pico, the Californio commander was away at the time and had to create a force to challenge the Mexicans who seized Monterey. She asserts that the Indians proved disloyal by supporting the Mexicans who seized Monterey because their relatives were close with Alvarado and Castro and that they had been promised anything they could steal from their masters' homes. "Peregrino, our Indian cook, was a very big man and had served me faithfully for eight years. He was incited by them to commit outrages against us."[300] Unwilling or perhaps unable to understand the California Indians as taking part in a popular liberalism, Maria Pico suggested that her servant was incited by outsiders.

Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana described the fears among the Californios of the missionized and unmissionized California Indians in the 1840s. Apolinaria Lorenzana, a woman who dedicated herself to the Catholic Church and the mission system, never marrying and instead living at Presidio San Diego, known for her pious work with the Catholic Church and for her origins as an orphan. She never married, instead dedicating herself to the Church and the mission system, teaching young women at the Presidio of San Diego to read and write, working with the sick natives and locals at the missions in

[299] Maria Inocente de Pico, "Interview," 135.
[300] Maria Inocente de Pico, "Interview," 309.

the Greater Southern California area.[301] She recounted the story of Maria de Los Angeles who told her of local Indian raids, thefts, and killings at Rancho de la Nación, a rancho located near the San Diego mission.

According to Lorenzana and Maria de Los Angeles, the California Indians themselves were divided over their relationship with the Californios, she described some of them as perpetually loyal while others proved to be threats. Lorenzana and M. De Los Angeles suggested that all the Californios were suspicious and frightened of the potential disloyalty in their intimate spaces.[302] At the core of these fears of Indian disloyalty was the belief that the Native people were easily persuaded or seduced by outsiders. She further explained that, "they were ignorant people and not as guilty as the villains who had incited them to commit these bad acts."[303]

Rooted in these early fears of the mysterious and treacherous Indian, Doña Apolinaria recounted her experiences during the Mexican-American War when she was living at Mission San Luis Rey(present-day Oceanside) where she had gone to care for a mission father. When Col. John C. Fremont arrived to occupy the mission and because of her unhappiness with the conquest, she left to Mission San Juan Capistrano before returning to Mission San Luis Rey in 1846. Drawing on the trope of the loyal Indian, Doña Apolinaria attributed the period to an era of Indian disloyalty. Doña Apolinaria argued that the Indians were pro-American and took advantage of the tumultuous era of wartime changes to murder Californios. "The Indians were very menacing…they did not pay their respects to the *padre*." She recounted how those who were trusted among the

[301] Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Neither activists nor victims: Mexican women's historical discourse: The case of San Diego, 1820-1850." *California History* 74, no. 3 (1995): 235.
[302] Griswold del Castillo, "Neither activists nor victims," 234-235.
[303] Maria Inocente de Pico, "Interview," 309.

mission Indian population also became a source of suspicion for the Californios, like the mission cook Santiago who left the mission and joined a nearby Indian community.

These reproachful and untrusting opinions towards Native California can be connected to ideological tensions that extended beyond the borders of California. During the 1870s, the crisis in liberal thought reached a fevered pitch in Mexico after the Reform War that had pitted Liberals against Conservatives. Within the borderlands, in California, now part of the United States by the 1870s, the Mexican political parties did not exist but the underlying ideologies among the Californios were crystalizing. The Californio women, existing in a stark world of Indians and non-Indians, looked towards the more conservative factions among the Mexican ideologies who re-imagined a return to the Spanish past. The relationships were unequal and the Californios disparaged the cultures of the Native California people on numerous occasions as they positioned the Californios at the top of the hierarchy.

One of the most common debates in political conversations that split the political parties of Mexico and the various factions of the new independent nation had been their relationship with Spain. In the aftermath of Mexican independence, the rallying cry against the newly labeled, and angrily so, *gachupines*(derogatory name for Spaniards), involved a national effort to expel Spaniards from Mexico and especially from the Mexican Catholic Church. While not all Spaniards were expelled, the Mexican outcry against the Spanish was a strong one. The shift away from hating Spaniards began rather quickly in newly independent Mexico as the nation struggled to define the moment of their inception as a nation. The more conservative factions looked to Spain and the

beginnings of the Catholic Church in the Americas as that crucial moment of inception, and the hatred of Spaniards and Spain began to quiet down among them.

The Californio women were concerned that the introduction of liberalism and republicanism and the creation of citizenship for Native Americans had led to widespread chaos and that Native Americans were not ready for these shifts. Maria Angustias de la Guerra Ord, highlighting the themes of liberalism, freedom and citizenship, argued that, "[Governor]Echeandía led the Indians to believe that they too were free man and citizens. This produced a harmful effect on the Indians' minds, for they began to demand that those rights be put into practice. Of course an easing of discipline was noticed. The Indians were no longer passively obeying their missionaries. Before that the Indians would obey their minister like a child obeys his father—that is to say, the way children respected and obeyed their parents during that time."[304] Shocked by the agency of Native Americans, de la Guerra Ord suggests that the Native Americans demanded equality after being told that all men were equal and had the right to citizenship. Like many of the ruling white elite around the world, like in the U.S., where many whites were shocked by the demands for equality that their own American Revolution had unleashed, de la Guerra Ord seems unprepared by the rapid spread of freedom's ideologies.

Yet she offers an alternative in her look to the past, unlike her American counterparts or her male counterparts she offers the solution of the Catholic Church as a means of ameliorating what felt like a scary transition for the elite. While she does not explicitly argue that the Catholic Church should intervene in the 1870s, she does suggest the Catholic Church and the hierarchy it created led to all manners of obeisance and

[304]Maria Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview," 223.

respect that seemed to have been lost, both between Native Americans and the Church and between parents and children.

The Americans Acted Dishonorably: Abused Indian, Attacked Liberty, and Stole Property

While the Californio women appeared to be hoping for a return to a time when the Catholic Church was able to control the Native American population and the relationship between Indian and non-Indian was less warring and influx, they were not merely nostalgic. The Californio women were also concerned that the new American population was hungry to exploit the Native Indian people and that the Catholic Church and the lessons of the California missions could provide a greater safety for everyone, especially the Indians.

In Mexico, it was common during the 1860s, the early part of the Mexican Reforma for civic discussions and events to be filled with denunciations of the suffering that Mexicans had faced at the hands of the Spanish during the colonial period. It was often done, according to Rebecca Earle in the language of a "veiled eroticism" in which women were a stand-in for the nation and had been viciously attacked both physically and sexually by Spain and turned into a slave.[305] This became a trope both literal and figurative among the Californio women who often described their concerns about the abusive American behavior towards Native California Indian women, providing a chronicle of real events and also offering this image as a stand-in for the Mexican California.

[305] (Earle 797)

Rosalia Vallejo de Leese recalled for example, the events of the Bear Flag Revolt of 1846, in which a band of Americans from throughout the nation attempted to overtake Californios without the support of the U.S. government, then captured of group of Californios and early European settlers before being overtaken by the legitimate American troops. She pointed first to her family's wealth and second, to the disingenuous character of John Sutter, explaining, "during the two months that my husband[Jacob Leese] was held prisoner, I sent him exquisite food and gold, but that despicable [John] Sutter arranged it so my husband never received one dollar." While Vallejo de Leese's husband Jacob was technically American, he had moved to Mexican California in 1834 and had become part of the network of Californio culture.

Rosalia Vallejo de Leese recalled the events of the California Bear Flag Revolt, noting the kidnapping of her husband and brothers, Jacob Leese, Mariano Vallejo, and Salvador Vallejo, respectively and she noted the treatment that her husband faced while initially a prisoner of the Bear Flag party and ultimately, John Sutter, when the captured men were taken to Sutter's Fort. us that, "on more than one occasion [John] Sutter had been forced to acknowledge the superiority of Mr. Leese[her husband]." This sense of Californio superiority was aimed largely towards those who were not part of the American middle-class or elite or at those who were established merchants or leaders. Instead it seemed that the Californios were focused entirely on subverting the changes that had come to California, change that affected the traditional hierarchy of race and power.

In addition to Californio criticisms of the Americans and the imposed hierarchy that had somehow placed working-class or poor white above their more elite brethren, the

Californio also denounced many Americans as being uncivilized. According to historian Stacey Smith, the male Republicans and free-soilers in the American Antebellum period were critics of the trafficking in Native women occurring in California, suggesting it was akin to slavery and that it denied Indian men the right to proper families.[306] Among the free-soil and Republican critics of the trafficking of Native women was an attack on the white men who were involved in the captive trade by both calling them "squaw men" and criticizing them for blurring the color and race lines. This was also true among the Californios who called out John Sutter for his alleged relationship with an African-American woman. Suggesting John Sutter was a "squaw man" who also could not be trusted around Native women, although she did not suggest what she thought would be the problem if he captured the Indian girl. The white men who abducted Native women were violating racial and gender norms of respectable Californio society as well as white American society and the Californios viewed them in a similar was as white American society. The Californios viewed these white frontiersmen as "poor, transient, and illiterate", as Stacey Smith describes.[307]

Rosalia Vallejo de Leese was a witness during her brother's kidnapping at the hands of the so-called "horse thieves" and later wrote about the experience in her own memoirs. She described how her brother, Mariano Vallejo, had known of the impending kidnapping and was found pressed and dressed in his Mexican military uniform(while the Bear Flag "Revolters" were absolutely disheveled). Vallejo de Leese recalled that:

> Some of the men were wearing caps made from the skin of coyotes or wolves. Others were wearing slouch hats full of holes as black as charcoal. Most of these marauders had on buckskin pants, but some were wearing blue pants that reached only to the

[306] Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction*. (Durham: UNC Press Books, 2013), 156.
[307] Smith, *Freedom's Frontier,* 156.

> knee. Several of the men were not wearing shirts, and only fifteen or twenty of the whole bunch were wearing shoes.[308]

Horrified by John C. Fremont changed from his military uniform into the clothing of an ordinary person were, according to Vallejo de Leese a sign that he was unwilling to be recognized. Hoping to change public attitudes perhaps, Vallejo de Leese argued that while "many paid writers have characterized [John C.] Fremont with a great number of endearing epithets, he was a tremendous coward."[309] For men, the world of war had been a way to gain honor in the public sphere and Rosalía Vallejo de Leese deprived the American Bear Flag Revolt members of their honor. Vallejo de Leese declared that "the riffraff who came later with Captain Frémont acted more like thieves than soldiers."

She was horrified by his lack of honorable actions and reminded her audience that, "Captain Frémont never appeared before us-the enemy. However his men stole horses, saddles, *aguardiente*, and anything else they could lay their hands on. I have heard the people of my country curse Micheltorena's soldiers, but I can assure you that they were gentlemen compared to the trappers that Frémont brought to Monterey."[310] When speaking of Micheltorena's soldiers, she is discussing a group that had been universally hated among the Californios prior to the Americans and is thus suggesting that the Americans were worse and that she believed her audience to be other Californios who would recognize the reference.

She made a point of reminded the world that her husband was treated poorly by a man of the lower-classes. "For an entire week, Sutter made my husband sleep on the bare

[308] Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 26-27.
[309] Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, "Interview," 28.
[310] Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, "Interview," 40-41.

floor and assigned an uncouth man from Missouri to guard his room."[311] She described how after Mariano Vallejo, Captain Salvador Vallejo, Colonel Victor Prudón, and Jacob Leese were taken to the Sonoma Barracks and then moved to Sacramento to be held by John Sutter. They "were left to the tender mercies of that demon John A. Sutter. Although he[John A. Sutter] had married in Europe and had several children, he had left his wife and children behind and was living openly with two black mistresses."[312] Not only was it commonly dishonorable to ignore or retreat from male duties towards dependents(defined as wives, children, and other household members or servants), but Sutter was engaging in racial miscegenation with African-Americans.

After repeatedly suggesting that the men of the Bear Flag Revolt were criminals rather than liberators, Vallejo de Leese suggested that John C. Fremont had acted outside of the laws of the U.S. government when he rushed to annex California. At the time of the Bear Flag Revolt in June of 1846, the U.S. had not declared war on Mexico and the actions of Fremont were met with scrutiny by the Californios. Without condemning the entire nation of the United States, Vallejo de Leese laid the blame at the feet of John C. Fremont for avoiding the use of the American flag and instead, raising a Bear Flag because "he was not about to let his thieves steal California while waving the flag that lovers of liberty throughout the world hold dear. This was why he adopted a flag unknown to civilized nations."[313] Explaining her anger more than thirty years later, Vallejo de Leese distinguished American society from the Bear Flag Revolt, signaling her continued support for the larger nation.

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[311] Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, "Interview," 29.
[312] Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, "Interview," 27.
[313] Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, "Interview," 27.

American Treatment of the Catholic Past

The Californio women were also unhappy with the American public treatment and discussion of the Californio past, the work of the Catholic missionaries, and the general American treatment of Catholicism. In their frustrations about the American discussions in California about the Californio past and present, the Californio women depicted the Catholic liberalism that they hoped to build and expand as they moved towards the end of the century. This changing liberalism was rooted in both their status as elites but also in particular as women who had held a strong role in Spanish and Mexican Catholicism. In their new status as Americans, the Californio women wanted to engender a Californio liberalism that focused on the idea of self-abnegation that worried had been overshadowed by American avarice.

After the war, the Californio women faced new challenges and were offered new opportunities by the American system. The Californios may have struggled with the new American Catholic Church system and have been undergoing their own changing attitudes about the power of the Catholic Church but they managed to find ways to both build connections and reconsider the role of religion in their new lives. Californio women became involved in Catholic charity movements that were less inherently politically problematic than missionizing California Indians, instead, turning their attention to funding an orphanage, a school for young women, and creating broad alliances through local festivals.

Part of a long tradition in Latin America, the ruling elite had begun a new wave of charitable movements that began in the late eighteenth century. Like the religious orders

before them, the Californio elite engaged in charity to help the poor, but the clerics had worked to heal divisions between classes and races. In contrast, a cultural and intellectual tradition that began in the late eighteenth century had created a community of "enlightened Catholics" who aimed to usurp the role of the past clerics by creating new forms of charity that would transform individuals through morals found this approach to be problematic and ultimately wasteful. The enlightened Catholics instead hoped to teach moral lessons and intercede in new public displays of charity that reinforced social divisions.

Californio women, starting in the late 1850s led the Catholic charity movement in Los Angeles that began with the development of the *Institutición Caritativa*, an orphanage and school operated by Roman Catholic sisters formally known as the Daughters of Charity.[314] Californio women, Maria Antónia Perez de Woodworth, Francesca Sepúlveda, and Ysabel del Valle were among the organizers of the fairs that were developed to fundraise for the Catholic charity, although the religious order extended its network across religious and ethnic divisions.[315] A number of Californio young women also attended the day school that was part of the *Institución Caritativa* such as Susana Avila, Ysabel Ramirez, and the José Sepúlveda's daughters Ascensión and Tranquilina.[316]

Teresa de la Guerra was born in 1809, the daughter of Jose de la Guerra y Noriega, a commander of the Santa Barbara presidio for many years and the son of lesser

[314]Kristine Ashton Gunnell, "Women's Work: The Daughters of Charity Orphans' Fairs and the Formation of the Los Angeles Community, 1858-1880," *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (Winter 2011-2012): 373-406.
[315] Gunnell, "Women's Work," 387.
[316] Gunnell, "Women's Work," 398.

nobility from Novales, Spain as well as the richest man in the Santa Barbara area. Teresa de la Guerra, the daughter of a wealthy and prominent family of early Spanish California, voiced her support for the early missionary efforts of the Spanish priests regarding the California Indians. Her mother was Maria Antonia Carrillo, the daughter of a family who had arrived in California from Sinaloa in 1774. Jose de la Guerra y Noriega married his daughter to William Hartnell, an English businessman a little bit shy of her sixteenth birthday and the couple then moved to Monterey where she proceeded to bear at least nineteen children and adopt five more children.[317]

After the United States conquered Northern Mexico in 1848, the Catholic Church began a series of reforms to deal with the change in national control while attempting to address the new Mexican Catholic community of the American Southwest. The reforms began at the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, the seat of the Catholic Church in the U.S. In 1849, reformers appointed the Spanish-born Joseph Sadoc Alemany as the bishop of Monterey, California, reporting directly to Rome, a position he held until 1853.[318] In 1853, after reconfiguring the region, Pope Pius IX placed the Mexican and Native California Indian Catholic population under American authority with Bishop Alemany as the Archbishop of San Francisco and Thaddeus Amat as bishop of the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles.[319]

When Bishop Amat arrived in California and interacted with the Franciscan friars in the region, he reprimanded them for what he viewed as superstitious practices and carelessness. Secular priests throughout the state also supported Amat by adding their

[317] Beebe and Senkewicz, Introduction, 49-56.
[318] Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest*,165.
[319] Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest*, 165.

own criticisms of the elite Catholics of Santa Barbara whom they described as particularly corrupt.[320] During the 1850s through the 1870s, Bishop Amat issued public pastoral letters in which he criticized and reprimanded the laity for their Catholic habits. In private he was extremely critical of both the laity and the Franciscan friars who had lived and worked among the Mexican Californios and Native California Indians for decades at a time. Bishop Amat suggested that the friars were from an earlier era whose time had passed and along with them, the missions that they founded, criticizing the friars for neglecting the salvation of the California Indians. With these types of criticisms happening both publically and more privately, the Californio women found themselves distanced and confused by Bishop Amat and his attitude towards them, as historian Chavez-Garcia has explored in her book, *Negotiating Conquest*.

Apparently stung by the accusations of the new American Catholic leadership, Teresa de la Guerra fought back against the criticisms. She sharply challenged the American treatment of the California missionaries both in the past and present days, "this criticism is so unjust, and should not be doled out against individuals who during their lifetime made unprecedented efforts to redeem this blessed land from the hands of the barbarous infidels."[321]

While the Catholic infrastructure in the United States was critical of the Californios and their religious practices, the American public had become increasingly interested in the architecture and memories of the Catholic churches' past throughout the Southwest. The California mission system had become the subject of American painters,

[320] Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest*, 166-167.
[321] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," trans.by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2007), 58.

photographers, and writers who began to publicize the decaying missions that had been left to wither in the past-Spanish period/Mexican period. From the 1840s to the 1870s, the California missions were in complete disarray as most fell into decay and were either converted into new business or used as barns or sheds for animals. One example was Mission San Carlos Borromeo at Carmel which housed the grave of Junipero Serra, the founder of the California missions, the entire grounds were destroyed except for the stone walls of the mission church with most people treating the space as ignored and insignificant.[322]

Among the Americans, the old California missions were viewed as an example of the inferiority of the Mexican society as they crumbled beneath the feet of the triumphant Americans.[323] Two influential painters were Christian Jorgensen and Edwin Deakin, both foreigners who were fascinated by the missions and painted them repeatedly throughout the 1860s. Photographers Carleton E. Watkins and Adam Clark Vroman also drew attention to the missions.[324]

The core values of Mexican liberalism and Mexican thinker's ideas about the significance that the missionization process and the spread of Catholicism upon non-Christians had a marked affect throughout the nineteenth century. Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell pushes this concept a step further to suggest that the Americans needed to recognize the impact of the Catholic missionaries who came before them, explaining, "…when the Americans came to this country, found it already oriented on the path of

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[322]James J. Rawls, "The California mission as symbol and myth." *CALIF HIST* 71, no. 3 (1992): 342-361, 347-348.
[323] Rawls, The California Mission, 349.
[324] S. Robert Aiken, "The Spanish Missions of Alta California Rise, Decline, and Restoration Pioneer America, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March 1983): 9-10.

civilization. But the Reverend missionary[sic] Fathers found it filled with hundreds of thousands of Indians thirsty for the blood of Christians."[325] According to de la Guerra Hartnell, the Catholic missionary fathers risked their lives and suffered among not just Indians, but 'blood thirsty Indians'.

California Missions

In 1810, Mexican independence transformed the missions of Alta California as they lost federal economic and political support and the government expelled Spanish missionaries and the missions themselves as vestiges of colonial Spain.[326] Much of the land of California was transformed into rancho land by the 1830s. The tide turned against the California missions, but they continued to dominate in the minds of the public.

In 1831, when Don Manuel Victoria arrived in California as governor, he promised to rescind the earlier order of Jose Maria Echeandía, the "Proclamation of Emancipation" on July 25, 1826. Victoria moved to nullify the order to secularize and distribute the landholdings as land grant ranchos. Victoria had been appointed governor of Alta California in 1830 by Lucas Alamán, the famous conservative politician and Minister of the Interior and Exterior Relations from 1830-1832 under Anastasio Bustamante.

Governor Figueroa's proclamation of August 1834 called for ten missions to be secularized in the first year, six in 1835, and the last five in 1836. About half of all

[325] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 58.
[326] Steven Hackel, "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 347-376.

mission property was to be divided up among the Indian neophytes who had a high death rate, a declining birth rate, and a small number of baptisms. Figueroa's successor, Governor Alvarado, confiscated mission wheat, hides, tallow, and other products to deal with the debts of the government coffers. Loans of mission livestock to privates citizens were never repaid.[327]

Lacking support, Manuel Victoria was quickly deposed by a revolt among the Californios. After Victoria rescinded the secularization order of the mission system and the distribution of the landholdings as land grant ranchos, he tried to have Juan Bautista Alvarado and Jose Castro arrested, but the pair fled and were hidden by their friend Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Victoria did give out a few land grants despite his reversal of the secularization, for example, he gave Rancho Rosa Castilla to Juan Ballesteros in 1831.

The revolt, called Battle of Cahuenga Pass led to a short twelve-month tenure and Victoria was subsequently exiled. The Battle of Cahuenga left one man dead on either side and the rebels were ultimately victorious. The rebels included Santiago Arguello, Jose Maria Avila, Jose Antonio Carillo, Andres Ybarra, Jose Lopez, and Pio Pico along with many other Los Angeles leaders. Victoria led a force from Monterey to stop the insurrection in Los Angeles with the two armies clashing in the Cahuenga Pass. Jose Antonio Carrillo was killed in the battle and Governor Manuel Victoria was severely wounded but ultimately survived and was sent into exile.

After Governor Manuel Victoria went into exile, the secularization of the mission system of California appeared imminent. Governor José Figueroa, who took office in

[327] Robert Aiken, "The Spanish Missions of Alta California, Rise, Decline, and Restoration." Pioneer America 15.1 (1983): 3-19.

1833, tried to keep the mission system intact but after the Mexican Congress passed *An Act for the Secularization of the Missions of California* on August 17, 1833, he took action to start the secularization procession. In 1833, Figueroa replaced the Spanish-born Franciscan fathers of all the settlements north of Mission San Antonio de Padua with Mexican-born Franciscan priests from the College of Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

In the early years of Mexican Independence, the powerful leadership and popularity of the Liberals and liberal thought meant that there was a growing possibility of the secularization of the numerous missions across the nation. There were a great deal of rumors that circulated about the missions and their relationship with the indigenous people, as the Liberals were concerned about the welfare of the indigenous people and were vocal in their criticisms of the power of the Catholic Church. Foreigners were also deeply critical of the frontier priests who they described as hypocritical, often drunk, prone to gambling, and indulgent in their sexual relations.[328]

Teresa de la Guerra drew on her own memories of the years of the years that she lived in both Monterey and Santa Barbara, where she witnessed the religious work of Narciso Duran, a Spanish Franciscan friar and missionary who served at Mission San Jose until 1833 and then moved to Mission Santa Barbara until his death in 1846. She recalled:

> I have heard many people ascribe a thousand denigrating epithets to the Reverend Fathers without being aware of how things were done in the past. May God forgive them. Those people who dislike the ministers of the altar neither know what they are saying nor what they are talking about. If they had witnessed, as I did, the Fathers' day-to-day acts of self-denial; if they had seen them, half sick, ride into the countryside on bad horses equipped with poor saddles, traveling league after league on bad roads in search of a sick or wounded person; if they had seen Reverend Father Narciso Durán, as I did, with his head uncovered and barefoot, teach the Indians how to cultivate the lands with wooden tools, or Father Sánchez instruct the neophytes in

[328] David Weber, "Failure of the Frontier Institution: The Secular Church in the Borderlands under Independent Mexico, 1821-1846." The Western Historical Quarterly 12, no. 2(1981): 125-143.

> the art of pruning the vineyard or some other hard work, I am certain they would set aside their criticism."[329]

In attacking the erasure of the California mission fathers, the Californio women inverted the discourse of civilization. Rather than argue that the conquest of California through military warfare was the most civilized, the women asserted that work of the priests with the Indians was a true measure of civilization. Rather than highlight the work of the Americans, they argue that the Americans encountered a world that was clearly already civilized and the difficult work of creating a thriving civilization had been done.

Teresa de la Guerra, described Father Ripoll, the head priest at the Santa Bárbara mission as a man who cared deeply for his Indian subjects despite their rebellion. She described how she had to inform Father Ripoll after the uprising that some Indians have been killed, "I left feeling heartbroken for having given him news that saddened him so much."[330] The selflessness of Father Ripoll was made apparent by his interest loss of Indian life. Exhorting her own community of Californios, Teresa de la Guerra argued, "I am confident that no one of my race who has witnessed the conduct of those worthy ministers of God would fail to recognize that civilization is indebted to them for the progress that has been made in this, my native land."[331]

During the Spanish period, the Franciscans priests had believed that forcing Native Americans to work for the missions amounted to more than producing good and food but also that it was critical for their lives. Labor, for the Franciscans was the pathway that

[329] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 56-57.
[330] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 55.
[331] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 58.

would lead the Native Americans out of savagery and into civilization. It added to the Catholic catechisms and doctrines a regimented approach to life that they believed the Native Americans lacked an approach to work that was necessary. Thus, the Franciscans created a work and Church schedule that created in their minds, a means to achieve civilization.[332] This was a significant part of the rhetoric that was revisited in the nineteenth century when citizenship was discussed in both the United States and Mexico. It became clear that the Californios, like the Mexicans, would draw on their past experiences of the Spanish past as well as connect these ideas to more contemporary ideas to create a new plan for the Native California Indians.

After clearly demarcating the line between themselves as civilized and the indigenous people who were not missionized as uncivilized, the Californios turned to the task of rehabilitating the image of the California missions and the Indians, "Those were the dangerous times that put the resolve of the Fathers' souls to the test."[333]

Among the Californios and many Europeans, the term "civilization" was largely invoked by middle- and upper-class white men to maintain their class, gender, and racial authority. While it was a strong argument that was used to construct male dominance it was difficult for white elite men to fully control. Any number of people and groups challenged white male dominance to use the term "civilization" and others began to use the term for their own points of view. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, feminists and African-Americans used the term to challenge white male dominance and instead demanding gender and racial equality, respectively. Thus, the term civilization

[332] Steven Hackel, "Land, labor, and production: the colonial economy of Spanish and Mexican California." *California History* 76, no. 2/3 (1997): 123.
[333] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 58.

was particularly a crucially invoked term in the discursive public sphere —*that Californianas also employed*— because it could be used to legitimize different types of claims to power.[334]

Maria Angustías de la Guerra Ord, Teresa's sister agreed, remembering Father Ripoll of Mission Santa Barbara, describing him as having "loved his neophytes like a loving mother."[335] These ideas of the better era having existed under the Catholic Church had been on the upswing since the Mexican-American War in which Mexico faced an intellectual and ideological reckoning of its ideas about liberalism. Many liberal thinkers in Mexico began to rethink past ideas, revisiting the sharp division between the pro-Spanish royalists and the pro-Indian republicans of the Mexican independence movement. Many in Mexico and in California, began to view their time under a colony as a kind of happy childhood under Spain's maternal care.[336] Viewing Spain as the Motherland, at least symbolically or religiously, they also viewed their own particular Latin American nations as daughters of Spain, although they spoke about themselves as "sons or grandsons" of the conquistadors.[337]

Clearly frustrated with public rumors about the lives and history of the Catholic priests at the missions, de la Guerra pointedly explains, "the Fathers only sought to dedicate themselves to the noble work of attracting souls to the bosom of the Apostolic Catholic religion. This, without exception, was the conduct of the missionary Fathers in Alta California from June 3, 1770, until 1833."[338]

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[334] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 23.
[335] Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview," 207.
[336] Earle, *Return of the native*, Kindle Edition, ch. 3.
[337] Earle, Return of the native, Kindle Edition, ch. 3
[338] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," Beebe 58.

According to Angustias de la Guerra Ord, the rumors that circulated in the pre-secularization period were openly critical of the Dominican missionary fathers who controlled the missions. "Some people have stated that when the missionary Fathers sensed that the secularization of the missions was imminent, they decided to sell off as much of the cattle as they could before the secularization actually happened."[339] She contends that it was a false story that circulated and instead had "been told to tarnish the good name of these Fathers." Instead, she suggested that the Catholic fathers were, "living examples of virtue and devoted their lives to the well-being of their neophytes."[340]

Ultimately, the Californio women pointed to the hard work done by the California Catholic priests in their creation of the California Indian missions and their domination of the Indians. "When the foreigners came here, they found the land free of its primitive ways because the Indians had already disappeared. In addition, the indomitable missionary had explored the forests, rivers, plains, and hills, always placing himself first in harm's way."[341] "And after victory, he would spurn not only the material benefits his role in the triumph could bring him, but also the gratitude of those were by his side in this conquest."[342] Carrillo suggests not that the Indians disappeared but their "primitive ways" and points instead to the civilizing missions that the fathers were able to enact in California.The Californios were critical of American shifts that they believed usurped the land, the past, and the memories of the California Indians and the Catholic missions. One Californio woman, Josefa Carrillo was particularly disturbed with the American practice of renaming regions, cities, towns, and bodies of water in the post-American period.

[339] Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview," 233.
[340] Angustias de la Guerra, "Interview," 234.
[341] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 58.
[342] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 58.

While this was a common practice for anyone buying land to rename the location as they chose, Josefa Carrillo was disturbed for two reasons, that the Americans did so, "without permission from anyone" and because she contended that the Americans made name changes when they, "did not have the right to baptize anyone."[343]

Josefa Carrillo explained to the historians Bancroft, Cerruti, and Savage the situation of the naming of San Quentin, California. San Quentin, the two claimed had been named Quintin after a Native California Indian. Josefa Carrillo was born to a military family that had been a part of the Spanish colonial frontier as early as the late eighteenth century. Her grandmother, Maria Feliciana Arballo had been a member of the 1775 Anza expedition and her family lived in the San Diego area. In 1829, Josefa attempted to marry the American, Henry Fitch in a wedding that became contested because of the intervention of the Governor José María Echeandía, forcing them to marry in Valparaíso, Chile. After their marriage complexities were resolved in 1833, Henry Fitch became a Mexican citizen and the couple settled in San Diego and Josefa gave birth twelve times despite Henry's life at sea. After her husband's death, Josefa Carrillo struggled to keep her land grants and her store, eventually losing most of it and settling on the small Rancho Satiyomi in Healdsburg, California.[344]

She was horrified by the small river in Napa County that had been previously named Rio Putoy by both "Californios and the Indians", had been transformed by the Americans into the "Rio de los Putos", with the word *puto* meaning prostitute in Spanish, this was a particularly shocking change for the Californios. In addition to the obviously problematic translations, Josefa Carrillo seems to be suggesting that names had to be

[343] Josefa Carrillo, "Interview," 78.
[344] Josefa Carrillo, "Interview," 69-76.

agreed upon by those inhabited the region rather than simply based on the owner of a piece of land. This is an understanding of property and liberalism that was rooted in unique perspective from the Americans. The iconography of nineteenth century independence was rooted in the iconographic practices of colonialism, like the act of naming land and topography. Just as Mexican Independence gave way to American conquest, the new act of naming land was a critical point rather than a silly note about the poor Spanish skills of the Americans. The fact that the women were the ones who pointed to this critical aspect of naming highlights the relationship between and the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, who they deemed to be those able to name or baptize land. Secondly, ascribing the act of naming to the indigenous people who lived there was also a part of the Mexican liberalism of the nineteenth century that rooted independence and the right to rule of the criollos in the symbolism of the indigenous past.

In addition to the idea that naming practices had to be agreed upon, Josefa Carrillo points to the idea of land naming things that were named as saints, like San and Santo, that this work needed to be done by religious figures rather than simply a random property owner. She explains how there was a place named Point Quintin, "which was named for an Indian who was more of a demon than a saint, [but] was later renamed "San Quentin" by the Americans. They had no right to do this. They believe they know it all."[345] When Josefa Carrillo described her sense of horror at the new names the Americans were giving to places in California such as San Quentin. Josefa Carrillo described the American's as "people who did not have the right to baptize anyone."[346]

[345] Josefa Carrillo, "Interview," 78.
[346] Josefa Carrillo, "Interview," 78.

By the 1870s, the idea of Indian land had largely been lost to the lore of American history with western expansion and the Dawes Act and yet, despite her argument that the Indians were students and the Catholic fathers were teachers, Teresa de la Guerra does draw on Mexican liberal ideas about land, "the missionaries had a difficult and delicate assignment, yet they showed abundant proof that their skill in managing the Indians' property went hand in hand with their exemplary Christian faith. They kept the interests of their pupils at heart."[347] She names the land of the California missions as Indian lands and draws on the liberal sensibilities that indigenous people could be tutored as students to be land owners and citizens of their new nation.

Fictionalized Memories: Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton

These squatters and the settlers who hoped to gain access to Californio lands and became the bane of the existence of the Californios who were barely able to hold on to their land under the *1851 Land Commission.* The writings of the Californios reflect this frustration as they ruminate upon the White Americans and label them as squatters with a pejorative understanding of the word and an explicit frustration. She criticized what she saw as the problems of liberalism, writing, "whenever you take up government land, yes, you are 'settlers,' but not when you locate claims on land belonging to anyone else. In that case, you must accept the epithet of 'Squatter.'" While Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton suggests that squatting is not necessary, "I am afraid I shall never be able to see the necessity of any one being a squatter in this blessed country of plentiful broad acres," she is critical of the political values of the country that cannot seem to stop the squatting.

[347] Teresa de la Guerra, "Interview," 57.

She explains that there is a great deal of land, "which a most liberal government gives away for the asking," suggesting that one of the main aspects of liberal American values is the power of free land but is frustrated that nonetheless, Americans want the lands of the Californios.[348]

The second half of the 19th century was a time of anti-land monopolism and the impact directly affected American political culture. Many Americans held to the belief that the small landowner was critical to U.S. democracy and that the government should protect them from landholding monopolies or anyone of land privilege. Just as western public lands were being distributed by the federal government, many of the small independent landowners became growingly concerned that speculators and large landowners would create monopolies.[349]

The taking of land in a westward expansion was at the core of American identity in the 19th century as a place to settle families and build agricultural farms. There were distinct obstacles for the yeoman farmer of pre-Antebellum America, including the removal of Native American, the rise of speculators hoping to spur capitalist development, and the economic entanglements necessary to borrow money and take out mortgages to create improvements upon their farms.[350] Many hopeful American settlers found themselves facing off against land speculators during the 1850s. While the post-Market Revolution period of the 1850s was a time of prosperity and rising profits for the farmers who were now part of the commercial economy, the wealth was not evenly

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[348] Both of these points are made by Mrs. Mary Moreanu Darrell in her debate with her husband over his life as a squatter.
[349] Tamara Venit Sheldon, "A More Loyal, Union Loving People Can Nowhere be Found": Squatters' Rights, Secession Anxiety, and the 1861 "Settlers' War" in San Jose." *Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 41, No. 4(Winter 2010): 473-494.
[350] Sean Wilentz, "Society, Politics, and the Market Revolution, 1815-1848," edited by Eric Foner in The New American History, (Philadephia: Temple University Press 1997), 65.

distributed and a growing population of people became squatters or agricultural wage laborers.[351]

The Preemption Act of 1841, permitted individuals to occupy land before it was surveyed, legalizing squatting on any land that was unoccupied and creating a shelter, fence, or other improvement, and file a preemption claim with the nearest land office. After fourteen months, the squatter had the right of first purchase before a public auction where he could be outbid. Preemption required only small initial costs for a filing fee and improvements and a squatter could earn an income from working the land without paying property taxes until after he fulfilled the occupancy requirement.[352]

There was also a particularly 19th century racial element that believed Anglo-Saxon's to be the best equipped at handling land and creating democracy. Americans believed that the Mexican system and European systems were not compatible with the American system because they were not truly republican but rather based in peonage and feudalism, respectively.[353] Particularly in the 1850s, the American public was particularly forgiving of squatters' actions especially as they faced Mexican and European land grants.[354]

The squatters during the 1861 Settlers' War with Antonio Chabolla did not reference him in particular nor his racial background but focused on the historical language of squatters' rights, speaking of him as a "speculator, a monopolist, and a "land-shark"."[355] Squatters' rights also included the language of a "higher law" and even

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[351] Wilentz, *Society*, 66.
[352] Shelton, Tamara Venit. *Squatter's Republic*, Vol. 7. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 476.
[353] Shelton, *Squatter's Republic*, 478.
[354] Shelton, *Squatter's Republic*, 481.
[355] Shelton, *Squatter's Republic*, 487.

explicitly connecting squatters with American democracy by the creation of a Declaration of Settlers' Rights" in 1861.[356] But as the impending Civil War news spread to California, the public opinions began to turn against the squatters as they became increasingly identified with secessionists.[357]

Squatters were also characterized as being responsible for the killing of large quantities of the Californios' cattle in order to plant grain and other products for commercial sale. But squatters were not the only ones to blame. Ruiz de Burton also points to the California State Legislature in their unwillingness to protect the rights of the Californios in an 1872 law. She argues that the law is a serious problem because it is not "necessary that the occupant should have a good title. All that was required seemed to be that he should claim to be an occupant of land, no matter who was the owner."[358] In effect, the 1872 California law allowed rights to squatters and created an opening for squatters to kill cattle that was found grazing upon their land.

Repeated throughout the writings of the Californios is a hatred of the squatters as a cultural and leveling force rather than as mere usurpers. The squatters are depicted as descending from the lowest classes of white American society and as acting inappropriately to the station in life they have gained as newfound landowners. The Californios disparage the cultural practices of the squatters, using vernacular language to mimic their speech in a disparaging manner. The squatters who are taking the lands are described quite often in terms of their appearances. Their appearances are associated with animals and using popular notions of working-class features. Their physical

[356] Shelton, *Squatter's Republic*, 488.
[357] Shelton, *Squatter's Republic,* 489.
[358] Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton, *The Squatter and the Don*. (Arte Público Press, 1997): 77.

appearances are described as having a "broad, [and]vulgar face…with its square jaws, gray beard, closely clipped by never shaved," in the writings of Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton.[359] Their class status is present from their genetic markers to the manner in which they care for their personal grooming, which appears to be outside the parameters of acceptable Californio hygiene.

In her novels, Ruiz de Burton clearly distinguishes the Californios as white via their own use and understanding of the term. She shows this through the character of Lola in *Who Would Have Thought It*? because she is described as having white skin, class status, and a refined culture. While these were central to californio understandings of whiteness they were something that needed to be displayed to the White Americans who were not fully grasping the complex meanings of Latin American whiteness.

After the Panic of 1837 led to the collapse of the developing trade union, many of the nation's union organizers turned towards land reform as a means to solve the problems of the workers. Union activists advocated land reform as a way to solve the problems of nativism and growing class divisions through various union newspapers throughout the 1840s. The efforts of the organizers led to the development of a National Reform Association which drew on Thomas Jefferson's agrarian principles and a number of other agrarian reformers and theorists.[360] The National Reform Association believed in four basic principles, one which pertained directly to the *Californios,* that "that limits should be set on the amount of land that anyone could acquire."[361]

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[359] Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton, *The Squatter and the Don*. (Arte Público Press, 1997): 69.
[360] Streeby, *American sensations*, 166.
[361] Streeby. *American Sensations*, 166.

Conclusion

The Californio women were part of a broader Catholic movement of charities in California that connected elite women, the Catholic Church, and the indigent. The impact of liberalism on the Californio women and the Catholic Church caused a realignment rather than a negation of religious values. Californio women as part of Catholic charities worked with other Christian charities to improve the lives of the poor through money raising and orphanage creating.

Despite the changes in their fortunes and the limited power of the Catholic Church in California, the Californio women stitched together and new kind of liberalism that drew on societal progress mixed with finding the good in the past. The Californio women sought out the particularities of the California Spanish missions as an era with saintly men and docile Indians hoping to rebuild in an era of bitter violence and increasing American power.

The Californios highlighted the harmony of the 1700s and early 1800s, reminding the public and the Bancroft book society that the Spanish era had been filled with strict hierarchy and a liberal spirit of goodliness and sacrifice. Rooting liberalism in the Catholic past, the Californio staked their claim of a religious past and future. In contrast to the Californio men who had respect for the Catholic mission fathers but also had serious criticisms, the Californio women were completely supportive of the mission past.

Chapter 5: California Was Created By "Cunning, Hard Fighting, and Diplomacy": Liberalism and Californio Masculinity in Historical Memory

The Californios wanted to be recognized for their impact on the state, especially during the 1870s when historical literature and California pioneer societies were being created to memorialize early California. The Californios suggested through their writings the ways in which they chose to be recognized, highlighting in particular their relationship to the Native California Indians and as beacons of early liberal republicans. The Californios expressed these two factors in tightly intertwined ways, often suggesting their own liberal republicanism as a sign of their civility and their superiority to Native California Indians. But this approach to their own memory also created a space for the California Indians that was rapidly disappearing in California.

Like their female counterparts, the Californio men were interested in exploring the past in an effort to discuss their own present and future. Like the Californio women, the men had their own ideals of liberal republicanism that pivoted around gendered values of warfare, patriarchy, and spatial domination. As they struggled to maintain a foothold in a rapidly changing society in California in the 1870s, the Californios lost political power but gained popularity and suggested a way forward for the state.

The Challenges of Liberalism

During the post-Mexican-American War period, Mexico underwent a series of struggles over the best route to democracy and stability as a nation. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Mexicans struggled to make sense of their loss to the United States and to

rebuild the new nation with an underlying ideology of liberalism that focused on national unity.[362] National unity became a priority in the post-Mexican-American War period as Mexico struggled to consider their failures, losing a large piece of their land and facing the flourishing behemoth that was the United States.

While the legacy of liberalism was certainly present throughout Latin America, the continuum of liberal thought among the people of Mexico and the borderlands meant continued struggles to enact liberalism in their local environments. In Mexico, politicos and everyday people worked to create policies to enact their liberal values.[363] The sweep of Mexican liberalism in the public imagination faced a great deal of challenges as political winds shifted and new attacks on Mexican sovereignty developed in the 1860s and 1870s. The belief in the value and power of liberalism was still widespread in the years of the French threats against the Mexican Republic but the years that followed were rife with a Mexican intellectual populace that begun to question the failures of liberalism and turn towards a newly constrained type of liberal thought that curtailed the rights of man. As many in Latin America became embittered towards the rapid changes that they believed were caused by the new liberal and republican values and the politicians who embodied these values, a backlash ensued.

Mexico was also swept by multiple civil wars during the 1860s when the Mexican intellectual and political world became concerned that democracy was unattainable in the country. Mexico also faced the onslaught of European imperialism when, in 1861, Napoleon III of France invaded the Mexican Republic and installed Ferdinand Maximilian, a native Austrian as the Emperor of Mexico. While Emperor

[362] Hale, *Crisis in Mexican Thought*, 116.
[363] Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, 3.

Maximilian proved to be interested in spreading a new kind of monarchically-driven liberalism, he had few supporters beyond the Mexican monarchists. In fact, in 1859, Mexican monarchists like Jose Pablo Martinez del Rio had approached Ferdinand Maximilian to be the emperor because he was part of the Hapsburg family who had ruled the Viceroyalty of New Spain from its establishment until the Spanish throne was inherited by Bourbons in the early eighteenth century. Not only did this make Ferdinand Maximilian a genuine royal heir but he was also symbolic of a return to the Spanish colonial past and a sense of the kind of stability that monarchists cherished.

The fall of the French Second Empire in Europe in 1870, preceded by the execution of Maximilian in Mexico in 1867 implied a defeat of the monarchists who wanted to challenge the liberal fervor of independent Mexico. Discredited for their support of outsiders and a monarchy, the Mexican public viewed those who supported Maximilian traitors to Mexican national sovereignty.

This created an opening for Benito Juarez, the noted Mexican president to return who has come to embody liberal ideals but has been shown to be part of a broader legacy of liberalism in Mexico.(explain the debate here) In practical terms, Juarez was able to implement the Reform Laws of 1855 to 1863, such as the nationalization of Church property, separation of Church and state, secularization of society, the sale of corporate property. While there has been a substantial amount of debate among scholars about the identification of these specific Reform Laws and the ideals of liberalism, recent scholarship has suggested the Mexican liberalism was increasingly concerned with stability in order to maintain national sovereignty, another key component of

liberalism.[364] By the time of the Reform era in the 1860s, as a political group, the Liberals had institutionalized a secular Mexican identity that was such a direct challenge to the Hispanic Catholic society of Mexico that a new Catholic nationalism boomed.[365] Many of the cultural and political values of the counter-revolutionary era survived Mexican independence and led to the formation of a Mexican conservative position in opposition to the Mexican Liberal party.[366]

During the 1860s, the struggles over the best way to approach democracy were being fought in public discourse and on the battlefields but by the 1870s, the concepts of republicanism and liberalism waned in the political cultures of Latin America and the terms would lose their power as well as many of the subalterns or non-elites would lose their rights.[367] There was a growing frustration with the value of liberalism and its ability to take proper hold in Latin America. By the 1870s, Mexico had undergone a number of skirmishes and the Reform War in order to decide the fate of the new political liberalism in their nation. Mexico was not alone in its struggle over the meaning of liberalism in people's lives and the nation, as the United States also struggled to make sense of liberalism as well. The civil wars that rocked a number of liberal democracies during the nineteenth century were emblematic of the struggles that nations faced to implement and stand by liberalism.

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[364] Gabriel L. Negretto and José Antonio Aguilar Rivera. "Rethinking the legacy of the liberal state in Latin America: The cases of Argentina (1853–1916) and Mexico (1857–1910)." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, no. 2 (2000): 377.

[365] In 1857, popular resistance across the small towns of center-north-western Mexico fiercely resisted the Constitution of 1857, which omitted exclusive establishment of the Catholic religion. See Hamnett, *Mexico's Royalist Coalition*, 55.

[366] Brian R. Hamnett, "Mexico's Royalist Coalition: The Response to Revolution 1808-1821. Journal of Latin American Studies, Vol. 12, No. 1 (May, 1980): 55.

[367] James E. Sanders. "Atlantic Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century Colombia: Spanish America's Challenge to the Contours of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Mar., 2009): 145.

In Mexico, during the 1870s, a growing body of leaders began to show an interest again in their Iberian heritage after having only focused on either their Aztec heritage or their Mexican Independence heroes in the era after independence. Mexican leaders of many political stripes began to incorporate into the national ideology a support for "modern" rather than "conquest-era" Spain, situating Independence into a larger history rather than as a beginning point, and a lessening of criticism towards Spain in general. A festival in 1874 passed in Mexico without anyone shouting "death" to Spain.[368] This created an opening in the political culture that allowed for a reassessment of what had been known after Mexican Independence as Spanish loyalty, a problematic and unworthy topic for many. But by the 1870s, new openings suggested a chance to revisit the older Spanish regime with the new political values of liberalism and republicanism.

Affected by the Mexican Reform War and political movement of the 1860s and 1870s, the Californios had begun to approach liberalism differently, reflecting the shifts that were taking place across the world and manifesting in Latin America as a shift away from a broad popular sovereignty, a new approach towards Native Indians, and a shift towards a particularly Mexican style democracy with an updated constitution. Mexican scientific politics of the 1880s meant that many people changed their outlook on ideas about suffrage, moving away from popular sovereignty as proclaimed by the Constitution of 1857 towards scientific politics and restricted suffrage was a natural.[369] The newspaper of the *cientificos, La Libertad* argued that universal suffrage had destroyed Mexico rather than leading the nation towards democracy. The *cientifico* leaders and the writers in *La Libertad* argued that the masses were lacking the educational tools to avoid

[368]Earle, *Return of the native*, 797-800.
[369] Hale, *The transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth Century Mexico*, 54.

being manipulated by politicians. With that in mind, the *cientificos* began to plan for an overhaul of Mexican society by installing a national educational system that would create the type of citizens who could not be manipulated and instead would lead Mexico into democracy's embrace.[370]

In California, the Californios had little control over the educational system but they were deeply concerned about universal suffrage and the lack of education of the Native California Indians. Among the Californio men, there was a growing discussion about the role of the Native California Indians as servants who lacked and needed an education. In addition, the Californios began to engage their vision of Mexican liberalism towards the creation of a national liberalism that had swept the world. They became more focused on reconciling with the Americans and joining the nation. As I examined in the last chapter, these localized liberalisms among the Californios had a gendered component and the men were focused on these two issues with some attention to the role of institutions under modern liberalism.

The Language of Reconciliation and Administration

The Californios were part of two societies who were undergoing a process of reconciliation in the late 1860s. In both Mexico and the United States, the major objectives of the leading administrations and society during the late 1860s was to politically and socially reconcile after years of warfare. The Americans and Mexicans had both been transformed by civil wars and hoped to reconcile after the American Civil

[370] Hale, *The transformation*, 54.

War and the Reform War, respectively. Both nations underwent political reconciliations with broad amnesties laws for the losing parties as a method of creating a true nation.[371]

While the Californios were located in the West, the broad reach of the Southern interpretation of the Civil War and the American conversations about reconciliation were part of the national conversation, explaining why Californios were interested in such a conversation. Much of these sympathetic ideas and values were not only in the realm of politics but went far beyond into the world of culture and was debated in various public spaces such as museums, memorials, and social clubs.[372] The Californios sought their own reconciliation conversation, explaining to the Americans how they had achieved peace during their leadership in the region, and suggesting a needed reconciliation due to the past conflict of the Bear Flag Revolt.[373] During this period of Reconstruction, the language of reunification after the American Civil War focused on the terms of reunion and reconciliation, with reunion signifying the political and logistical acts and reconciliation speaking to the emotional acts of forgiveness on both sides, with the latter being of greatest interest to the Californios,.[374]

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[371]Hale, Charles A. *The transformation of liberalism in late nineteenth-century Mexico*. Vol. 158, (Princeton University Press, 2014), 9.

[372] For a greater discussion of the discussions of reconciliation between the American North and South please see David Blight, Race and Reunion, Nina Silber, the Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900(Chapel Hill: University of California Press, 1993); Heather Cox Richardson, The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001)

[373]López, MK. *Chicano Nations: The Hemispheric Origins of Mexican American Literature*, (NYU Press), 2011, 61.

[374] Janney, Caroline E. *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*, (UNC Press Books, 2013), 5-6. Please see Janney for a discussion of the ideology of reconciliation and how it was shaped in numerous ways across the nation as each region and numerous different immigrants, citizens, and everyday people drew on the concepts where they lived. Scholars have suggested that the post-Civil War notion of reconciliation between the two parts of the nation began in the depictions of Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. In the North, leaders and civilians left open the opportunity for the South to find meaning and honor in continually remembering the war, thus suggesting that the Civil War would not be quickly forgotten and reunion and reconciliation would continue as the *lingua franca* for at least the entire end of the nineteenth century.

National reconciliation was a significant part of societal conversations in both nations and Mariano Vallejo addressed the issue his writings as he considered it significant to the health of the nation. Mariano Vallejo hoped to promote a forward-looking agenda despite his continued frustration with past events against the Californios.[375] A kind of "progress" was at the cornerstone of the reconciliation project that both animated and frustrated the Californios and was at the center of the cleavage between those who wanted reconciliation and those who did not.

Writing stories was a common practice for developing a path towards reconciliation in the new nations that were struggling with civil wars in the nineteenth century. In Latin America, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of numerous civil wars as well as Americans interventions and in addition to political reconciliation, many nations experienced literary approaches to national reconciliation. As Doris Sommers has explored in her work on Latin American novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, novels about romance and intermarriage among previously warring factions were a way for the nations to provide examples of "reconciliations and amalgamations" so that countries could rebuild.[376] Latin America, struggling through both civil wars and outside interventions from the U.S. and Europe looked to novels to guide the nation's reconciliation attempts. In California, a number of Californios including Mariano Vallejo drew on the tradition of literary reconciliations in

[375] Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 6.
[376] Please see MK Lopez challenges the idea that Vallejo's approach to his land and his creating of space in his text is purely nostalgic, a challenge to Rosaura Sanchez' work, suggests Vallejo's ideas are rooted in a tradition of viewing the Americas as a work in progress. Sánchez, Rosaura. *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios*. U of Minnesota Press, 1995. For a discussion of these ideas of land and space in the Latin American context, please see Doris Sommer's work, *Foundational fictions: The national romances of Latin America*. Vol. 8. (Univ of California Press, 1991), Kindle Edition, Part I.

his memoirs as did other Californios, hoping to both tell their own stories and to help the U.S. progress through reconciliation.

The language of "progress and advancement" hit key notes of Mexican liberal thought as well as his overall hope for national unity. Having witnessed the American Civil War and having pushed for both a liberal agenda and joining the United States, Mariano Vallejo sees the future progress of the U.S. rooted in reconciliation. Vallejo explained his desire to avoid further warfare or animosity between the Californios and the Americans, "I am very far from harboring any such thought[of warfare], for ever since Alta California became a part of the great federation of the United States of America, I have spared no effort to establish upon a solid and enduring basis those sentiments of union and concord which are so indispensable for the progress and advancement of all who dwell in my native land."

Mariano Vallejo's desire for reconciliation meant that he also wanted the American public to understand and accept his version of past events over other versions being discussed in popular media. He was perturbed when he read Franklin Tuthill's book, *History of California*(1868) and found that the narrative did not conform to his knowledge of the events of the Bear Flag Revolt, a seemingly small skirmish in the much larger and more catastrophic Mexican-American War.

Considering that the Californios were largely absolved from fighting in the Mexican-American War except for the very early months due to a non-binding peace treaty between Californios and Mexicans, the Bear Flag Revolt was likely an important event for the Californios. Mariano Vallejo, upon reading the argued that Tuthill book, argued that the author had largely sided with the Americans and left the Californios in the

position of looking weak and at fault. He suggested that Franklin Tuthill had invented an event in which the leader of the Bear Flag Revolt, Captain John C. Fremont's captured nine cannons from the Californio, Joaquin de la Torre. He reported also that his own home was "assaulted" and that the men "appropriated to themselves two hundred fifty muskets and nine cannon." Mariano Vallejo instead labeled the men as "guerillas" and as acting in a "vandal-like manner."

Instead, Vallejo suggested that the author should have "devoted a few lines to describing the manner in which the soldiers of the Bear Flag Revolt acted poorly towards the Californios and outside of the realms of proper warfare. He described how the Bear Flag soldiers sacked the Olompalí Rancho which was in Northern California and owned at the time by the Coast Miwok Camilo Ynitia after it had been granted to him by the Mexican governor Manuel Micheltorena in 1834. According to Vallejo, the Bear Flag soldiers, "maltreated the eighty year old Damaso Rodriguez…whom they beat so badly as to cause his death in the presence of his daughters and granddaughters."[377] Frustrated with the national excitement over the heroes of the Bear Flag revolt, Vallejo sought to rewrite the narrative, remembering the fallen Californios and challenging the American narrative of successful domination.

Mariano Vallejo also complicated the American literary narratives by arguing that the Bear Flag Revolt soldiers had not been acting as Americans but rather more like soldiers of fortune. He explained that the Californio rancheros/ranchers would have been much less fearful and worried by the actions of the Bear Flag Party members if there had not been rumors circulating. "As the rumor had been spread far and wide that Ide and his

[377] Vallejo, Guadalupe. "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California." *The Century Magazine* 41, no. 2 (December 1890): 1-18, Volume 5.

associated had raised the bear flag in order to enjoy complete liberty and not be obliged to render any account of their activities to any civilized governments," Vallejo explained. Situating the Bear Flag soldiers like William B. Ide, the captain as usurpers of both liberal democracy and as traitors to the American nation, Mariano Vallejo positioned the Californios as the true American patriots.

Vallejo contrasted the un-American behavior of the Bear Flag soldiers with the Californios and their dedication to American liberal democracy. He explained his belief that the Californio ranchers, "would have remained unperturbed should the American flag have been run up in Sonoma and who would have considered it as the harbinger of a period of progress and enlightenment," if only the Americans had done so. [378] Clearly, Mariano Vallejo wanted to share his willingness to build a relationship with the United States and the positive terms of "progress and enlightenment" highlight this point.

The Frank Tuthill book, *The History of California* was not the first book to deal with the Bear Flag Revolt which explains perhaps the reasons for Mariano Vallejo's urgency in addressing the memories of the Bear Flag Revolt.[379] A number of participants in the Bear Flag Revolt and their associates began writing and crafting a legend of the Bear flag Revolt that depicted the bravery of the American settlers in the face of an oppressive Mexican government. Works focusing on the legend such as John C. Fremont's father in law Thomas Hart Benton who wrote about the event in 1846 and

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[378] Vallejo, "Ranch," 126.

[379] Novels about the U.S.-Mexican War proliferated after the Civil War as writers wrote stories of the Gold Rush, the Alamo, and many other topics as the American Southwest and the West had become distinct locations in the American imagination. Local tales written by pioneers, Gold Rush 49ers, and other popular tales were written about pioneers, outlaws, Apache wars, the defending of the Alamo, and most focused entirely on Anglo-Americans as the protagonists. The presentation of history was often a contested terrain of various claims between groups and people.

again in his work *Thirty Years View* when he expanded further on Fremont's bravery.[380] John C. Fremont's correspondence to his father-in-law Benton was published in 1846 and 1847 as well as his testimony provided at the Congressional Claims Committee during his court martial in 1848 also involved the expanded legend.[381]

While some of the other members of the Bear Flag Revolt went on to become ordinary citizens after the U.S. took over and ended the regime of the short-lived republic, many joined the California Volunteers, marched into Monterey, and acted as military occupiers during the Mexican-American War.[382] Additional later memoirs and published histories during the last part of the nineteenth century by a number of key Californios legends would add fuel to the legendary fire of the Bear Flag Revolt well into the twentieth century.

In historical literature concerning the U.S. and their treatment of the Californios, as early as the Gold Rush of 1848, the Americans had been critical of Spain and Mexico's presence in California and depicted them as lazy and incapable of creating a center of world commerce in the way the Americans had. When Americans discovered gold, California rose to the center of the world economy so suddenly and without much precedent that many began to enshrine the failure of the Spanish and Mexican past into historical writings.[383] For example, the American Alfred Robinson, author of *Life in California*(1846) and the Englishman Sir George Simpson both wrote about California

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[380] John A. Hawgood, "John C. Fremont and the Bear Flag Revolution: A REAPPRAISAL", Southern California Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 2(June 1962), 82.
[381] See John Hawgood discussion of John A. Hussey's The Bear Flag Revolt, 1941, pg. 305 in which the focus is on John C. Fremont's published correspondence in Ohio newspapers.
[382] Hawgood, "John C. Fremont and the Bear Flag Revolution: A REAPPRAISAL", 82.
[383] Steven W. Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California." *California History*, Vol. 76, No. 2/3, Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush. (Summer – Fall, 1997), 111.

and disparaged the Californios who lived there as lazy, vice-ridden, and uncivilized.[384] The author Richard Henry Dana in *Two Years before the Mast* concluded that the California would be in much better hands if the Americans took control away from the immoral and extravagant Californios.[385]

The Americans in general were remembered fondly by the Californios unless they had particularly slighted them or acted in a manner the Californios disagreed with. There was a general disliking of John C. Fremont. "The soldiers who came ashore behaved very well. But the riffraff who came later with Captain Fremont acted more like thieves than soldiers. Captain Fremont never appeared before us – the enemy. However, his men stole horses, saddles, aguardiente, and anything else they could lay their hands on."[386] In his *Recuerdos*, Mariano Vallejo seems particularly interested in rebuilding relationships, touching on reconciliations that he witnessed during his lifetime despite other points of anger and frustration.

Having lived as a young man through two international transitions from Spain to Mexico and from Mexico to the United States, as well as numerous internal conflict and

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[384] Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production," 137.

[385] Douglas Monroy, "The Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society," California History 76, no. 2/3 (1997): 174. In the 1850s and throughout most of the 1860s, Mariano Vallejo was involved in political life in the United States, advocating for the Californios and engaging in both state and nation building. Suddenly, in the 1870s, Vallejo changed his approach and wrote about himself as a vanquished subject of the American war machine. In the field of literature, scholars have debated the basis for Mariano Vallejo's work, *Historical and Personal Memoirs Relating to Alta California*(*Recuerdos Historicos y Personales Tocantes a la Alta California).* Literature scholar Rosaura Sanchez argues in *Telling Identities* that Vallejo was nostalgically recreating an imaginary space, a prototype for the future Chicano Aztlan that would be created in the 1960s. In contrast, more recent scholarship, Kristin Gruesz-Silva and Marisa Lopez, suggests that Mariano Vallejo's work was part of a broader set of writings of Latinos in the United States prior to the 20th century..[385] Lopez argues in *Chicano Nations: The Hemispheric Origins of Mexican-American Literature*, that Mariano Vallejo's work was part of a broader tradition in the Americas, living at a global crossroads that by the 1870s was not exclusively Mexican nor isolated from the broader Latin American and U.S. worlds.[385]

[386]Dorotea Valdez, "Interview," in *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*, ed. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Berkeley: Heydey Books, 2006), 40-41.

struggles with indigenous people, Mariano Vallejo wanted a role in the re-ordering and rebuilding of the nation. Mariano Vallejo explained his significance in his memoirs, "if…I succeed in being a witness to a reconciliation between victor and vanquished, conquerors and conquered, I shall die with the conviction of not having striven in vain."[387] Writing in the 1870s, his words mirror the conversations during Reconstruction of the national reconciliation efforts and yet, he continues in his writings to focus not on the Civil War but on the Californios as the vanquished and conquered who needed to be more closely bonded to the U.S.

A Gendered Liberalism and a Broad Reconciliation: Californios and Natives

Key to the argument of the Californios about their abilities to create a liberal republic in the early years of California, before the arrival of the Americans, was in their ability to militarily subdue the California Indians. Salvador Vallejo suggests that not only did his brother, Mariano Vallejo subdue the California Indians but he created towns, beacons of civilization, "if you stop to consider that fifty years ago this same town of Sonoma…was a frontier town surrounded by swarms of Indians, more numerous than the locusts of Egypt, and only through cunning, hard fighting, and diplomacy M.G. Vallejo succeeded in getting a permanent foothold in the valley of Sonoma."[388] Referring to the valley of Sonoma and the fighting of fifty years prior, Salvador Vallejo was referring to the military force created under Ensign Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo in 1829 of one

[387] Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, translated by Earl R. Hewitt, *Historical and Personal Memoirs Relating to Alta California* [*Recuerdos históricos y personales tocante a la alta California* (1875)], Vol. 5: 128.
[388] Salvador Vallejo, Memoir, *Notas Históricas sobre California, 1874*, in *Nineteenth century Californio testimonials*, ed. Rosaura Sanchez, Beatrice Pita, and Bárbara Reyes (UCSD Ethnic Studies/Third World Studies, 1994), 93.

hundred and fifty soldiers, of which one third of them were Native California Indians. This force under both Mariano Vallejo and the Native California Indian Marcelo was created to attack Estanislao, a notorious horse thief who led the Lakisamnes. While the Mexican and California Indian army were successful in their effort to stop Estanislao, who secretly returned to Mission San José and asked Father Duran, the head priest of the mission for a pardon, Vallejo was hardly alone in his efforts.[389]

The retelling of this story by Salvador Vallejo both negates the efforts of the Native California Indians who were fighting against the Lakisamnes and Estanislao for their own reasons and turned them into bothersome insects. The words of S. Vallejo, "Sonoma was a frontier town surrounded by swarms of Indians, more numerous than the locusts of Egypt," recounts the Biblical story of Exodus in which God sends ten plagues to the Egyptians to force them to allow the Israelites to depart from slavery. In this way, the California Indians, both allies and enemies become otherized as Indians and ultimately as pestilence that the Californios were able to overcome.

Another approach that the Californios used to display their civility and their domination of the California Indians was by revisiting their relationship with the Indians in the early Mexican period and adding a classical antiquities approach to it. Showing a classical education was a critical part of proving a modicum of civility in the nineteenth century and across the new nations of the Americas and drawing on both biblical and the classical world were a way to prove this. Just as in the United States where the use of classical culture in American politics is popularly studied, Mexico drew on the classical world to discuss their own changing political ideas and as a possible reflection of their

[389] Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 44.

own dedication to a classical education. Americans drew on the classical world to discuss their own contemporary ideas of freedom during the American Revolution and in the post-war period, Americans looked to the ancient republics for examples of success. Most importantly, the American emphasis on the classical tradition seemed to Americans to suggest that the United States was the "modern heir of the ancient republics, an idea that found widespread expression in published orations, debates, and political pamphlets."[390]

The Americans were not alone in looking towards the classical world for guidance and support for their own revolutionary pathways during the nineteenth century and Latin America also drew on the Greek and Roman examples. Invoking Greece and Rome and comparing them to the historical figures of indigenous past was common throughout Latin America in the early years of fighting for independence and in the early years after gaining it as a way to signal that there would be a new formation of an American tradition that would be on par with the European tradition. The new Latin American countries needed a past history by describing their own unique indigenous people as being equal to the Roman and Greek heroes classical antiquity that provided Europe with a long history. Across the political spectrum, Mexican leaders and thinkers compared the achievements of the Aztecs and other indigenous people with those of the ancient Greeks and Romans hoping to create homegrown examples of prosperous and impressive empires.[391]

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[390]Miles, Edwin A. "The Young American Nation and the Classical World," *Journal of the History of Ideas*(1974): 262.
[391]Earle, *The Return of the Native,* Kindle Edition, Ch. 4.

Among the Californios in the 1870s, the invoking of the ancient Romans and Greeks continued to be popular but their own desire for a patriotic history had changed. The Californios viewed themselves as the descendants of such classical heroes rather than the Pre-Columbian peoples, transforming liberalism in the process. Salvador Vallejo recalled how his brother, Mariano Vallejo, had created a space for the Californios in Sonoma during the early periods of conquest in the 1820s by "following the astute policy of the ancient Romans, who created dissensions among the neighbors for the purpose of afterwards being called to act as mediators."[392] According to American revolutionary leaders, Rome was considered the successful example of a republic of humble beginnings which became a powerful model in comparison to the Greeks who feel into disarray, which is perhaps why S. Vallejo mentions them in particular.[393]

Later historians have suggested that Mariano Vallejo was one of a number of American, Mexican, and European men who used this 'divide and conquer' method of making alliances with one group of Indians to combat another. But as scholars have also pointed out, Native California Indians were also part of these alliances and had their own reasons for making particular relationships. [394]

Under the Spanish, the Spanish Californios had developed the missions in in the coastal areas and after infectious diseases decimated much of the mission Indian population, the missionaries began to search for Indians in the interior areas. The Native California Indians focused their relationship with the Spanish missions in the pre-

[392] Salvador Vallejo, *Notas Históricos*, 93.
[393] Edwin A. Miles, "The Young American Nation and the Classical World," J*ournal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 35, No. 2(Apr.-Jun., 1974): 263.
[394] James. A. Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769-1848." *California History*, Vol. 76, No. 2/3, Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush (Summer-Fall, 1997), 217.

Mexican period on stealing and eating the mission livestock as well as stealing horses for both food, carrying their burdens, and hunting.[395]

In remaking the Mexican ideals of a long-lasting liberal democracy from the pre-Columbian past to the Mexican nineteenth century in their own image, the Californios wrote the Native California Indians entirely out of the national imaginary. Instead, the California Indians had not been involved in the process of creating the nation and thus, had little opportunity to be part of the nation moving forward. Instead, the California Indians had a place in the 1870s as the servants of the Californios.

The Californios were making ideological arguments of the future they wanted to see. A theme that appeared among the Californios was a return to a time when Native Americans were friendly towards them. José Manuel Salvador Vallejo reminisced in 1874 about the past relationship with Native California Indians, "our friendly Indians were missed very much, for they tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheared our sheep, cut our lumber, built our houses, paddled our boats, made tiles for our homes, ground our grain, killed our cattle and dressed their hides for market, and made our burnt bricks, while the Indian women made excellent servants, took care of our children, and made every one of our meals."[396] But life had changed from the pre-American period and Salvador Vallejo reminisced about a time that had long passed.

Writing in the 1870s, Salvador Vallejo had witnessed the most brutal era of the killing and abuse of Native California Indians, the beginning of the Mexican-American War to roughly the end of the American Civil War. In this period, non-Indians killed somewhere between 9,492 to 16,094 California Indians according to accounts from

[395] Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 34-35.
[396] Salvador Vallejo, *Notas históricas*.

perpetrators, bystanders, survivors, and secondary sources and was a period of diseases, incarceration, murder, and intentional massacres.[397]

By the 1870s, the lives of the California Indians had been altered significantly by the Emancipation Proclamation, given by Abraham Lincoln on January 1st, 1863. The proclamation, meant for freeing slaves in the rebel states meant that all of the Native California Indian indentured servitude and legal custodianship that had begun with California state legislative acts of 1850 and 1860 had to end, signed into law on April 27th by Governor Stanford. While this did allow for the continued leasing of Indian prisoners and the illegal slave raiding to continue, it did lay the foundations for a greater weakening of California Indian servitude with the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 and the Fourteenth Amendment in 1867.[398]

In Mexico, situating the Indian people of Mexico at the roots of creole nationalism and identity meant that the Indian people were not to be destroyed or ignored."[399] Instead, the Mexican public obsessively wrung their hands over the problems and complexities of the Indian past and present. They did not ignore the work done by the California Indians nor did they ignore the intricate relationships that developed between themselves and the Indians.

Through their discussions of the past, the Californio men described their relationship between themselves and the California Indians as a clear example of hierarchies that were well understood, "the Indians knew that our superior education gave

[397] Madley, Benjamin. *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe*. (New Haven: Yale University Press),12-13.
[398] Madley, Benjamin. *An American Genocide,* 332-333.
[399] Earle. *The Return of the Native.* Kindle Edition. Ch. 2.

us the right to command and rule over them."[400] Yet, the writings of the Californios faced a unique situation compared to their less frontier savvy fellow Mexicans by engaging more directly with Native people who continued to exist and because they were part of the United States. The Californios remembered the past and celebrated the past but the indigenous people of the post-Mexican independence people were still alive and were actively discussed. Rather than depict the Native Americans as long dead communities to celebrate, the Californios depicted California Indians as active agents in California. They did not see them as equals but they did legitimately discuss them as a part of California's history and as agents of their own destiny.

Despite the Californios attitudes towards California Indian significance in creating the nation, the Californios did support the creation of Native California Indian spaces as significant monuments to the past and as monuments to past heroes. During the early rush for gold in California, the new Americans made it very clear that they did not recognize any sense of history in California. While the Spanish Californios had created Catholic missions, the Mexican Californios created individual ranches and towns, and the Native California Indians had created numerous sites of meaning such as Chaw'se, a massive grinding rock that held memories of many centuries, the incoming forty-niners largely ignored them.[401] But the Californios did hope to maintain at least a measure of the California Indian past or at least suggest to the Americans that the Californios were not the only ones who had ever lived in California.

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[400] Salvador Vallejo, *Notas históricas*.
[401] David Glassberg, *Making Places in California: The Place of the Past in American Life*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 170.

Across California, the 1870s and the 1880s were a time of remembering the historical events of the recent past as the children of the early forty-niners began to circulate stories of the Gold Rush and California pioneer association were created.[402] Popular literature flourished in the 1870s with famous writers, especially Mark Twain and Bret Harte memorializing key locations of the Gold Rush in the public imagination for those had left the area and those who never been to California. The creation of the History of California, by the aforementioned Hubert Howe Bancroft in his collected "Dictations" from California pioneers set the standard for historical memory and the Californios refused to be ignored by these growing literary memories.[403] The fact that H.H. Bancroft wanted to interview the Californios as well as the California pioneers suggested that the Spanish and Mexican past were indeed as valuable and equally significant as the Gold Rush stories.

The Californio men such as Mariano Vallejo took a different approach than the Californio women, suggesting that the Americans had every right to change place names in California. Mariano Vallejo, like the women, told the story about San Quentin, but with a different response to the Americans renaming the specific site as well as other places in California. Mariano Vallejo argued that the naming practice of the Americans was based on a misunderstanding of Spanish and Californio traditions, but it was the right of the Americans to do so. Remembering the events that led to the naming of San Quentin, Vallejo explained that the Americans viewed the Catholic presence in the region and began extra pre-fixes to names that they assumed were saints names, such as adding

[402] Glassberg, *Making Places in California,* 172.
[403] Glassberg, *Making Places in California,* 173.

"san" or "santa" when it was not actually a saint.[404] Vallejo laughed off the ideas of the name being originally San Quentin and instead reminded the historians of the Native California Indian presence and how the place gained its name.

The Californios were referring to the location that had allegedly been the site of a battle in 1824 in which Lieutenant Ignacio Martínez and Alferez Jose Sanchez with their Mexican troops and the troops of Chologones and Bolgones went looking for a fugitive named Chief Marin were they instead encountered Chief Quintín who was a sub-lieutenant of Chief Marin and who was hiding in the islands off the coast of San Rafael. When Chief Marin was finally captured as well, Mariano Vallejo claimed that the Mexican Californios named both the islands and the point after the two men, the Marin Islands and Quintín Point. Perhaps Mariano Vallejo, in arguing that "it was reserved to the Americans to change the name of this place," reflected earlier Spanish tradition that naming practices belonged to the conqueror or possessor of a region.[405]

The Californio Family as the Basis for Society Not the Church

Remembering the period after Mexican independence, there were complaints about the shifting values and lifestyles among the Californios. People ruminated on the reasons for these social shifts and usually valorized the pre-Mexican period. For example, the men and women were remembered by the men for their virtuousness in the pre-Mexican period with women being remembered for, "their good conduct and their filial love for their husbands, children, and siblings. They were virtuous, industrious, and

[404] Mariano Vallejo, *Historical and Personal Memoirs*, Vol. I: 148-190.
[405] Mariano Vallejo, *Historical and Personal Memoirs,* Vol. I: 148-190.

always devoted to their family obligations, which they never neglected."[406] The men were remembered as equally virtuous but with gendered associations of goodness, "there was no prostitution, drunkenness, addition to gambling, or family abandonment. Respect for parents and authority went unquestioned and it did not end even when the children got married, even after they themselves became mothers and fathers."[407] The chain of authority was a topic that was mentioned by the Californios as highly established until 1830, whether it was through the military or in society by the family and the Catholic Church.

After Mexican independence, there was a great deal of discussion among the Californio men and women about the reasons for societal shifts. Jose Amador suggests that the reasons for these tragic changes was that, "society became more lenient due to the greater contact with outsiders and a greater ease in acquiring resources; the political uprisings led to an even greater introduction of bad habits."[408] In other parts of his writings, Jose Amador speaks well of immigrants at an individual level but in this part, he suggests that these broader social shifts brought great problems among the Californios, the kinds of vices that he mentioned above.

Californios and Native California Indians

After discussing the Californio reconciliation with the Americans, Mariano Vallejo explores the reconciliation between the Californios and the Native California Indians by looking into their history together in the nineteenth century. While Mariano

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[406] Amador, José María, and Lorenzo Asisara. *Californio Voices: The Oral Memoirs of José María Amador and Lorenzo Asisara; Translated and Edited by Gregorio Mora-Torres*, (No. 3. University of North Texas Press, 2005), 218-219.
[407] Amador and Asisara, *Californio Voices,* 219.
[408] Amador and Asisara, *Californio Voices*, 219.

Vallejo draws on military battles to show Californio skills and prowess, he is careful to suggest that the California Indians and Californios often joined together after struggling against each other. He suggested the potential for peace and prosperity after years of warfare and political struggles.

Mariano Vallejo explores is between the Spanish loyalists and the Mexican independence republicans. He tells the story of the 1815 arrival in Monterey of the loyalist Governor Solá from Mexico and explores the rising tension in Alta California. From 1810 to 1820(exact dates?), Mexico was undergoing tension and warfare as struggles for independence continued sporadically throughout the nation. While the northern part of the territory of the Spanish crown was largely exempt from the fighting that occurred throughout the Mexican territory, they were not above the political tensions.[409] He explores the ball that was in Solá's honor despite the political tension, highlighting the social event as the reconciliation between opposing forces.[410]

The second reconciliation and discussion about conquest Mariano Vallejo raises is in his discussion about place naming in California. Vallejo discusses another series of conflicts in the military conflict between the Licatiut Indians and the Californios that ultimately blocked Californio settlement. Vallejo shares the story of Quintín, a lieutenant of chief Marín of the Licatiut who was successful in attacking the Californios. After one such battle between the Spanish colonial military in the area and Quintín's forces, the Californios began calling the location of the battle Punta de Quintín. Despite the Californio's losses to the Licatiut, Vallejo suggests that instead of angry or animosity in

[409] Interestingly, Mariano Vallejo was born in 1807 and would have been 8 years old. But the critical part of the story is not the veracity of his memory but that his memory of the events was a focus on reconciliation.
[410]Mariano Vallejo, 95, 130.

the memory of an event from close to sixty years earlier, he recalls the reconciliation created by the naming of the location, after Quintín, the victor.

Despite living under the American flag, the Californios confronted similar questions as their Latin American family members as they contended with living in a post-colonial society. The frontier zones of the Spanish empire and the Mexican nation that comprised California was riddled with debates about the role of the Catholic Church and the Catholic missionary past and their relationship to the newly "equal" California Indians. Californio women, both elite, middle-class, and poor redesigned Mexican liberalism to confront the American realities they had found themselves in by the 1870s.

After working with Hubert Howe Bancroft and disgusted by written histories he found disagreeable, Mariano Vallejo decided to write the history of California.[411] Bancroft had convinced Vallejo to write his own recollections. Mariano Vallejo, one of the only Californios to publish his own works, began working on a history of the Californios that was lost when his home in Sonoma, Casa Grande burned down in 1867. He lost over 900 pages of his manuscript. He finally completed his five-volume *Historical and Personal Memories Relating to Alta California* in 1875.[412]

During the 1870s, Californios began writing and telling their stories and locating the California Bear Flag Revolt as the subject of their ire. Because oral histories often tell us more about the interviewed people's beliefs and fantasies about what they wanted to do rather than what actually occurred, we must bear in mind that the texts were written in the 1870s. These oral sources provide significant insight into the psychological costs

[411] Lopez, *Chicano Nations*, 17.
[412] Hicks, Jack, James D. Houston, Al Young, and Maxine Hong Kingston, eds. *The Literature of California: Native American beginnings to 1945* (Vol. 1. University of California Press, 2000), 123.

for the Californios to become part of the United States.[413] Historically speaking, the Bear Flag Revolt was insignificant militarily or politically but the revolt nonetheless held special meaning for the Californios. The Californios suggested that the Americans who had been involved in the Bear Flag revolt were dishonorable and that the best approach to rebuilding the relationship between the Americans and the Californios was to revisit the past.

The events of the 1850s and 1860s had perhaps affected the recollections of the Californios who had become more forceful in their condemnations of the Americans and American historical record. This may have occurred for a number of reasons as oral history research suggests that narrators change over time and stop being the person that took part in the distant events that they are relating later.[414] In addition to ageing, the narrator's life also changes as they gain or lose social standing or economic condition, as was the case for many Californios who lost prestige and wealth.[415] By the 1870s, the Californios had been severely altered by the local economy, natural disasters, and the divisiveness of Civil War politics.[416]

Remembering the Spanish Past: A Nostalgic Story For the Future

By 1881, the topic of White American violence against Native California Indians and Native Americans in general took a more serious turn with the publication of two books which changed the national conversation. In 1880, Former US Indian Affairs

[413] Portelli, Alessandro. "The peculiarities of oral history." In *History workshop journal*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 96-107, (Oxford University Press, 1981), 100.
[414] Portelli, "The peculiarities of oral history," 102.
[415] Portelli, "The peculiarities of oral history," 102.
[416] Woolsey, Ronald C. "Rites of Passage? Anglo and Mexican-American Contrasts in a Time of Change: Los Angeles, 1860-1870." *Southern California Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (1987): 88.

commissioner George Maypenny released the first American book on the history of American and English(pre-American) extermination of Native Americans and in 1881, Helen Hunt Jackson published the atrocities and massacres of California Indians in her book, A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes. These two books set the tone for a long-standing debate concerning the exact reasons for these atrocities and massacres by Americans. In response, the Californios harkened back to their pre-American period suggesting an alternative to the large scale genocide that characterized the forty years of American rule in California by 1890.

Writing in 1890, Guadalupe Vallejo reminded the American public in an English-language essay in an California published journal that the pre-American period had been a utopian world. "It seems to me that there never was a more peaceful or happy people on the face of the earth than the Spanish, Mexican, and Indian population of Alta California before the American conquest…[W]e often talk together of the days when a few hundred large Spanish ranches and Mission tracts occupied the whole country from the Pacific to the San Joaquin." While it is unclear exactly which period Guadalupe Vallejo is referring to as he mixes together the Spanish and Mexican populations and the ranches and missions together, he does suggest that their world was an example of the kind of a utopian liberalism that eschewed colonial institutions without leading to chaos. This type of liberalism was never possible in the Mexican or national context of any kind in which nations had to replace and endow new institutions with power and legitimacy that often became problematic for new reasons. Instead, Guadalupe Vallejo endows the people with power and legitimacy.

Recognizing that even in the 1890s there was a need for a reaffirmation of the loyalty of the Californios, Guadalupe Vallejo contends that, "no class of American citizens is more loyal than the Spanish Californians," but he does want to remind the American public of the Californios triumphs. "But we shall always be especially proud of the traditions and memories of the long pastoral age before 1840," Guadalupe Vallejo writes, "indeed our social life still tends to keep alive a spirit of love for the simple, homely, outdoor life of our Spanish ancestors on this coast."[417]

The remembrances of Salvador Vallejo(as he was known) reflect the kind of negotiation that characterized the local liberalisms of the Mexican period. But more importantly, Salvador Vallejo suggested that these negotiations between the Native California Indians and the Californios were a time in which both of their lives were "as happy days the good ole times in which men, women, and children untrammeled by etiquette were free to roam at will through hills and plains."[418]

Jose Maria Amador, for example, an 83 year old man at the time, remembered the era of Manuel Victoria, the governor at the time, who had come to California with the goal of ending the secularization of the missions. He distinctly remembered that Governor Manuel Victoria intended to suspend the secularization of the California missions because he "did not have the orders from the government to carry it out." Amador remembered Victoria explaining to him, "when the Indians were emancipated, the lands and the other resources would be distributed to them. He felt that with the way

[417] Vallejo, Guadalupe. "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California." The Century Magazine 41, no. 2 (December 1890): 1-18.
[418]Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days," 98.

his predecessor had implemented it[secularization], the neophytes would not get anything."[419]

Mr. Amador recalled a story that he told Governor Victoria about the mission Fathers Luis Martinez and Tapis in San Luis Obispo. He rather pointedly criticized the mission fathers in his remembrance;

> There is no doubt that the missionary priests did not tolerate anyone else possessing property; they would claim all the property as belonging to the missions. They would claim that every mission ended where another began. This situation exasperated Californios, who desired to implant a new regime.[420]

Amador had few kind words concerning the mission priests, largely emphasizing their desire to control the land. Amador also suggests that his reasons for criticizing the missions rested on his political principles. Clearly the Californio men did mourn the end of the California missions, as Amador explained, the rich missions that were admired all over the world lost their wealth as if by magic."[421] Yet their emphasis was on the battle over the mission land that ensued and how it was inequitably divided. Amador suggested that those won had used shady methods, "neither they, nor their descendants enjoyed their ill-gotten gains for very long. Almost all of them are living in poverty and some of them are indigent."[422]

Conclusion

The Californios were in a difficult position both racially and economically, as their power and influence waned as did their numerical superiority. By the 1870s, the

[419] Amador, *Californio Voices,* 151.
[420] Amador, *Californio Voices*, 153.
[421] Amador, *Californio Voices*, 171.
[422] Amador, Californio Voices, 171.

United States was trying to overcome the economic and political difficulties and uncertainties of the Reconstruction years.[423] Racial violence against African-Americans had exploded by the 1870s across the nation, and in California, there were mob attacks against the Chinese population.[424] Of particular note was the racially motivated 1871 Chinese Massacre in Los Angeles, in which white rioters attacked, tortured, and murdered 17-20 Chinese immigrants. While union may have been saved was saved the Democrats and Republicans(who had called themselves Unionists during the Civil War) began to splinter severely, which greatly affected the racial politics of the post-Civil War era.[425] In California, a number of Californios were also increasingly frustrated with the perceived failures of liberalism as they believed that the liberalism had helped them lose control of their own country and created serious problems for themselves and those that they viewed as their subordinates. Having become a part of the United States, the Californios also had to contend with the nations' unique heritage of liberal ideas and values.

Almost simultaneously with Mexico, the United States was undergoing its own process of making sense of liberalism in a young and rapidly transforming nation. Having lived through the American Civil War(1861-1865), American society began to force a consolidation of a society that expected free people to function as citizens while holding people of color outside of the bounds of free people and thus, citizens. This was

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[423] Rydell, Robert. *All the world's a fair: Visions of empire at American international expositions, 1876-1916* (University of Chicago Press, 2013).
[424] Lopez, *Chicano Nations,* 15.
[425] *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction,* 213. When the Democrats won the California legislature in 1869, the Legislature rejected the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, the laws of Radical Reconstruction meant to ensure equal protection for African-Americans became a sore spot in California over Chinese immigration. The Fifteenth Amendment meant that California could not discriminate against the Chinese directly.

particularly critical when the Californios began to discuss with the Americans, the role of Native Americans in the future of the nation.

As the nineteenth-century national economy of the United States became increasingly industrialized it became further enclosed because the territory of production was the source of livelihoods and of state power although it depended on markets outside of the nation.[426] This new nation, based on an increasingly industrialized economy was characterized by the consolidation of a fragmented society into a more uniform one. In order to enforce this consolidation of society, the idea circulated that any kind of authority of one person over another challenged the new democratic order, such as slavery.[427]

As in Mexico, the experience of the Californios in the 1870s shows that there was never one clear Mexican liberalism while they did share common tenets of new ways of thinking about the mutual obligations of states and citizens, directly challenging colonial institutions, rejected Spanish associations and institutions, and a desire to establish limits to the government's sphere of activity. In California, the Mexican Californios had a decreasing role in the political world although their cultural significance grew in the 1870s as Americans looked towards the past. The Californios were able to write their memoirs and fictions and in doing so they were able to suggest their own adaptations of Mexican liberalism.

At the local level of California, the Californios ultimately tried to work with both the California Indians and the Americans as well as other Europeans to create a memory of the past that promoted their own approach. The Californios wanted to be remembered

[426] Bender, *A Nation Among Nations*, 151.
[427] Bender, *A Nation Among Nations,* 151-152.

as the classical heroes of the Roman and Greek worlds in their triumphs over the California Indians but also by their eventual control over a Native population as servants. The 1870s were a time when the Americans triumphed ultimately over the Californios and the California Indians by their acts of genocide and their consolidated power after the American Civil War.

In the period after California became a free state in the U.S., between the Gold Rush and the Civil War period, the Indian slave trade flourished. In 1850, the California the state legislature passed the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, an act that created a legal system of unfree Native American labor, although the trafficking itself was illegal.[428] The law, enacted by the first state legislature in April 1850 regulated the employment of Native Americans by whites and aimed to control the mobility of free labor and allowed for Native Americans to be leased or ensnared into debt peonage and Indian children could be turned into "apprentices".[429] Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, as scholars have shown, the illegal slave trade of Native Americans proliferated in California with only minimal efforts to curb it by law enforcement. By the 1860s, the outbreak of the Civil War and the Republican party in both state and national politics created an environment that aimed to reform California's illicit human trafficking of Native California Indians. In 1863, following Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the California legislature abolished all forms of Indian slavery, that was often described as indentured servitude or apprenticeship.[430] Thus, by the 1870s, the Native California Indian slave trade had largely collapsed under the weight of new

[428] Magliari, *Bound Indian Labor in California*, 156.
[429] Magliari, *Bound Indian Labor in California*, 157.
[430] Magliari, *Bound Indian Labor in California*,190.

immigrant communities of the Chinese and European as well as the horrifying decline in the Native Indian population due to smallpox and other diseases.[431]

The 1870s brought large-scale white American migration to California with the completion of the railroad to the rest of the nation. The new American migrants demanded land from both the Californios and the California Indians and quickly found that many of the landowners did not hold the kind of land titles that would be legal in American courts. If the Californios or the California Indians did not hold proper American titles, the vast number of squatters made it difficult for the owners to hold onto their land as well as the widespread drought in southern California transformed the region and its people.

[431] Magliari, *Bound Indian Labor in California*, 191.

Conclusion

How the Californios moved from the realm of Mexican and Latin American ideology and intellectual traditions to engaging with American politics is at the core of this dissertation. The Californios did not lose their attention to the issues in Latin American or in their own communities and they drew on the Mexican Liberal and Conservative identities that flourished in the nineteenth century.

In exploring the intellectual lives of the Californios, I drew on the approach of Charles A. Hale, an intellectual historian of nineteenth century Mexico who approached his work by using sources that are "conventional and traditional."[432] Similarly, I examine the writings of the intellectuals among the Californios who had newspapers, were involved in legislation, and political debates inside and outside of government. As Hale suggests, the point for intellectual historians is not to find previously unexamined materials but rather to look anew at the sources and re-examine the assumptions previously held by scholars. He suggests an approach by the early historian A.O. Lovejoy of the intellectual historians work to separate and examine the rhetoric of a political program to find the broader value systems that were built in Latin America and based on trends of international political thought.[433]

In Europe and around the world, the international liberal movement spread through books and newspapers during the 1820s.[434] The Californios had been deeply impacted by the powerful liberal movements that had swept through Spanish California,

[432] Hale, Charles. Ideology Article. Pg. 61.
[433] Hale, Charles. Pg. 62.
[434] Rosenblatt, 74-75.

prior to independence, and as the nation moved forward towards the hope of democracy in 1821. Like the rest of Latin America, not all were interested in the liberalism of independence against the Spanish monarchy but all had been impacted by the arguments and ideas of liberalism at the core of the efforts for nationhood that had emanated from the French Revolution.

The Californios initially were included in the American nation both as political leaders of their particular communities and as legacies of Spanish colonial power. They were able to take part in the California State Constitutional Convention and they had a voice in the creation of the state. The Californios began their political lives trained in various strands of Latin American liberalism in which they had considered the issues of race and citizenship and they brought this to the American conversation about the same subject. Ultimately, the Californios lacked the political power to produce changes in the American society that fundamentally abused and murdered the California Indians after the Mexican-American War. Despite this, the Californios created a legacy of intellectual work that transformed Mexican liberalism into their own brand of localized liberalism for Californios to develop for local issues of race, equality, citizenship, American culture, gender, immigration, and religion.

Historians have long been interested in understanding why democracies have been transformed to authoritarian regimes. Many historians in the last fifty years have examined Mexico, hoping to understand the reasons for its failures as a democracy and have returned to earlier historical periods to make sense of its problems. Charles A. Hale wrote in the 1980s about Mexican liberalism, seeking answers in the nineteenth century and the first Mexican turn towards authoritarianism after becoming a nation, the regime

of Porfirio Diaz. The Diaz regime, also known as the *Porfiriato*, according to Hale was undergirded by a new type of liberalism that challenged the older model and was constructed on more scientific principles but with an emphasis on practical constitutional reform, reforming the constitution to suit their realities.[435] This analysis of the Mexican situation is at the core of my story about the shifting liberalism of the Californios who redefined their own liberalism to suit the realities they encountered in the United States.

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As the nineteenth century progressed, the Californios became involved in the political life of American California and broadened their political perspective beyond Native California Indian rights, bringing Mexican liberalism to a number of social issues. The Californios were involved in public political life in the form of local newspapers in

[435]Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, 245-246.

Southern and Northern California and engaged with the Latin American community in California about issues they all faced. In addition, the Californios developed their own perspective on the political issues of the 1850s, an era of increasing political turmoil. The Californios revealed their complex relationship to American political parties and ideas by engaging with each other in the public sphere and debating how Mexican liberalism should be understand by all.

Contending with the uniquely California and American trends of the 1850s and the divisive 1860s, the Californios connected their own world to the ensuing chaos of the American Civil War. The intellectual leaders among the Californios joined the two main political parties that thrived in the U.S. in the late 1850s. The Californios debated the main themes that mattered to their unique status in the U.S. and they criticized and praised the American values they supported. Overall, the Californios made sense of the pre-Civil War split through their own intellectual lens that was rooted in the Hispanic Enlightenment and the Mexican civil wars and intellectual splits of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, the Californios were a small group of people with a small voice in the broader thought of both Mexico and the U.S., but their perspective offers a transnational perspective to two countries struggling with civil wars.

The post-Civil War period was a calmer period after the strife and warfare of the 1860s. The Californios were part of the national project of reconciliation under Reconstruction and wrote their own histories and told their own stories in an attempt to transform California. The Californios were also increasingly being studied by the Americans as a source of California history and as a living memory of the Spanish period. In writing and telling their stories, the Californios were able to revisit their past

and suggest their frustrations with the ideals of liberalism that had swept Latin America in the nineteenth century.

Epilogue

In the post-Civil War period, the Californios became increasingly popular as the subject of California history and landscape throughout the United States. The entire nation was engaged in what would later be named the California "Spanish Fantasy Heritage" in which Americans depicted Californios as white and as directly descended from the Spaniards who had once held the land of California. By being written as Spaniards, the Californios were depicted as the first civilizers of the American West by taming the California Indians at the California missions. By canonizing the fathers of the California Mission system, idealizing the rancho society, and glamorizing the "Spanish señoritas," Americans could fondly remember a pre-modern past while celebrating their triumph over the less civilized Spaniards in their conquest of the West.

The California missions of the Spanish period and the very beginning of the Mexican period, has been largely colored by waves of sentiment in each generation, because they were extremely political and contentious subjects. As historian James J. Rawls has explored, the California missions have become both a symbol and a myth. By the 1870s, American groups fascination with the California missions, hoped to rebuild them and revive their popularity, ending their association as sites of Native American abuse.

At the center of the public discourse about the Spanish Fantasy Past was a novel published in 1884, which catapulted the Californios to the American national stage and laid the foundations for California tourism. The story of Ramona and the Californios captured the national imagination when Helen Hunt Jackson published her work, Ramona. As tourist brochures and numerous stories about Ramona proliferated,

American readers devoured the Californio past and created a public discourse about Californio culture and identity.

In the period following the publication of Ramona, a bevy of American writers, boosters, and tourists decided to directly speak to the Californios. There was an interest among the average American tourist, as Dydia Delyser has shown, in visiting the sites of "old California" to encounter living Californios. American historian Hubert Howe Bancroft also engaged the Californios when his hired interviewers visited the homes of Californios hoping to gather their historical documents and testimonials of California's past. The Californios wrote letters and engaged the American public in letters to newspapers, writers, and interviewees as they joined the public discourse of the Spanish Fantasy Past.

By the turn of the century, *Ramona's* impact was widely felt throughout the American consciousness and the California landscape. California boosters had spread images of Ramona in promotional literature intending to attract new settlers to the region beginning with the Southern Pacific Railroad first reaching the region in 1876 and peaking in 1887, but still continuing to flourish until the 1890s. The boosters were predominately railroad companies, citrus farmers, tourist promoters, and real estate firms focused on turning the region from a small Californio town to a productive and accessible housing mecca for Americans. All four of these areas of promoters drew on the images from the Ramona novel, selling Southern California as a romantic land of Spanish descendants, missions, and the home of Ramona.

The Southern California boosters did more than describe and explode the story of the Spanish past but they also ascribed a realness to the story by living and breathing the popular forms of the Spanish past. Colonel Harrison Otis, for example, the owner of the Los Angeles Times and a Los Angeles booster joined with his wife in promoting and enjoying the story of the Spanish past in their daily lives. They lived in a Mission Revival-style mansion, Eliza Otis organized the city's Spanish-obsessed *Fiesta Parade*, and Colonel Otis joined the advisory board for the Landmarks Club, which was founded to preserve the old missions and the "Spanish" past. As a leader in the community and as head of the major newspaper of Los Angeles, Otis and his family were part of the creation of the Spanish Fantasy Past, shaping the debate that was taking place and was a much more powerful person than any of the Californios would ever be.

With this complexity in mind, the Americans who visited the Californios highlighted specific issues from the Californios ideologies and even created their own aspects. While Helen Hunt Jackson set the stage, it was many other authors who particularly highlighted the idea of the Californios as Spanish. Often this Spanish identity was heavily romanticized and filled with metaphors of the land of Spain and its landscape.

In an 1899 article for *The Overland Monthly*, travel writer Elizabeth Wiseman visits the "charming rancho" Camulos, the officially designated site of the Ramona story.[436] Wiseman visited the region after embarking on a westward

[436] The original publishers, in 1880, started *The Californian* which became *The Overland Monthly* in October 1882. In January 1883, the effort reverted to *The Overland Monthly* (starting again with Volume I,

trip on the Southern Pacific Railroad, the railroad having been completed in 1876. She shares her excitement with the readers about visiting the *true* site of Ramona's life and waxes poetic about the beauty of the people and landscape of Camulos.

As she walks along the dirt path of the famous rancho, Wiseman is drawn to a beautiful rose of "Castilian" heritage and draws a metaphor between the beauty and elegance of the flower to the racial heritage of the Del Valle family who live at Camulos. She proclaims emphatically upon meeting one of the Del Valle daughter's "it was quite evident that she was of Spanish blood; her high-arched eyebrows and splendid, velvety eyes indicated her Castilian lineage; her cheeks were tinged with the color of her own native rose,-the Castilian, deepened in tint with the rich red of the oleander."[437] In Helen Hunt Jackson's work, the Californios were interchangeably mentioned as Spanish and as Mexican, depending on the family lineage. But their Spanish heritage is not a focal point of the novel, unlike these later examinations written by travel writers, novelists, and popular scholars.

Wiseman's story does draw on other similar characteristics of the Californios ideologies and the tale of Helen Hunt Jackson. She highlights the paternalistic connection between the Californios and the Indian population in the description of her visit. After the Señorita Del Valle introduces her to an old Indian man, Wiseman explains in her journal, "As I looked into the gentle old face, I wondered if it were association with these kind-hearted people [the

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number 1). In 1923 the magazine merged with *Out West* to become *Overland Monthly and the Out West magazine*, and ended publication in July 1935.

[437] Wiseman, "Hacienda de *Ramona*." In *The Overland Monthly*, edited by James Howard Bridge. (San Francisco: Overland Monthly Publishing Company, 1899).116.

Californios] that had made so great a change from what one naturally expects to see in the face of the warlike Apaches."[438] The Californios are explained as kind-hearted, in direct contrast to the word "warlike" to explain the California Indians. While it is possible the author did not know the origins of the Native Californians she encountered, her use of the word Apache betrays her sweeping generalization, as the word was often used to describe all Indians. She is commenting that the people have made "so great a change" because they had become the docile servants of the Californios, positing the latter as paternalistic figures.

As a visitor to Camulos, Wiseman attends a lunch with the Del Valle family, the owners of the rancho. She proclaims of her majestic visit, "It was the noon-hour, and as in a dream we saw the Indian men and maid servants going in and out."[439] Wiseman's wistful comments mark a fascination with the pre-American California racial order. By noting that her vision of the Indians as servants is a dream, Wiseman is moving between seeing Camulos as part of the Ramona fiction and having it be her own dream of the future.

In 1914, Carlyle Channing David, the former editor of two Colorado newspapers and the Los Angeles lawyer, William A. Alderson published their own book about the Ramona novel and its aftermath of popularity. They discuss the Indian paternalism trope in their story as well, writing about Antonio and Marianne Coronel, two famous Californios, saying:

> They had been fighting the battles of the Indians
> for many years, in the most practical and helpful way, without the aid

[438] Wiseman, 119.
[439] Wiseman, 113.

> of allies beyond the mountains, without knowledge of the devoted work being done in other portions of the vineyard by the Helen Hunts and their colleagues elsewhere. In the old and happy days of Church domination and priestly rule there had been no "Indian question. " That came only after American " civilization " took from the red men their lands and gave them nothing in return.[440]

The Coronels are depicted as the tireless supporters of Indian rights in the face of the American attitudes and poor treatment of the Indians. Channing and Anderson raise the term "civilization" as a spiteful charge against the Americans who allegedly brought civilization but instead, took away Native American land without monetary compensation or social improvement. Typical of the period and of the Indian rights supporters, Channing and Anderson affectionately look at the Californio eras (both Spanish and Mexican) as a "happy" period for the Indians. Their use of the terms "Church domination" and "priestly rule" belie the unquestioned belief in strong-armed control of Native Californians. This points to the kind of attitudes the Californios presented in their arguments about the religious control of the Indians as a fundamental necessity for creating a racial hierarchy of unequal relations.

The authors had also drawn from the Californio idea of the substitution of Californios in the place of the religious forefathers, as kinder parental figures who negotiated treaties and situations for the California Indians. Channing and Anderson describe,

> These chiefs had come, as so often before, for counsel from Señor and Señora de Coronel. On three distinct occasions had the life of Don Antonio been saved by the timely intercession of Mission Indians. The

440 Channing and Anderson. *The True Story of Ramona: Its Facts and Fictions, Inspiration and Purpose*, 4.

> bond between them was indissoluble. The Don was their " padre, " and Doña Mariana was in their sight little less than a saint.[441]

The trope of religion is especially significant to draw the connection between the mission past of California, the male figure, Antonio Coronel takes the duty of the religious leader as a "father". The woman, Dona Mariana, rather than as a religious leader is instead explained as an icon, with little negotiating power but rather, someone to emulate, like the Catholic saints. Helen Hunt Jackson made the Ramona character especially drawn to saints, carrying a saint with her on her travels and tribulations, and as embodying saintly qualities.

In an excerpt from Carlyle Channing Davis and William Alderson's 1914 work, *The True Story of Ramona: Its Facts and Fictions, Inspiration and Purpose*, a Californiaña Doña Mariana Coronel is interviewed for the book about the story of *Ramona*. Doña Mariana Coronel was the daughter of a Mexican-American mother and a White American father who married the famous Angelino, Antonio Coronel. By the time this book is written, Antonio Coronel had passed away, in 1894 in Los Angeles. Much like the earlier novel Ramona, Mariana Coronel has moved to Mexico to a place where she is able to live a life of pre-industrial labor relations of paternalism. Mariana Coronel writes about Mexico,

> It is a life of ease and contentment. Human labor there is so cheap that one becomes accustomed to constant and perfect service. Where help can be obtained in abundance for ten cents a day there is not much occasion for one to exert himself physically. The peon in Mexico, like the black man in ante-bellum days, is ever at hand to brush off the flies.[442]

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[441] Davis and Anderson, 27.
[442] Davis and Anderson, 169.

The Ramona craze and the growing Spanish Fantasy Heritage popularity immediately touched the lives of the *Californios* when the American tourists began to venture westward and visit their homes. American tourists were swept up in a Ramona vogue as soon as the book was published in 1884. The democratization of railroad ridership, caused by a drop in fares and an expansion of the rail lines made it possible for the wealthy and the middle-classes to travel westward in search of western "experiences". This American craze meant that more and more tourists were visiting the sites of California destinations deemed to coincide with the "real locations and people" of the *Ramona* novel.

The del Valle family who lived on Rancho Camulos, a town about 40 miles north of Los Angeles in Ventura County, felt the *Ramona* popularity almost immediately. In May 1886, Edwards Roberts wrote an article for the San Francisco Chronicle naming the Camulos ranch as the actual site of the *Ramona* novel. Soon after, in 1887 and 1887, respectively, Roberts and then Charles Lummis wrote books connecting Rancho Camulos directly to the novel. Ramona enthusiast quickly inundated the Del Valle family ranch.

The del Valle family became enmeshed in the Spanish fantasy heritage of the novel and the elder son, Reginaldo del Valle wrote to Charles Crocker of the Southern Pacific Railroad requesting a station be built near the Camulos ranch to accommodate the tourists hoping to visit.[443] Reginaldo del Valle and his family never created any kind of marketing scheme for their ranch but they did find themselves losing small pieces of their home as tourists sought *Ramona* "treasures".

[443]Delyser, *Ramona memories,* 75.

In their discussions within the family and with outside visitors, the del Valle's were concerned about the considerable expense of providing meals to tourists without any compensation or revenue stream from tourism. But, they declared their honor to be at stake in showing hospitality to all who visited.[444] By 1896, the family declared, through a newspaper article in the *Ventura Weekly Democrat* their unhappiness with the tourists and effectively shut Rancho Camulos to all visitors. In his letter, Ulipano del Valle, the second son of the family, utilizes the language of thievery in order to show his frustration with the tourists and their attitudes. He describes them as a "lawless mob of marauders of which the malicious behavior of a majority of its members, would degrade professional tramps."[445] While the *Californios* may have been interested in helping Helen Hunt Jackson write their story (and the Indian story), their post-*Ramona* tourist experience would prove a training ground for the future. The Americans would prove to be historical "marauders", often leaving the *Californios* out of the history.

In 1893, the ex-governor of California, Pío Pico was asked to attend by a group of Californians who were creating the state exhibit for the 1893 World's Exhibition in Chicago. *The Morning Call* of San Francisco covered the story but did not name the organization that sought to present a remnant of the romantic side of old California. The article does not fully explain why Pico refused to attend the event although it does allow a series of quotes from Pico himself to more fully explain. The article states that there is merely one reason for Pico being unwilling to attend, "the reason why the old man refused to take the trip is a simple one. He is so proud that he would put the proverbial

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[444] Delyser, *Ramona memories,* 79.

[445] "Unmannerly Tourists. The Home of Ramona Closed to Visitors Because of Their Rudeness and Thievery." *Ventura Weekly Democrat*, 28 February 1896.

old Virginia horse to shame, and he is just as poor." Pico makes a much more pointed claim about his frustrations with both the racialized treatment he has received and the nature of American treatment of Californios. He says, "the first is because I am poor and the second is because I do not intend to go to the show to be one of the animals on exhibit." Yet, the article merely suggests that Pico is refusing the event out of pride and completely ignores the suggestion that he will be viewed as an object for display rather than as a human being. The article instead emphasis how Pio Pico became a poor man, "like a large percentage of his nationality his heart was created first and the rest of the man was built around it in a haphazard style of architecture." Suggesting that Pio Pico and all of the Californios were incredibly generous by nature and that he lost all of his land because he "wanted the whole State for a guest, and it is said by those who ought to know that he would entertain several hundred people at a time."

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Californios are written about in newspapers and interviewed on topics of California history. In some cases, the Californios became objects of fascination or the objects, homes, and buildings they created became popularized in American culture. While the Californios tried to write their own ideas and publicize their history it became absorbed into the frenzy of the Spanish Fantasy Heritage that began after the publication of Helen Hunt Jackson's Ramona. I have looked at the Californios' ideas and intellectual production prior to the strongest period of the Spanish Fantasy Heritage. It is in these spaces of interaction that new projects should be considered.

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