

Seventh Annual
ERNESTO GALARZA
Commemorative Lecture
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Mestizaje:
The Formation of Chicanos

Presented by

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PROFESSOREMERITUS
UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

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PREFACE

Perhaps no scholar contributed more to the development of Chicano studies in the social sciences than Dr. Julian Samora. In February of this year he passed on in Albuquerque, New Mexico. We will all miss his insight, humor, and comraderie. Through his research, publication, teaching, mentoring, and advocacy we have been fortunate to benefit from the historiography, analysis, insight, and clarity that are the hallmarks of so much of his work. His books and essays in the areas of immigration, criminal justice, social mobility, and policy advocacy are required reading, and required thinking, for all those interested in comprehensively understanding the history and current status of people of Mexican origin in the United States.

Not only was Dr. Samora a professor of unparalleled accomplishments in an area of study that was for so long neglected by many social scientists, he was a personal friend of Dr. Ernesto Galarza, with whom he co-authored publications and co-founded important organizations. Along with Mr. Herman Gallegos, our National Advisory Board Chair, Dr. Samora and Dr. Galarza helped found two of the most significant and long-lasting advocacy groups for Chicana/os in the U.S. today: the National Council of La Raza and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. It was with pride, appreciation, and humility that Dr. Samora was invited to give the Seventh Annual Ernesto Galarza Commemorative Lecture sponsored by the Stanford Center for Chicano Research (SCCR). I should like to thank the members of the selection committee: Herman Gallegos, Chair, SCCR National Advisory Board; Delia Casillas Tamayo, member, SCCR National Advisory Board; Cecilia Burciaga, Associate Dean, Academic Affairs; and Fernando Mendoza, Director, SCCR. I

should also like to give special thanks to Cordelia Chavez Candelaria, Professor of English at the University of Arizona and Visiting Professor, Chicano Fellows Program and Department of English 1991-1992 for serving on the selection committee and for providing a thoughtful and personal introduction of Dr. Samora.

In his lecture, Dr. Samora again provided us insight into a little explored area of the origins of peoples of Mexican descent. His specific focus was on the mestizaje, or mixing, of the groups, races, identities, and cultures that established what would become known as New Spain, later Northern Mexico, and even later the American Southwest. Samora definitively demonstrates that the mixing that always occurred in this part of North America made categories like "Spaniard," "Hispanics," "Hispanos," "Mexicans," and "Indios" largely the social construction of power relations among segments of society. These categories were never as neat and clean, and therefore as accurately defining, as they were intended to be. Such a history presents scholars of current Chicana and Chicano identity and culture with a very rich set of hypotheses, propositions, and challenges to consider in their own studies. His work suggests that one must be very cautious in assuming self-contained groupings. As he had been so many times in the past, Dr. Samora was again at the forefront of thinking and analysis on studies of people of Mexican origin in the United States. As a friend, I will miss him dearly.

LUIS R. PRAGA
Director, SCCR
1996

INTRODUCTION OF GUEST LECTURER

CORDELIA CHAVEZ CANDELARIA

Professor, Department of English, Arizona State University

(Visiting Professor, Chicano Fellows Program and Department of English, Stanford University, 1991-1992)

Buenas tardes — good afternoon. Introducing this year's distinguished Ernesto Galarza Lecturer is both one of the easiest things I've ever been asked to do, and also one of the hardest. It is easy because of my long-time admiration and respect for Professor Julian Samora, but it is also difficult because time constraints permit only ten minutes for this introduction. It is in itself difficult to summarize over forty years of Professor Samora's professional career, and is even more so with less than fifteen seconds allotted per year.

To do that, I will summarize Professor Samora's forty-plus years in public academic life by highlighting some of his accomplishments as a scholar and teacher, and as a change agent in the larger, non-university society.

As a scholar, Professor Samora may be best known for his books. *La Raza: Forgotten American* (1966) is an anthology of essays he edited and which brought to prominence the vanguard educational research of George I. Sanchez, another early pioneer in Mexican American studies — before it was a recognized field of study. Another book, *Mexican-Americans in the Southwest* (1969), co-edited with Ernesto Galarza and Herman Gallegos, two other leaders in the intellectual life of Mexican Americans, was among the earliest works to offer both an analysis of the sociology of

Mexican Americans and a practical agenda for addressing social needs and deficits from a perspective based on historical and cultural strength. A third book, *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story* (1971) (written with Jorge Bustamante and Gilberto Cardenas), was among the first major studies to recognize the critical importance of the Mexican diaspora, economic and cultural immigration, and domestic farm-labor migration — all pressing issues still with us today. I would even say that *Los Mojados* was not only pivotal in immigration studies, but in a preliminary way it even helped define and label the field.

Moving from the field of his training, sociology and anthropology, to history and historiography, he published two histories in the late Seventies: *A History of the Mexican American People* (with Patricia V. Simon; 1977) and *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers* (with Joe Bernal & Albert Pena; 1979). Both studies continued Professor Samora's groundbreaking scholarly project in contemporary Mexican American Studies. *Gunpowder Justice*, for example, presents a documented account of the harmful effects on society of a xenophobic police force allowed to pursue its quasi-military goals unchecked by either political oversight or citizen review. In the wake of Watergate, the Iran-Contra scandal, and recent revelations in the national press about the military's Desert Storm deceptions, Samora's work in *Gunpowder Justice* is, indeed, prophetic in this regard.'

Professor Samora's scholarly stature can also be measured by the quantity and quality of honors he has been awarded during his academic career. In addition to the over two million dollars of research and education grants he has earned, he has also received awards of distinction from the Office of Inter-American Affairs, The Ford Foundation, the John Hay Whitney Foundation, the American Sociological Association, the National Council of La Raza, the National Association for Chicano Studies, the Smithsonian Institution, the University of Notre Dame and many other colleges

and universities. In 1990 he was among the first foreigners to be awarded the Mexican Government's prestigious Orden del Aguila Award for his lifetime contributions toward furthering understanding between the cultures of Mexico and the United States. These are but a fraction of the many prizes of recognition he has received, citing him for his landmark contributions to education and scholarship.

As a teacher, Professor Samora is renowned for being among the first — and in some areas, THE first — to teach Mexican American Studies courses in the academy. We know, of course, that as a pioneer in this endeavor he had to face all the forces of academic tradition and higher education's institutional machinery at a time even less hospitable to change and equity than our own era which continues to retain elements of a more hostile climate that resists the social and scholastic movement toward equity. That he did so with remarkable effectiveness and with an authority derived from the rightness of his vision always fills me with respect. Moreover, that he survived those many battles, scarred but resolute in his optimism, always astonishes me when I reflect upon it and the struggles we, his descendants, are still forced to wage for similar goals. Besides his own resilience, I credit much of his success to the remarkable support, strength and wisdom of his first wife, Betty, who died of cancer in the early eighties.

But perhaps Professor Samora's most amazing achievement as a teacher has been his singular role in channeling dozens of Mexican Americans and other students of color into careers in higher education at a time when other professions (like law, medicine, and business) had much greater financial appeal. Although as an English major I was not technically one of his graduate students at Notre Dame, I too benefited from his high-profile presence on that campus. I was there as he brought in dozens of Chicano/a graduate students to advance their training for careers in higher education, and as he sent them to teach in institutions around the world.

To give you one indication of how crucial his mentoring work was, I recall the comments of Notre Dame's then President, Father Theodore

'This was written prior to the Simi Valley, California, jury verdict in the Rodney King case, April 1992. (Editor's note)

Hesburg, at Professor Samora's retirement symposium. Father Hesburg said that in all his years at Notre Dame, before and during his presidency, he had never known of one faculty member whose students held him in such regard that they themselves initiated, planned, raised funds for, and paid their way from around the country (and, I believe, England and Mexico) to attend the festivities in his honor. He said that he hoped it would become a model of the faculty-student apprenticeship elsewhere in academe.

In honoring him with the retirement symposium, the hundreds of students he helped recruit and worked so diligently to retain, were not only showing our respect for his seminal role as a scholar and teacher, but were also seeking to recognize his importance as a key agent for social change in our lifetimes. His activist recruitment of students of color and of topics for published work encouraged students to pursue new careers in a fledgling field. In addition, through his initiation of the first Chicano Studies series of scholarly publications by a university press, he helped present to the world various books published under the aegis of the University of Notre Dame Press' Mexican American Authors Series.

His institution-building work as a policy specialist on and advocate for Mexican Americans has also been of the highest caliber. For example, the influential Washington-based National Council of La Raza grew out of the Southwest Council of La Raza which he, Ernesto Galarza, and Herman Gallegos founded. Professor Samora's early work was instrumental in shaping ideas and intellectual thought regarding American apartheid, ethnicity and race, economic class issues, and civil rights. For instance, his advocacy thirty years ago with the United States Bureau of the Census on behalf of appropriate, group-defined ethnic labels were instrumental in establishing a threshold for civil rights discourse and policy. I even believe that, by 1980, such civil rights advocacy and policy change had improved the lives of Chicanas/os and other minorities, to the extent that American right-wing groups made abolishment of civil rights FOR ALL a top priority from 1980 to the present.²

As writer Mark Twain observed about

our country: "It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either one of them" (The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson, 1894, vol. I, chap. 20). As an American and a Chicano, Professor Samora not only cherishes the first two freedoms, but determinedly practiced them throughout his career.

For these reasons, then, and countless others relating to Professor Samora's personal strength and compassion, I am honored to reaffirm the decision of the selection committee who named him the 1992 Ernesto Galarza Lecturer. In my judgment, he and his lifetime of outstanding achievement confer great honor on the award itself. With admiration, I present a fellow Coloradoan, born in my mother's hometown of Pagosa Springs, Professor Julian Samora.

Thank you.

²gain, these comments were prepared and delivered prior to the Suni Valley verdict on the Rodney King case, but they gain perhaps greater force if read in that heightened context. (Editor's note)

MESTIZAJE: THE FORMATION OF CHICANOS

JULIAN SAMORA

Let me begin by stating that I am very happy that the Stanford Center for Chicano Research established The Galarza Lectures and I am particularly happy to have been chosen to present the lecture this year.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza was a great person. I first met him and his wife Mae in 1964. I had known about him before and had read about his work with the *bracero* program, which was instituted as an emergency war program by our government. The war ended in 1945 yet the *bracero* program continued until 1964! Dr. Galarza was quite instrumental in ending the program. When Ernie and I were working together in the late 1960's and early 1970's he told me two things that have stayed with me. The first thing was that I should never pursue power and the second thing was that it is important to organize people. Two very important principles that I assume guided his life. At one time we were writing a book on the reassessment of the role of the Texas Rangers in today's society and I couldn't come up with an appropriate title for the work. I asked Ernie for a suggestion and two weeks later sent me a title. It was *Gunpowder Justice*, the title by which the book is known today.

The topic for this lecture is intermarriage or inter-mating. Let me tell you something that everyone knows: Chicanos are *mestizos*, and the arrival of the European male who mated (legally or illegally) with the indigenous females became the basis for the formation of the Chicano in this country. Our ancestry is mostly European and Native American. Very few scholars have dealt



with this phenomenon in the United States. Only three come to mind. Dr. Forbes - a professor at the University of California, Davis is one of them. He wrote a book in 1973 called *Aztecas Del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlan*. In this book Forbes discusses *mestizaje* and describes this phenomenon, claiming that in order to be *mestizo* the group must be an outcast.

According to Forbes, "*Mestizo* and such comparable terms imply outcast (i.e. belonging to no ethnic group or *casta*).

People who possess a national or ethnic identity, no matter how much they have mixed historically with other peoples, can never be mestizo" (Forbes, 1973:185). Thus the Spanish and the Irish, although thoroughly mixed are not *mestizos*. In his more recent writings. **Dr.**

Forbes hasn't really changed his definition of *mestizo* too much. On pages eight and nine of his new work he says "*Individuos que poseen una identidad nacional o etnica, no importa tan mezclados esten historicamente con otras gentes, nunca podrn ser mestizos.*" (Forbes' italics) Another person who has written about *mestizaje* is James Diego Vigil in his book *From Indians to Chicanos: The Dynamics of Mexican American Culture* (1984).

For many years I have been interested in the formation of the Chicano people. It has been noted that the Chicano, while closely resembling the Native American, is Spanish or Mexican in culture, speaks Spanish generally, is nominally Catholic in religion, and does not wish to be identified as Indian, nor does he wish to discuss his obvious "Indianness." The Native American of New Mexico on the other hand, who may have been baptized in the Catholic religion and may bear a Spanish surname, does not emphasize his "Spanishness" or "Mexicanness." Although related genetically it appears that both prefer not to acknowledge the relationship.

This is an issue of identity. In truth, the Chicano people should identify with the Mexican culture rather than the Spanish culture. Yet this has

not always proven the case since in our society the dominant group has usually abhorred Mexican things (Robinson, 1969: *passim*; North, 1948: Foreword and Chapter I; Rios-Bustamante and P. Castillo, 1985:51). For example, when I was a child, growing up in Colorado, in Spanish we called ourselves "*nosotros los Mejicanos.*" In English we were "Spanish Americans" because if we labeled ourselves "Mexican" it would be like Negroes calling themselves niggers.

Fray Virgilio Elizondo, a Catholic priest who has written extensively on the Chicano community, recounts personal experiences while growing up in a segregated Texas: "I remember very well one of the old grandmothers whose

ancestors had always lived in the San Antonio, Texas area telling us: "When the Spaniards arrived hundreds of years ago, we welcomed them and taught them how to survive in these hostile lands, and pretty soon they dispossessed us. Then came the Anglo immigrants from the United States, and the same thing happened. We don't know what country will be coming through here next, but we will still be here!" (Elizondo, 1988:4)

In another instance illustrating the prejudice against those of Mexican heritage he says: "When the Mexican soccer team came to San Antonio and beat the American team, there was great joy, pride and jubilation, as if Mexico had conquered the United States. But walking around the downtown area of San Antonio every day brought some new experiences. I started to discover blacks. Before, I had never even known about their existence. Those were still the days of segregation when blacks had to sit in special 'colored' balconies in theatres, attend black churches, sit in the back of the public buses, and use separate toilets in public places.

"Indeed, many of my school friends had darker skin than myself and I remember well the problems we experienced just trying to go to the toilet. If we went into one marked 'colored' we

"Our being was actually our 'non-being.' This consciousness of 'non-being' would deepen and broaden as I gradually moved from a very 'secure experience of being to one of 'non-being', to one of new being" (Elizondo, 1988:18)

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were chased out by the blacks because we were not technically black. Yet, we were often chased out from the ones marked 'white' because we had dark skin. So we didn't even have toilets to which we could go. Our being was actually our 'non-being.' This consciousness of 'non-being' would deepen and broaden as I gradually moved from a very secure experience of being to one of non-being, to one of new being." (Elizondo, 1988:18)

The Following must be said several times because it is not understood: In many towns in Colorado, Mexicanos had to sit on the right or left side in movies and churches and in many schools we had to go to the 'Mexican' room because ours was a Spanish surname. The idea was that by separating Spanish-speaking children they would thereby learn English sooner and better! Yet some children with Spanish surnames did not know Spanish, only English!

The research for my lecture was undertaken originally as a genealogy trying to trace four families from the 1500s to the present time. The families were: Samora, Archuleta, Trujillo and Medina. After considerable research and using the *Catdlogo de Pasajeros a Indias en los Siglos xvi, xvii, yxviii* (a catalog of passengers to the Indies in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century), it was discovered that many of the surnames did not correspond to alleged established ways of naming a person. According to scholars (Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Modern Languages & Literatures*, University of Buffalo/SUNY and David Ringrose, *History*, University of California, San Diego), during the 16th and 17th centuries parents were free to chose any surname for their child - their own surname, that of a relative, or that of an unrelated person. Because of this practice geneological records in Spain tend to be chaotic and social historians have not attempted family reconstruction studies in that country.

Having spent several years doing gena-

logical research, I turned to another topic that has been of great interest to me, namely, the racial intermixture between the population from Spain and the indigenous population of the New World in the United States.

The term *casta* meaning caste will be used, since it was used by the Spaniards between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries to denote ethnic categories throughout the New World. The term

caste is more formal and connotes a more traditional social system and a categorization of class. Although in colonial New Mexico the caste system was supposed to be rigid, as it was in Spain, the system broke down because of acculturation and other mitigating circumstances (Bustamante,

1991:144). While the New World government and Church attempted to implement a system to keep elements of a poly-ethnic society identified and stratified so that the mixed offspring of the Spanish, Indians, and Blacks could be kept in socially subordinate positions, such a system did not work most of the time because Spain also required that individuals speak Spanish, become Catholic, obey the law, etc. (Bustamante, 1991 -.*ibid.*). The ultimate category was Spanish or white. The range was from white (top) to black (bottom). The laws of biological mixing being what they are, many persons became lighter and were able to pass for white since appearance was what counted. Thus the *casta*-categorizing nomenclature became muddled and useless (not unlike the Census Bureau's term "race" in the United States at the present time). Table I, Ethnic Mixture of Castas, adapted from Dr. Adrian Bustamante's latest article, is self-explanatory (Bustamante, 1991:44).

In New Mexico, the term *coyote* became a generalized term meaning a mixture of white with Indian or mestizo. In Colorado, during my lifetime, the term *coyote* usually referred to a mixture of white or American with *Chicano* or *Mexican*.



TABLE I
ETHNIC MIXTURE OF CASTAS

1. Espanol x India = Mestizo (NM)
2. Espanol x Mestiza = Castiza (NM)
3. Espanol x Castiza = Torna a Espanol
4. Espanol x Negra = Mulato (NM)
5. Espanol x Mulata = Morisco
6. Morisco x Espanola = Albino
7. Albino x Espanola = Tornaatras
8. Mulato x India = Calpamulato
9. Calpamulato x India = Jivaro
10. Negro x India = Lobo (NM)
11. Lobo x India = Cambuja
12. Indio x Cambuja = Sambahija
13. Mulato x Mestiza = Cuateron
14. Cuateron x Mestiza = Coyote (According to Census report, in New Mexico the term coyote included the mixture of Mestizo & Indian and that of Spanish & Indian).
15. Coyote x Morisca = Albarazado
16. Albarazado x Saltaatras = Tente en el aire
17. Mestizo x India = Cholo
18. Mulato x India = Chino
19. Espanol x China = Cuateron de Chino
20. Negro x India = Sambo de Indio
21. Negro x Mulata = Zambo
22. Cambujo x China = Gemzaro (in New Mexico, the Gemzaro had a somewhat different meaning -/Swadish detribalized Indian/.)

Composite List from Nicolas de Leon, *Las Castas del Mexico Colonial o Nueva Espana*. Mexico: Talleres Graficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia, Y Etnograffa. 1924.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

The geographical area to be covered will be New Spain of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries which will include primarily Mexico and the area north of El Paso del Norte. We will be concerned with Mexico and its conquest only briefly since the main emphasis will be colonial New Mexico and the territorial New Mexico after the conquest of the area by the United States of America in 1846. The territorial area actually included most of present-day Arizona, all of present-day New Mexico, and parts of present-day Texas, Colorado and California.

In his writings on New Mexico, Father Angelico Chavez says that neither Spain nor Mexico had ever drawn definite boundary lines away from the settled parts. For two and a half centuries, New Mexico had consisted of the undefined populated north-Rio Grande watershed consisting of Hispanic and Pueblo Indian people. He divides the geography into different periods. During the first century, 1598-1680, the area was sparsely settled and El Reino de la Nueva Mexico had only one town, her capital, Santa Fe, with a barrio, Anaico, for some Indian servants. North of Santa Fe were a small cluster of Spanish homesteads. La Canada, or present-day Santa Cruz. South there were other homesteads at Los Cerrillos and along the Camino Real (royal road) near present-day La Cienega. Farther south in what became El Rio Abajo, other clusters of homesteads were in Angostura, Bernalillo, present-day Albuquerque, Tome, La Joya, Alamillo and Socorro. Besides these regular homesteads, then called *estancias*, there were far-flung Pueblo Indian missions. At the major ones there would be soldiers with their families, helping to protect the missionaries and their charges.

When the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 broke out, these Spaniards and twenty-one Franciscan priests were massacred. Some young females were kept as captives. Thirteen years later, they, along with their mestizo children, were rescued when Don Diego de Vargas brought back most of the original colonists from El Paso del norte where they had fled during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. A new colony of *Espanoles-Mexicanos* (Spaniards from

the city and valley of Mexico) arrived in Santa Fe in the spring of 1694 and Governor Vargas founded the Villa of Santa Cruz in 1696. The following year brought another sizable colony from Zacatecas (Spaniards again but with several *mestizo* families among them). (Chavez, 1982: xvi-xviii)

In 1706 New Mexico's third Spanish villa, Albuquerque, was founded. Colonists settled along the Rio Grande as far south as Tome but were stopped here by Apaches and some Navajos who ruled the land as far south as El Paso del norte. North of Santa Fe, colonists spread from Santa Cruz, northeast into Chimayo and up the Rio Grande as far as Velarde. In the meantime the Franciscan priests had restarted their missions in all the major Indian pueblos. Following the Vargas resettlement (1693), the Spanish started buying (or ransoming) women and children captives from the Comanche and Plains Indians. Others were captured by the Spanish militia.

The offspring of these mixed nomadic tribes were then designated as *genizaro*. They had Spanish names and a Latino upbringing. Some of these offspring remained as servants, but the majority remained homeless and landless and settled in Abiquiu, near Tome and in Los Jarales near Belen. Those in Santa Fe inhabited the barrio of Anaico.

Before the mid-1700s Spanish people from the Santa Cruz-Santa Clara valley had begun settling Abiquiu as well as Ojo Caliente and the Taos valley. But these latter settlements were wiped out by the northern Utes and Apaches. New Mexico, a "Kingdom" since 1610, then later demoted to one of new Spain's "Internal Provinces" in the 1760s, was still confined to the settled Latino and Pueblo Indian area of the upper Rio Grande Basin. Its inhabited area was somewhat smaller than in the previous century but the population itself had become more concentrated, although new towns had sprung up. Other settlers ventured westward into the Jemez region and present-day Cuba (Chavez, 1982: xx-xxiii).

In the third century a number of changes took place after 1800. A major expansion started with the establishment of a Spanish fort *wdgenizaro* settlements at San Miguel del Vado on the upper Pecos river east of the great sierra. The *gemzaros*

came from the Santa Fe barrio of Analco.

The landless Latinos began many towns along the Pecos river, from present Pecos itself downriver to Antonchico, with a southeast thrust to present day Las Vegas. Up in the Taos valley a new town of Don Fernando de Taos was born, followed by a number of villages in the area. The Mora valley east of the great Sierra was settled as was Socorro to the south of Tome-Belen and Cebolleta and San Rafael.

Thus when the United States conquered the territory in 1846, New Mexico did not have sharply mapped borders. Some New Mexico families, unwilling to live under United States jurisdiction, founded the town of Mesilla and the neighboring towns of Las Cruces and Dona Ana, all in the fertile area north of El Paso, Texas. Soon, however, the Gadsen Purchase put them all back in the United States! (Chavez, 1982: xxiii-xxv).

In order to explain the phenomenon of how the conquered people really absorbed the conquerors, one needs to understand a few historical occurrences. The papal bull of 1537, *Sublimis Deus*, declared that the Indians were human beings capable of salvation. This meant that the Spaniards had to, most importantly, save souls. As badly as the indigenous population was treated and exploited, their souls still had to be saved. This was in contrast to the Protestant colonizers, who exterminated the Indian or pushed him off onto a reservation. The Spanish baptized the native, permitted him to enter his households as servant or slave and allowed intermarriage. One must remember that in the Europe of that time slavery was common, and we cannot judge them by today's standards.

The Spanish society in the New World was not as rigid and absolute as it was in the Old World. It was more open. A number of factors contributed to this: 1) few Spanish females came in the early period of conquest; 2) Indian women were given to the conquerors by the Indian *caciques* in Mexico; 3) land was available; 4) slaves and servants were available; 5) the openness of the class structure

permitted Indians and persons of mixed parentage to "pass" for Spanish; and 6) the institution of marriage enabled Indians and persons of mixed parentage to marry into the dominant class.

Although the institution of slavery was prohibited by the New Laws of 1542, the Crown expected tribute from the indigenous population as well as from whatever wealth the conquerors came upon. Thus, in collecting tributes, the Crown tacitly encouraged slavery since about the only

way to pay tribute was by having slaves and working them hard. A market for selling Indian captives to the Spanish was thus created. An owner of a ransomed Indian had the obligation of Hispanicizing and Christianizing him. If the

Spanish refused to buy him from other Indians offering tribute, the captive might possibly be beheaded or threatened with death, and some Spaniard usually bought him. The concept of a "just war" against non-Christian Indians or against Indians who had taken up arms against Spain produced many captives (Tyier, 1988:214-217).

Weber says: "Scholars in United States history have been writing on immigrant groups for more than a century... Ironically, the oldest immigrant people, the descendants of Spaniards and Indians, received almost no scholarly attention until the 1960's. Up to that time, no historian had written a book about the Mexicans and their descendants, and just a handful of sociologists had taken note of them. Yet the six million Mexican Americans comprise the second largest ethnic minority in the United States today; in the Southwest, no minority group surpasses them in numbers" (Weber, 1987: vii).

He reiterates: "If there was little love lost between Indians and Mexicans in the Southwest in general, there was, nevertheless, a good deal of intermixture between individuals of both groups. This continuing process of racial mixture produced a racial and cultural blending in Mexico and the southwest... Racial mixture is also one of the salient features of Chicano ethnicity, for most

Thus, in collecting tributes, the Crown tacitly encouraged slavery since about the only way to pay tribute was by having slaves and working them hard.

Mexican Americans remain highly visible. Once a source of shame, even in Mexico, Indian ancestry and dark skin color have become a source of pride for Chicanos who identify themselves as belonging to La Raza de Bronce — the Bronze Race" (Weber, 1987:5).

Weber continues with this theme: "Chicanos reject the necessity for Americanization and argue that a unique culture already exists in the southwest which is neither totally American nor totally Mexican. The culture requires its own name if it is to find its identity. Chicano, judging from its widespread popularity, serves that purpose well. Much energy has been expended in the search for the etymology of Chicano, while the real meaning of the word has been often overlooked. Ruben Salazar, a talented reporter for The Los Angeles Times, put it best a few months before his tragic death in August 1970: 'A Chicano,' he wrote, 'is a Mexican-American with a non-Anglo image of himself'" (Weber, 1987:9).

Regarding the Spanish and Mexican character Weber writes: "Some Spaniards were cruel, indolent, treasure-hungry adventurers. So, too, were some Englishmen" (Weber, 1987:69). An historian of the Texas Rangers says about Mexicans: "Without disparagement it may be said there is a cruel streak in the Mexican nature, or so the history of Texas would lead one to believe. This cruelty may be a heritage from the Spanish of the Inquisition; it may, and doubtless should be, attributed partly to the Indian blood" (Webb, 1965:114).

Weber continues: "The new wave of Mexican immigration, then, resulted in a schism in the Spanish-speaking community in the Southwest which was evident by 1910 and remains to the present day. By the 1920s if not earlier, older residents of New Mexico began to refer to themselves as *Spanish Americans*, or *Spanish Colonials*, in order to disassociate themselves from the opprobrious term *Mexican*. The same process occurred

in California, Arizona, and in Texas, where older residents came to prefer the term *Latin American*. Frequently accompanying this change in name was the self-delusion that the older Mexican residents of the Southwest were of 'pure' Spanish blood and racially superior to Mexicans. This attitude of superiority antagonized Mexican Immigrants, of course, occasionally leading to friction between the two groups" (Weber, 1987:224).

"The Anglo newcomers also frequently married women of Mexican descent, thus lessening the social distance between ethnic groups. Contrary to popular stereotypes about Mexican docility and cowardice, Mexican American fighters served with distinction, as Anglo and *Hispano* fought together against the common enemy" (Weber 1987:241).

Again he says: "The recognition of the role that colonial Mexicans — that is, the role that persons of mixed-blood — played in settling the Borderlands and especially California does not reject the essential part that Spaniards performed in the exploration, colonization, and missionization of the Southwest. Spanish *peninsulares* overwhelmingly were the *adelantados*, the officials, and the priests who explored, governed, and served settlers" (Weber, 1979:119).

Weber proceeds: "Most of those baptized were registered as *Spaniards*, followed in order of importance by the *mestizos*; but a scholar has to be gullible to accept such racial classifications without reservations. In many cases it was possible to verify that children of the same parents were registered as belonging to different, and sometimes surprisingly clashing, racial groups. These errors were partly due to the ignorance of the local parish priests or to the absence of rules for such a classification, but mainly the responsibility for such 'mistakes' is the outcome of *racial prejudice*, whose pressure to attain the 'whitening of the skin' was so strong that it sensitized the parish registrars or misled them, as when they recorded as *mestizos* the offspring of Spaniard and mulatto interracial mar-

Ruben Salazar, a talented reporter for The Los Angeles Times, put it best a few months before his tragic death in August 1970: 'A Chicano,' he wrote, 'is a Mexican-American with a non-Anglo image of himself.'"

riages" (Weber, 1979:153).

Again: "Many of the so-called Spaniards who arrived in Alta, California, beginning in 1769, were of mixed ethnic and racial backgrounds. But as *gente de razon*, or people of reason, they considered themselves distinct from and superior to both the unconverted and Christian Indians" (Weber 1979:262).

Weber continues: "White people, that is European or American Spaniards, were the most numerous in Texas, followed in importance by the Indians, the castes known as *color quebrado* (brittle or frail color), which included the *mestizos*, *coyotes*, *mulattoes*, and *lobos*, and finally the Negroes...

It is known, however, that many of these soldiers of the Spanish garrisons were *mestizos*, and some were even *mulattoes*, a fact rejected by the census report, which enrolled all military personnel as "Spaniards" (Weber, 1979:157).

As a result of the European conquest of the New World, one can say then that an interracial mixture has taken place to such an extent that the Spanish conquerors, in a real sense, became the conquered' and in many instances — particularly in the southwestern United States - the two populations share the same genetic pool.

Given my interest in our shared history, a few years ago I wrote an introduction to a work by E. Galarza, H. Gallegos and myself in which I say about the Spanish *conquistador'es*, "Racism was not one of their contributions to this land" (Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora: 1969, *VHf*). After further research, I wish to retract that statement, because racism did begin with the Europeans and it spread wherever they went.

When the Spaniards set out to conquer and colonize the "new World" in the early 1500s they

"This does not mean that the Spanish were conquered politically, rather it means that the indigenous groups, through their women, absorbed the conquerors in many instances. Thus began the Chicano people or the Mexican American in the United States and the Mexicans in Mexico, who more often than not are a mixture of Indian or black and European people.

brought few women with them and time after time Indian chiefs in Mexico presented the Spanish *conquistadores* with Indian maidens in order to bring the two populations together legitimately through a process of intermating called *mestizaje*. This process produced *mestizos* or mixed-blood offspring throughout Mexico and Central and South America.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, one of the conquistadores who accompanied Hernando Cortes, who wrote *La Veradera Historia de la Conquista de Nueva Espana*, because he thought the official chroniclers and historians had not done justice to the conquest, documents a number of instances in which In-

dian females and Spanish males marry or where the Spaniards are given Indian females by the Indian chiefs, etc. This began the gradual process of *mestizaje* in the Western Hemisphere (Castillo, 59, 69, 73, 76, 77, 95, 96, 101, 145, 147, 232, 238). "*Mestizaje*" is a perfectly good word in Spanish, but in English it unfortunately comes out as "mixed blood" or "half-breed" with a moral and pejorative twist which gives it a bad connotation.

In what became New Spain, colonial New Mexico, or the present-day American Southwest, the situation was complicated somewhat because many of the colonizers were not Spanish, some were Indians and some were *mestizos* from Mexico. The first colonists into present-day New Mexico came with a very rich miner, Don Juan de Onate, in 1598, from Zacatecas, Mexico. Onate himself was married to a *mestizo*. Upon reaching the Espanola Valley (north of present-day Santa Fe) he occupied the Indian pueblo of Okeh which he renamed San Juan de los Caballeros to honor his troops. Soon the Spaniards settled in the pueblo of Yuqueunque and renamed the pueblo San Gabriel.

"Onate brought with him 130 soldiers, many of whom traveled from Mexico with their wives and Indian servants. It is likely that Mexican Indians, both servants and soldiers, outnumbered the Spaniards. In 1610, when the capital villa of Santa Fe was built as the main population nucleus

...one can say then that an interracial mixture has taken place to such an extent that the Spanish conquerors, in a real sense, became the conquered...

of the colony, a special barrio (district) was set aside for these Indian colonists, who were referred to as Tiaxcalan" (Swadesh, 1974:12).

It is not too difficult to document the intermixture that has taken place throughout this period: "Finding thirty Spaniards at Culeacan living with Indian women, Coronado, seconded by Fray Marcos, required them to be married *in facie ecclesie* and thus legitimized a goodly infusion of Indian blood into the pioneer stock of that frontier" (Bolton, 1949:24).

Again Bolton says, "Their (Indians') daughters were pleasing, so there were many thousands of 'Pocahontases' in America long before the days of John Smith of Jamestown" (Bolton, 1949:3).

Elizondo's definition of mestizaje is more acceptable to me than any of the others because to him it is a process of the blending of the biological and the cultural aspects. To Rios-Bustamante and Castillo it is a fact. To Forbes it is something else.

The myth of the Spanish origin and settlement was quickly acceptable to most United States citizens since the writing about and the criticism of things Mexican was so widespread. Knowledge about things Spanish, Mexican and Hispanic is just now beginning to spread. To be sure, the settlement of the U.S. early on was Spanish in a governmental sense. But the people were not Spanish.

The settlers of Santa Fe and Los Angeles were mostly Mexican, Indian, or *mestizos*. But they worked under the Spanish government. I believe this is where the confusion lies. Also, the U.S. *Mexicano* needed to be accepted as an individual. Since most U.S. citizens thought that being *Spanish* rather than *Mexican* was okay, the Chicanos in various parts of the country took up the less offensive label of *Spanish* for identity purposes while speaking English. Just as when the U.S. Census Bureau categorized him a Caucasian or white the Chicano took such a label to heart because of the consequences relating to discrimination in education, employment, public accommodations, jury service, etc.

Most Chicanos that I know prefer the label *Latino* to *Hispanic* when such a broad term has to be used, but we will see what happens over the years. The myths of the use of the term *Spanish*

developed by McWilliams and later presented by Weber, are very significant due to the widespread discrimination that occurred in all fields. It is difficult for a people to identify with something considered undesirable.

Now, let me give you a little history of myself to help illustrate the process of mestizaje. When I retired at the University of Notre Dame, at age, 65, my graduate students gave me a surprise by holding a symposium in which they presented papers in my honor, etc. The President of the University, Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, who spoke at one of the lunches, said that he had never seen anything like this before in his years as a faculty member and administrator. I had not either my forty-some years of teaching.

The symposium lasted about three days. The wire services picked it up and a person unknown to me wrote from Kansas City to ask if I was the Julian Samora who was born in Pagosa Springs, Colorado, some time back. She had been married to a Navajo and had two sons by him before he died.

Elise Harris also wrote that her maiden name was *Sdnchez Espinosa* and perhaps we were related. Elise was now married to Lloyd B. Harris who left Pagosa in 1920 to go to law school in Kansas. His brother, Fred Harris, was my father. Therefore, her husband Lloyd and she were my uncle and aunt. She had read about my retirement in the Kansas City Star.

We started a lively correspondence which goes on today. My uncle, Lloyd, passed away in January 1990 at age 89. My father died in Boulder, Colorado, at age 65. My mother passed away in Pagosa Springs of breast cancer at about the age of 41.

My mother and father were never married. Why not? I do not know! I never asked! My paternal grandfather, Charles E. Harris, and his wife or my grandmother, Deluvina Gallegos Harris, used to come visit us in the winter on a sled pulled by a team of work horses. They would stay a week or more and bring meat and vegetables. He spoke English and Spanish; she, as I remember, spoke only Spanish. They were both born and baptized in Saguache, Colorado, and were also married there by Reverend A. Brucker, S.J. in the

Catholic Church on February 8, 1890. They moved to Pagosa Springs later.

My great-grandfather, Edward Russell Harris, was born in Massachusetts about 1830. His wife was Juana Jaquez from New Mexico. He was a carpenter according to the 1880 U.S. census. His father and grandfather were also born in Massachusetts. Thus on my father's side we are of Irish, French and Mexican heritage, but there must also be some kind of American Indian and some black heritage. Thus the Harris name seems to be legitimate. When my wife and I were in Sevilla, Spain, I looked in the *Passengers to the Indies in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries* under *Jerez* to see if Harris might be an Americanization of *Jerez* as so often happens in the U.S. but to no avail. Thus *mestizaje* has occurred to a great extent in my own background and I suspect in the backgrounds of all peoples throughout the world.

Elsie's son at SUNY in Buffalo has done some genealogical research on his own and has found that his father, Fred Woodson, was a Navajo Indian who was bought at age ten by James Woodson. His father was Navajo and Spanish on the maternal side. He traced his mother's (Elise's) genealogy to her great grandfather, Jose Ramon Sanchez in *El Rito* of Rio Arriba County in New Mexico. Some of the records were lost at about this time.

I have mentioned that persons of certain ethnic groups tended to marry each other. However, there was also a certain amount of exogamy as Fray Angelico Chavez indicates in his eleven volume work on the pre-nuptial investigations which the Catholic Church conducts for every couple wanting to marry.

Fray Angelico speaks of the nature of the population in New Mexico in the first, second and third centuries of colonization and ends his general introduction with the following paragraph:

"In substance, Hispanic New Mexico, along with *hergenizaros* now having some Spanish Blood together with their likewise acquired Spanish customs, preserved her own identity both in blood and culture for three full centuries. The story is different in her Fourth One (our own 20th century), what with the admixtures of race and culture which keep

increasing all along" (Chavez, 1982: vol. I, xxv).

I have attempted to show that the *mestizaje* that took place in colonial New Mexico was the beginning of the Chicano people or the Mexican Americans. In addition it is my belief that because of the early and continuing process of intermingling the identity of the people should be more with Mexico than with Spain.

It is difficult to prove any of this given the definitions of what a Spaniard was, or an Indian, or a *mestizo*. But it is clear to me that the formation of the Mexican and Chicano people was a direct result of the admixture of the white (in this case the Spanish European), and the Indian peoples, in Mexico and what became the United States Southwest.

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STANFORD CENTER FOR CHICANO RESEARCH

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