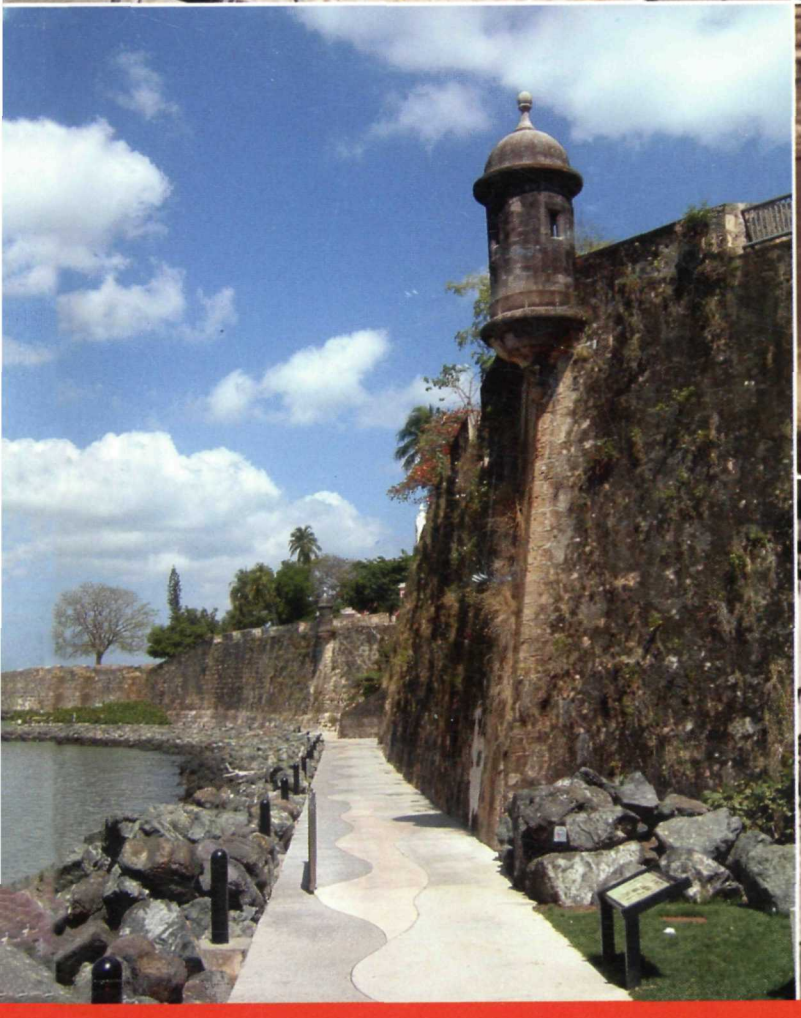
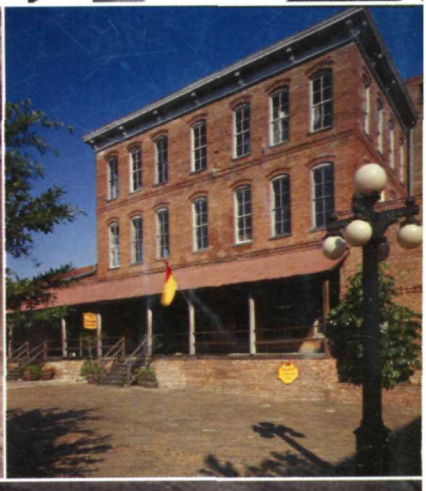
American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study





Cover Images

Clockwise from top left:

Students at University of California Davis finishing a portion of the mural *The Practice of Freedom* by Malaquias Montoya. California has a strong tradition of mural arts and murals are painted both within and outside of buildings and other structures across the state. California's mural tradition is influenced by Mexican Muralism, an artistic movement begun in the 1920s that promoted mural paintings with social and political messages. Today, the largest concentrations of murals in California can be found in San Francisco and Los Angeles. [University of California Davis]

Eliseo Medina, left, and Dolores Huerta marching in support of workers' rights, Chicago, 1971.
Dolores Huerta, labor leader, civil rights activist, and co-founder of the National Farm Workers Association (later the United Farm Workers) and Eliseo Medina, a labor and immigration rights advocate, where both instrumental in the Farm Worker Movement, a struggle for farm workers' rights in the U.S. during the1960s and 1970s. Farm workers' fights for improved labor and living conditions (*La Causa)* eventually helped bring about change and led to a new rights-based awareness among Latino workers in the U.S. [Hispanic News Archive]

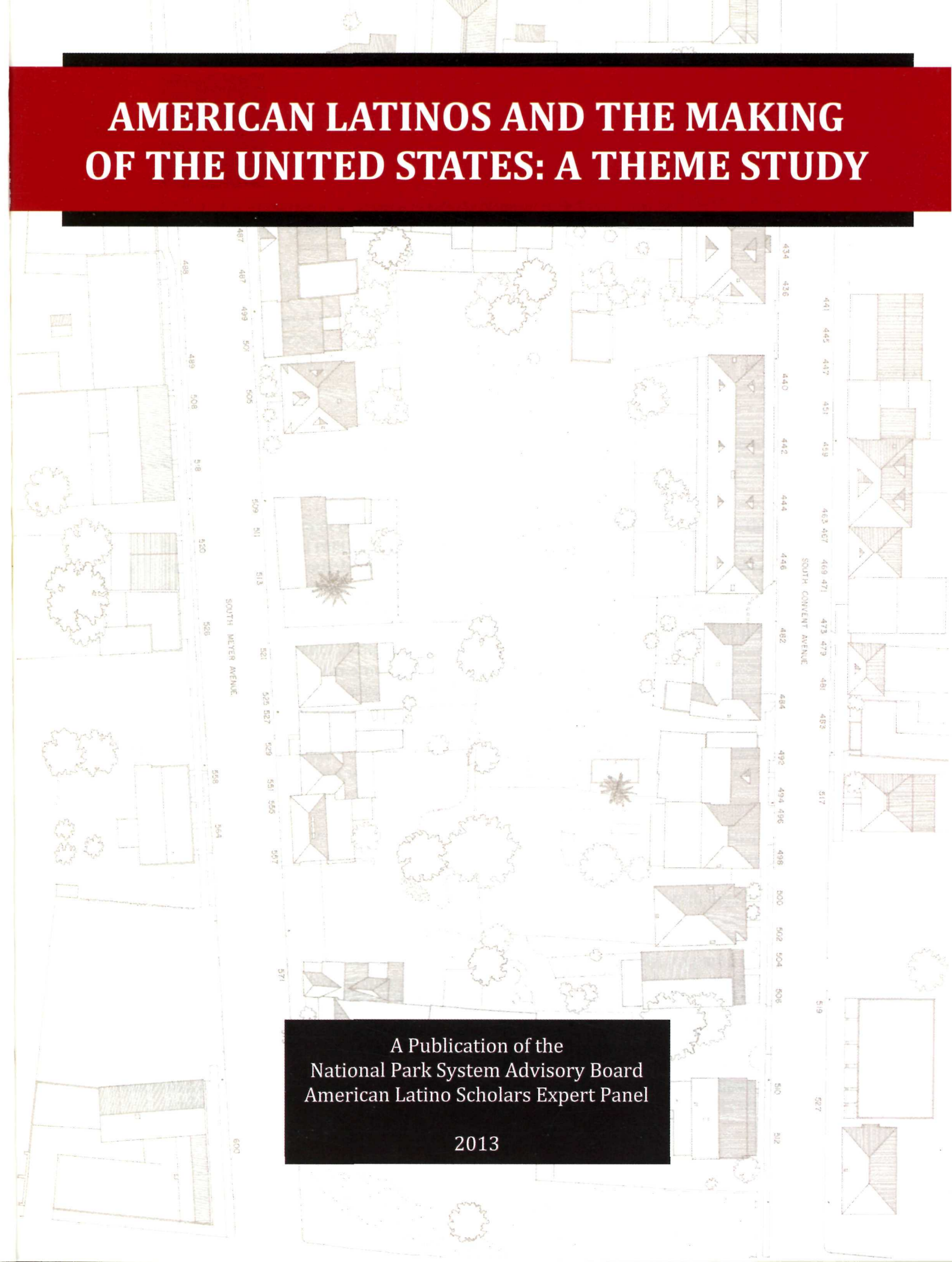
New York Cubans baseball players.
The New York Cubans were a Negro National League (NNL) baseball team that was active during the 1930s and 1940s. Despite its name, the team was not composed exclusively of Cuban players, but also included players from other Hispanic nationalities both within and outside the U.S. In addition, although the team played in the NNL it recruited white Hispanic players, as Hispanics in general were largely ignored by Major League Baseball. In 1947 the New York Cubans won the Negro National League World Series Championship. [Smithsonian Institution]

The Vincente Martinez-Ybor Cigar Factory Building
The Ybor Cigar Factory building , built in 1886, was at one time the largest cigar factory in the world. It was from the steps of this building that José Martí gave his famous *Cuba Libre (*Free Cuba) speech, which is considered instrumental in the development of the Spanish-American War. The building is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and is also part of the Ybor City National Historic Landmark District. Ybor City, Tampa, Florida. [HABS,HAER, HALS Collection, Library of Congress]

Chili Queens, c. 1930s
The Chili Queens were Mexican and Mexican-American female entrepreneurs who set up makeshift kitchens and tables in various squares and plazas in San Antonio, Texas. They cooked and sold bowls of chili con carne, tortillas, tamales, and other foods to the general public, but their primary customers where *vaqueros* (cattle drovers) and other single male workers. From the 1880s to the 1930s, the Chili Queens were the principal food vendors in Market Square, Plaza del Zacate/Haymarket Plaza (now Mylam Park) and Military Plaza near City Hall. In 1937 the Chili Queens were shut down after the city decided they were unsanitary. They were restored in 1939, but were closed for good shortly after the start of World War II. [Institute of Texas Cultures, University of Texas at San Antonio]

Castillo San Felipe del Morro (El Morro)
The Castillo San Felipe del Morro is a 16th-century citadel which has guarded the entrance to San Juan Bay in Puerto Rico for over 400 years. El Morro has been under fire four times in its history, most recently during the Spanish-American War when United States Navy ships fired on the fortification while bombarding the city of San Juan. After the war El Morro became part of a U.S. Army post and the first U.S. shots of World War I were fired from its batteries. In 1961 the U.S. Army officially retired from El Morro and it became part of San Juan National Historic Site, a unit of the National Park Service. [National Park Service]

AMERICAN LATINOS AND THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES: A THEME STUDY



A Publication of the
National Park System Advisory Board
American Latino Scholars Expert Panel

2013

Image:

Measured and Interpretive drawing of a block in the Barrio Libre (Barrio Historico) Historic District, Tucson, Arizona. The block consists of West Kennedy & West Seventeenth Streets, Meyer & Convent Avenues. Architecturally unchanged from its territorial appearance, Barrio Libre still retains 19th-century Hispanic traditions of urban form and architecture. The concentration of Sonoran, Transitional, and American Victorian adobes contributes to the district's sense of timelessness. The drawing is part of a survey project undertaken in 1980 by the Historic American Buildings Survey of the National Park Service in cooperation with Tucson Barrio Association, Inc.

National Park System Advisory Board

Citizen advisors chartered by Congress to help the National Park Service care for special places saved by the American people so that all may experience our heritage.

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February 28, 2013

Director Jonathan B. Jarvis
National Park Service
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Director Jarvis,

On behalf of the National Park System Advisory Board, its National Historic Landmarks Committee, and our American Latino Scholars Expert Panel, we present to you a report entitled *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*.

Since its establishment under the authorities of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, the Board has played a critical role in supporting the Secretary of the Interior and the National Park Service in carrying out the Act's mandate to "*Make a survey of historic and archeological sites, buildings and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States.*" (16 U.S.C. 462(b)). This Board is committed to the principle that the National Historic Landmarks program should represent the diversity of the American experience. To support this commitment, we asked the National Historic Landmarks Committee to review the composition of our 2500 National Historic Landmarks. Their analysis indicated that less than 8 percent of designated landmarks specifically represented the stories of Native Americans, African Americans, American Latinos, Asian Americans, women, and other under-represented groups. We have made a concerted effort to redress this imbalance; and, since 2009, have recommended forty properties for designation that reflect our commitment to represent the diversity of our shared heritage.

This report, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, further supports that commitment. In concert with the 2011 White House Forum on American Latino Heritage, we formed a panel of prominent scholars of the American Latino experience to advise us, and the National Park Service, on engaging with the American Latino community to document their stories through the National Historic Landmarks and National Register of Historic Places programs, and to enhance the interpretation and educational programs at our national park units. This theme study, prepared under the Panel's guidance, contains sixteen essays by nationally recognized scholars addressing the contributions and experiences of American Latinos. Organized under four major sub-headings – *Making the Nation, Making a Life, Making a Living, and Making a Democracy* – together with a core essay that provides an overview of the American Latino experience from 1840 to the present, this theme study will provide a framework for supporting our many partners and communities throughout the nation in identifying buildings, sites, landscapes, and objects associated with these stories for designation and preservation.

With profound thanks to the members of the panel and essayists for their scholarship, commitment, and passion for this project, the Board believes that this is an important contribution to shaping the nation's understanding of its complex and diverse history, and to providing direction to the National Park Service's next century of engagement with the American people.

Sincerely,

Tony Knowles
Chair, National Park System Advisory Board

Ronald James
Chair, National Historic Landmarks Committee

Belinda Faustinos
Co-Chair, American Latino Scholars Expert Panel

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National Park System Advisory Board

The National Park System Advisory Board was first authorized in 1935 under the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act. The Board advises the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior on matters relating to the National Park Service, the National Park System, and programs administered by the National Park Service, including the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act; the designation of national historic landmarks and national natural landmarks; and the national historic significance of proposed national historic trails. The Board may advise on matters submitted to it by the Director, as well as any other issues identified by the Board. The Board is comprised of the following members:

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- Gretchen Long, Former Chair, National Parks Conservation Association, Greater Yellowstone Coalition; Current Chair, National Council of the land Trust Alliance; Board Member, NatureBridge; Wilson, Wyoming
- Margaret Wheatley, Co-founder and President Emerita, The Berkana Institute; Author, speaker, and writer on leadership practices; Provo, Utah

Acknowledgments

In late 2011, the American Latino Scholars Expert Panel was established under the auspices of the National Park System Advisory Board. The expert panel includes the following members:

- Belinda Faustinos, Member, National Park System Advisory Board, Co-Chair; and
- Luis Hoyos, AIA, Associate Professor of Architecture, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, Co-chair;
- Antonia Castañeda, Ph.D., Independent Scholar, San Antonio;
- Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Ph.D., Eaton Professor of Administrative Law & Municipal Science, Columbia University;
- Frances Negrón-Muntaner, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English & Comparative Literature, Columbia University;
- Stephen J. Pitti, Ph.D., Professor of History & American Studies, Yale University;
- Estevan Rael-Gálvez, Ph.D., Senior Vice-President of Historic Sites, National Trust for Historic Preservation;
- Raymond Rast, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Gonzaga University;
- Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Journalism, University of Texas, Austin;
- Vicki Ruiz, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of California, Irvine; and
- Virginia Sánchez Korrol, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Brooklyn College, City University of New York

Subject matter experts from the National Park Service also contributed to the panel's development of the theme study, including David Vela, Regional Director, Southeast Regional Office; Joseph Sánchez, Ph.D., Superintendent, Petroglyph National Monument, and the Spanish Colonial Research Center; and Dennis Vasquez, Superintendent, Guadalupe Mountains National Park.

The panel advised the Board and the National Historic Landmarks Committee staff on the structure of the theme study, appropriate authors for the essays, and major sources of information. Panel members also reviewed essay manuscripts in their areas of expertise. With coordination provided by the Organization of American Historians, the selected scholars wrote and revised their essays to reflect the panel's comments and provided recommendations on illustrations and sites associated with their topics.

The National Park Foundation's American Latino Heritage Fund provided funding support for the theme study and for the Washington Youth Summit in 2012. The core essay, written by Dr. Stephen J. Pitti, was published as a separate pamphlet - *American Latinos and the Making of the United States* - by Eastern National, a National Park Service partner, in 2012.

Additional support for the project was provided by the National Park Service's Preservation Assistance programs let by Dr. Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director, Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science. Dr. Antoinette Lee and Dr. Barbara Little coordinated the National Park Service staff support for this study and other projects related to the American Latino Heritage Initiative (www.nps.gov/latino). Paloma Bolasny, Meghan Hogan, Dr. Alexandra Lord, Kathleen Madigan,

and Carol Shull also provided invaluable support and leadership for the American Latino Heritage Initiative.

The views and conclusions contained in the essays are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the U.S. Government. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute their endorsement by the U.S. Government.

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American Latinos and the Making of the United States: An Introduction

Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol

The relatively unknown story of Latinos in America is at the heart of this National Park Service Theme Study, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States.* Over a year in development, the idea was launched at a forum held in La Paz, California on June 16, 2011. Shortly after, the National Park System Advisory Board constituted the American Latino Scholars Expert Panel. At the invitation of the Secretary of the Interior, Ken Salazar, the group of ten academics agreed to dedicate themselves to crafting a historic document; one that would help the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service tell the layered story of American Latinos as an integral part of the history, culture, and politics of the United States. The group's charge was also to recommend possible Latino historic sites for recognition and to suggest ways to incorporate Latino history into the presentations and interpretations at already-existing national sites.

To start, the panel made several key decisions that significantly shaped the study's direction and breadth. The first was to emphasize the period from the mid-19th century to the present. The panel chose this path both because the National Park Service is already rich in pre-1800 Latino historic sites and because much of the contemporary Latino experience is directly rooted in the last two centuries. In addition, at a time when Latinos make up 18% of the population of the U.S and its territories, the panel felt there was a greater need to identify more recent landmarks, figures, and stories. These would not only better exemplify modern Latino history but also enable a greater understanding of how and why the U.S. has become more thoroughly "Latinized" politically and culturally during this period.

The second decision, perhaps even a controversial one, was to use the term Latino instead of Hispanic in the study's title, and to include the Spanish settlement and colonization of the Americas as an important part of what we refer to as Latino history. In doing so, the panel did not aim either to homogenize the many identities of the groups that today are called Latino or to dismiss the fact that there has never been a single descriptive category for all as the persistence of Chicano, Boricua, Cuban, Nuevomexicano, and Hispanic amply underscore. Rather, the panel chose Latino for two main reasons. By alluding to Latin America (or *latinoamérica* in Spanish), the term punctuates the experience of peoples living in the Americas rather than Europe. In addition, unlike Hispanic, which relates to "Hispania" or the Hispanic peninsula, Latino in its current meaning is a category that officially emerged in the U.S. during the 20th century in response to the dramatic increase of Latin American-descended people in its national territory.

At another level, the term calls attention to the fact that Latino communities have significantly diversified over time and begun to settle beyond their traditional enclaves, producing new pan-Latino realities. The fastest growing Mexican communities today, for instance, are in the south and southeastern U.S., areas where few Latinos settled before. While most Cuban Americans still live in Florida and remain the majority of Latinos in Miami, Puerto Ricans are by far the largest number in Central Florida and nearly half of Miami's Latinos are non-Cubans. Conversely, New York, long a Puerto Rican stronghold, is projected to be a Mexican majority Latino city by 2040. And there are now more Salvadorans living in the U.S. than Cubans or Dominicans, for decades the third and fourth largest Latino group respectively.

In other words, within the context of this theme study, "Latino" is less a marker of a sin-

gle cultural or ethnic identity than a *concept*. This concept refers to a long historical process through which those perceived as Hispanic and/or Latino were thought of as a different kind of people—politically, culturally, and racially—than the truly "American." The conjoining of the terms Latino and history thus facilitates a more complex telling of the American story. It also enables us to view Latinos comparatively and to investigate the ways that Latino history is also American history in the broader hemispheric sense. Ultimately, Latino history is American history with an accent—on the experiences and geographies extensively shaped by the Spanish Empire in the Americas and by the rise of the U.S. as a global power beginning in the 19th century.

With the goal of fleshing out this story further, the theme study includes seventeen essays that aim to powerfully capture the Latino experience. Authored by leading experts in various fields, the scholars gathered here are political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, literary critics, legal scholars, and historians by training. Yet, all share in a commitment to interdisciplinary methodologies and transnational perspectives that take into account the ways that class, ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, and citizenship status, among forms of difference, produce Latino history.

Structurally, the volume is divided into four major sections: *Making the Nation* explores how Latinos came to live in what became the U.S. and how their presence, thought, and media informed the new nation from its founding to the present; *Making a Life* delves into Latino religious experience, creativity, and contributions to popular culture and social institutions; *Making a Living* considers the impact of Latinos on rural and urban business, labor, commerce, the military, science, and medicine; and *Making a Democracy* delineates individual Latino and collective action in expanding democratic rights through legal battles and political organizing.

The study opens with historian Stephen Pitti's "The American Latino Heritage," a sweeping overview of the Latino journey as personified in five historical figures: the exiled Cuban priest Félix Varela, the Mexican American author María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, the Puerto Rican bibliophile Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, the Guatemalan civil rights organizer Luisa Moreno, and the Mexican American politician Edward Roybal. These pivotal protagonists creatively confront the major issues of their time—Manifest Destiny, the after effects of war, racial discrimination, and the struggles of workers for human dignity and civic participation. In doing so, they demonstrate how Latinos have had a significant impact in the U.S.'s collective past, advanced the democratic political process, and participated in sculpting the ever-changing definition of American culture.

Following Pitti's chapter is the study's first section, *Making the Nation*. In its initial essay, "The Latino Crucible: Its Origins in 19th Century Wars, Revolutions, and Empire," historian Ramón Gutiérrez tackles the frequently asked question of "how did the U.S. become (so) Latino" by focusing our attention on the core process that first brought Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans into the United States' fold: American nation-building. Moving south, west, and across the Caribbean Sea, Gutiérrez literally maps out the course and impact of U.S. continental expansion through the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the annexation of Texas (1845), the incorporation of half of Mexico's territory through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), the acquisition of Puerto Rico and involvement in Cuban affairs after the Spanish-American War (1898). As Gutiérrez suggests, the end result was not only newly drawn continental and oceanic borders but also a different cultural, political, and demographic reality

for the extended nation within which Latinos had now become a sizeable group.

While U.S. nation building set the foundations for modern Latino communities, these grew significantly through subsequent waves of migration and immigration. Yet, this considerable movement of people was, again, principally triggered not by individual will but by U.S. national policy. Historian David Gutiérrez thus continues the story in his chapter, "A Historical Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States," proposing that the greatest "pull" factor in expanding Latino settlement to the U.S. in the mid-20th century was American economic strategy. Through policies like the Bracero Program, which sought to attract authorized Mexican labor to work in U.S. agriculture and factories; and Operation Bootstrap, a comprehensive plan to relocate Puerto Rican labor to the Midwest and Northeast, the U.S. government actively recruited Latino workers throughout the 1940s. Although originally designed to meet one-time labor shortages over a short period, American employers became dependent on Latino labor and continued to pursue authorized and unauthorized workers even after the policies ended. In turn, the new arrivals became an additional magnet for future immigration as they permanently settled in the U.S., prompting others to follow.

Significantly, the political and economic incorporation of Latinos brought not only new subjects or laborers to the U.S. With Latinos came different intellectual traditions and fully engaged minds with the burning questions of the day, remaking the nation in a different way. As literary historian Nicolás Kanellos argues in "Envisioning and Re-visioning the Nation: Latino Intellectual Traditions," Latino intellectual history runs deeper than that of Anglophone Americans as Spanish settlers introduced the first written European language and founded the earliest schools on the continent. It is also essential to understand political action in the U.S. and the Americas more generally. Living amidst the constitutional promise and racial limits of American democracy, Latinos vigorously debated the merits of independence or federated nationhood for the former Spanish territories, the desirability of U.S. citizenship, and the meaning of equality in the U.S. and Latin America. In addition, these ideas at times took deep root and influenced major social and political movements evident in the independence of Texas, Mexico, and Cuba.

Complementing Kanellos' account is historian Felix F. Gutiérrez's chronicle of how this new thought "moved" through the growth of Latino print, broadcast, and digital media. In his essay, "More than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States," Gutiérrez observes that to the extent that mainstream media marginalized or denigrated people of Hispanic descent as foreigners or lesser Americans, Latinos developed alternate media forms that served as a "corrective" to this stereotypical treatment and as a crucial advocacy tool in challenging anti-Latino discrimination. Even further, Gutiérrez underscores that whereas ethnic communication is often seen as a passing phase in the life of immigrants, Latino media is even more important today as mainstream outlets continue to ignore and stereotype Latinos while the population grows exponentially.

Cultural traditions and practices, the focus of much Latino media, is similarly at the center of the study's second part, *Making a Life*. This section includes chapters that further examine the ways in which Latinos have created (and re-created) their public and private lives, customs, and expression in the U.S. often under adverse conditions. Opening the section is religious scholar Timothy Matovina's "Endurance and Transformations: Horizons of Latino Faith," which deftly succeeds in both contextualizing common beliefs about Latinos and religion as well as challenging many of them. Matovina

begins by noting that Spanish-speaking Catholics have lived in North America for twice as long as the nation has existed and that Catholicism has often played a major role as a source of communal and cultural affirmation in the face of hostility from the majority culture. Yet, Matovina quickly dispels the stereotype that all Latinos are traditional Catholics by highlighting three significant trends in 20th century Latino religiosity in America: the significant and growing number of Latino Protestants, particularly Evangelicals; the persistent presence of faith-based social justice movements such as PADRES (*Padres Asociados por los Derechos Religiosos, Educativos, y Sociales*, or Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights); and the increase in the percentage of Latinos who claim either no religious attachment or multiple affiliations, including *curanderismo* and *santería*.

Similar to religion and other spiritual practices, Latino artistic production has diversified over time and served as a generative site for narratives of community and self. In "A Panorama of Latino Arts," art historian Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, invites the reader on a thrilling journey through two hundred years of Latino creative expression and the performing arts. From indigenous arts to the earth sculptures of Ana Mendieta, from the Texan corridos to Nuyorican salsa, from the proto-feminist novels of Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton to the spoken word of Pedro Pietri and the experimental theater of Maria Irene Fornés, Ybarra Frausto illustrates the many ways that Latino art has been a source of individual and collective "resistance and affirmation." Encompassing a wide range of aesthetics and politics, Latino artistic production has simultaneously imagined an enduring sense of community and linked the traditions of the past with the challenges of the present. Increasingly, it also offers an alternative vision for what is—and can count as—art in America.

Focused on highly popular art forms, the next two chapters tread on very familiar territory—sports and food—but give us startling insight on the commonplace. Beginning with the quintessential American *rodeo*, which in Spanish means, "to circle" and was invented by Hispanic *vaqueros* (or cowboys), historian José M. Alamillo considers the long-standing participation of Latinos in America's games. His chapter, "Beyond the Latino Sports Hero: The Role of Sports in Creating Communities, Networks, and Identities," probes into Latino involvement in nearly every competitive sport, including boxing, baseball, football, basketball, golf, and tennis; and underscores multiple venues, from sandlots to the Olympics. Significantly, Alamillo does more than document the extraordinary achievements of Latino star athletes. With equal force, he explores the community networks that produce them and the rarely known struggles that competitors face on and off the track when encountering race and gender discrimination barriers. In this way, Alamillo demonstrates how the sports arena is equally capable of imagining cohesive communities and displaying its fractures.

Going behind the scene is also imperative when inquiring about how and what America eats. The media claims that salsa outsells ketchup and Mexican cuisine is one of the top three choices of ethnic food in the U.S., alongside Chinese and Italian. But the story of Latinos and food is significantly richer. As historian Jeffrey M. Pilcher argues in "Coming Home to Salsa: Latino Roots of American Food," Latinos are pioneers of American agriculture, planting citrus and nut orchards in Florida and throughout the Southwest, founding cattle ranches in Texas, and building wineries in California. Moreover, in the 19th and 20th centuries, Latinos played significant roles in cultivating the land and inventing new ways of eating traditional foods. Despite the fact that Latinos are often negatively represented through food metaphors in which Latinas are "hot tamales"

and their cooking a source of "Moctezuma's revenge," generations of Latinos insist on the worth of themselves and their food, by continuing to pass down recipes, open restaurants, and share their cuisine with others.

As the relationship between food, community, and economic survival suggests, *Making a Life* is often intertwined with *Making a Living*, a central focus of the study's third section. The essays gathered here highlight the indispensable role of Latinos in fostering and sustaining American economic life—as entrepreneurs, professionals, and members of the armed forces. The section starts with the simply, if perfectly, titled essay "Latino Workers" by historian Zaragoza Vargas, which describes the enormous participation of Latino laborers in picking produce, laying railroad tracks, working steel mills, manning factories, and meatpacking. Equally important, Vargas underscores that Latino workers have done more for America than work. They have also had a significant role in labor movements for better wages and working conditions that have benefitted all Americans. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the legacy of Latino workers in building the U.S. and safeguarding fundamental labor rights is, on balance, priceless.

Simultaneously, the mainstream media's nearly exclusive emphasis on Latinos as labor may at times overlook their impact in the creation of small businesses and the growth of large-scale industries. Historian Geraldo L. Cadava's essay, "Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business and Commerce since the 16th Century" offers an eye-opening account of the depth and extent of Latinos' economic practices from Spanish colonization to the present. After investigating missions, presidios, and pueblos as profitable endeavors, Cadava continues by describing how Latino ranchers and cigar factory owners once ranked among the wealthiest of Americans until the mid-19th century. He further notes how fortunes begin to shift in the aftermath of the Mexican-American and Spanish-American Wars, as many lost land, capital, and social status. To subsist, many Latinos largely dedicated themselves to small scale and localized economic activity, investing in such businesses as bars, restaurants, and record stores. A mix of the old and the new, the current juncture anticipates a novel reality: while Latino businesses remain undercapitalized and still not generally as profitable as those owned by other racial groups, according to the U.S. Census Bureau by the beginning of the 21st century Latinos owned 1.6 million businesses, and their rate of ownership was growing faster than that of any other ethnic or racial group in the U.S. In contrast to earlier periods, an increasing number of these businesses are serving markets beyond the U.S. Latino community and some, like the iconic Goya Foods and Bacardi companies, have annual sales of well over one billion dollars.

The broad scope of Latino initiative is also evident in social historian John McKiernan-González's unprecedented essay, "American Science, American Medicine, and American Latinos." Here, he uncovers the rarely told story of Latino involvement in health care services, medicine, scientific research, and public health. Although Latinos have at times been the objects of scientific experiments involving birth control, faced unsanitary living conditions, and often been barred or discouraged from entering the healing professions, they have had a substantial impact in these fields. From discovering the role of mosquitoes in the propagation of yellow fever and starting grape boycotts to protest the use of pesticides to ensuring that all children regardless of resident status are treated in emergency rooms, Latinos have paved the way for new medical treatments and scientific research and have been relentless participants in the redefinition and democratization of American science and medicine.

The practices of medicine, agriculture, small business, and large-scale commercial activity are all a part of the Latino experience to make a living and to live with dignity. However, the picture would be incomplete without the complex tale of Latinos in military service. Even when their civil rights have not been observed or they have been barred from voting for the Commander in Chief as in the case of U.S. citizens in Puerto Rico, hundreds of thousands of Latinos and Latinas have served in the U.S. military out of a deep commitment to their country and its promise. Yet, as historian Lorena Oropeza observes in "Fighting on Two Fronts: Latinos in the Military," Latinos have also seen their service as a way to gain access to otherwise elusive educational opportunities and to seek recognition as full U.S. citizens. Not surprisingly, on and off the battlefield, Latino veterans have been at the forefront of founding civil rights and advocacy organizations such as the American GI Forum in 1949 and leading legal battles against discrimination on all fronts.

Inevitably present in every chapter, the overt and transformative struggles for equality and democracy form the core of the chapters in the study's closing section, *Making a Democracy*. Beginning with political scientist's Louis DeSipio's "Demanding Equal Political Voice—And Accepting Nothing Less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion," this section provides an account of collective efforts to challenge the exclusion of Latinos based on race and ethnicity from the nation's electoral processes and political institutions particularly in the 20th century, when the Latino population in the U.S. significantly increased and began to be perceived as a decisive voting bloc. Importantly, while these struggles have succeeded in electing more Latinos to political office, they have also been part of ensuring that all people living in the U.S. have access to the political process. As DeSipio observes, without them, rights that many take for granted, such as a citizen's ability to vote in their native language, might not be as protected as they are today.

In a similar vein, legal scholar Margaret E. Montoya's "Latinos and the Law" includes personal stories and historical analysis to examine how Latinos have been shaped and have sought to shape law in the U.S. Montoya compellingly demonstrates that Latino challenges to the legal system in the aftermath of the Mexican-American and Spanish-American Wars have greatly contributed to an idea that is now widely accepted in the U.S.: that cultural difference should not entail discriminatory treatment under the law. Through cases involving Spanish language ballots, literacy tests as prerequisites to voting, and equal educational opportunities for non-English speaking children, Latino communities have had a major impact in expanding democracy and its embrace of those outside of the majority racial or cultural group.

Arguing the case further is education scholar Victoria María MacDonald's "Demanding their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity," in which she considers the grassroots and legal battles for educational opportunity that have resulted in wider access to education regardless of territory or country of origin; language, skin color, or percentage of Native ancestry. Among the landmark litigation that MacDonald highlights are a series of school desegregation cases from the 1930s through the 1940s that culminated in the class action suit *Méndez v. Westminster School District,* which involved the segregation of Mexican American children by race in California's public schools. Although not widely known, the success of *Méndez*—the judge ruled that that the segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students into separate "Mexican schools" was unconstitutional—paved the way for the groundbreaking *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* in 1954 that ended legal school segregation in the U.S.

Providing a coda to Ramón A. Gutiérrez's grounding essay, historian Lillian Guerra's closing chapter is a forceful reflection on the "new Latinos," those who arrived in the U.S. after the 1950s. In "Late-20th Century Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy: Forging Latino Identity in the Minefields of Political Memory," Guerra offers a sobering view of how the United States' anti-communist foreign policy during the Cold War era helped to substantially increase Latino immigration by both facilitating the legal entry of Cuban exiles and supporting authoritarian regimes in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Noting the sheer size of this immigration to the U.S.—over two million people—Guerra then moves to analyze the unique challenges faced by many, particularly those fleeing American-backed state terror and political violence. Not only did these immigrants arrive undocumented and had to prove that theirs was not an "economic" migration to become legal citizens, they also found few opportunities to articulate the complexity of their experience. The unspeakable, the fact that their presence in the U.S. was a direct result of American support of undemocratic regimes in the region, continues to haunt policy and lives, reminding us that without these voices, the full story of the U.S. remains painfully untold. In this regard, although much has changed since the late 19th century, this major wave of migration underscores how war, revolution, and empire continue to shape Latino experience in the U.S. well into the 21st century.

All told, the American Latino Theme Study presents a diverse and intricate Latino past that can serve as a resource for telling a more nuanced American story, enabling us to better understand and inform our present. Yet, regardless of whether one is a professional historian or has never thought much about history, we can all add to this study in multiple ways by becoming more involved in the identification, preservation, and interpretation of historically significant sites and figures as well as the creation of new historic markers, trails, districts, and national landmarks. What was started in La Paz is now in everyone's hands. The future of our past is completely up to us.

The views and conclusions contained in this document are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the U.S. Government. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute their endorsement by the U.S. Government.

Clockwise from top left:
Rancho Jamul, Mexican land grant ranch owned by Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Rancho Jamul Ecological Preserve, California (Rancho Jamul Ecological Preserve); The West 135th Street Branch Library building, home of the Arturo Schomburg Collection from 1926-1980, New York, New York. (New York Public Library); Statue of Father Felix Varela, Cathedral Basilica of St. Augustine, St. Augustine, Florida (Cathedral Basilica of St. Augustine); Painting of Luisa Moreno, the Great Wall of Los Angeles mural, Los Angeles, California (City Project); Edward R. Roybal Learning Center, High School named for Congressman Roybal, Los Angeles, California (Creative Commons by Robert Garcis, 2008)

The American Latino Heritage

Stephen Pitti

We Americans have yet to really learn our own antecedents.... Thus far, impress'd by New England writers and schoolmasters, we tacitly abandon ourselves to the notion that our United States have been fashion'd from the British Islands only ... which is a very great mistake.

Walt Whitman, 1883[1]

The Latino past is as important to United States history, and as rich, as that of any group in U.S. society. As historian Vicki Ruiz has noted, "From carving out a community in St. Augustine in 1565 to reflecting on colonialism and liberty during the 1890s to fighting for civil rights through the courts in the 1940s, Spanish-speaking peoples [have] made history within and beyond national borders."[2] Relevant scholarship on these and other topics has exploded since the 1980s, mirroring the demographic growth of the Latino population – which now stands at some 50 million U.S. residents – with important histories about Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Central Americans, Cuban Americans, and South Americans published every year. As those books and articles demonstrate, no brief summary can distill the diversity of this Latino population; the many ways in which these groups have shaped national institutions, American culture, or U.S. cities and towns; or the heterogeneity of their perspectives and experiences. From the arrival of the Spanish in the 15th century into the early 21st century, Latinos have built missions and presidios; developed ranching, agricultural, and high-tech industries; written poetry, novels, and songs; preached on street corners and from pulpits; raised families; built businesses and labor unions; and supported politicians and critical national and international initiatives. Some trace their residency to Spanish-speaking or indigenous forebears who arrived in New Mexico or elsewhere prior to the establishment of the U.S. Others arrived more recently as immigrants or refugees in the 19th, 20th, or 21st centuries. Deeply embedded in economic and political life across many decades, Latinos have played instrumental roles in the development of the U.S., and public recognition of the Latino past is long overdue.

"We Americans have yet to really learn our own antecedents...."

The essays included in "American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study" collectively demonstrate that Latinos have shaped U. S. courts, military, and educational institutions, the identification and treatment of disease, and much more. They illustrate that Latinos' impact has been felt in all regions of the U.S., from the Southeast to the Pacific Northwest, and from California to the Upper Midwest and New England, and that their visibility and involvement has increased exponentially in many of these areas over the last 50 years. They trace how the integration of hemispheric economies, the development of trade and movement of working people, the investment of U.S. businesses in Latin America, the economic demands of U.S. employers, and instances of political conflict and violence in the hemisphere have shaped Latino demographic growth and influenced communities already resident in the U.S. And they portray the daily struggles of everyday people alongside the achievements of influential residents, low-wage work experiences combined with prescient economic investments, encounters with segregation, and struggles to improve American democracy.

This introductory essay surveys this long and varied history through a focus on five individuals, many of them rarely remembered today,

whose lives trace major historical developments from the early 19th century into the contemporary era. Ranging across historical periods, places of origin, and area of professional expertise, these figures embody themes discussed in detail in the accompanying essays, and they make the case that Latinos have played critical roles in the United States since the early 19th century. They include the Cuban priest Félix Varela, the Mexican author María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, the Puerto Rican bibliophile and collector Arturo Schomburg, the Guatemalan civil rights organizer Luisa Moreno, and the Mexican American politician Edward Roybal.

Félix Varela

Among the most important Latino intellectuals and religious leaders of the Jacksonian era, Félix Varela would become a well-known figure in the U.S., Europe, and his native Cuba by the time of his death in 1853. Born in Havana in 1788, Varela engaged with a North American society that had long been connected to Latin America – from the 1565 founding of Saint Augustine, Florida, to the establishment of Spanish colonies in New Mexico in the 16th and 17th centuries, to the establishment of presidios and missions along the Pacific Coast in the 18th and 19th centuries; to the extensive commerce that connected the U.S. to the Caribbean and Mexico in the 19th century.[3] The son of a *criollo* mother and an Iberian army captain, Varela was born into a Cuban society shaped not only by Spanish imperial rule, but also by close attention to the politics of the recently-established U.S. to the north. As a Catholic priest, a writer and translator, an educator, and a proponent of Cuban nationalism, Varela became one of the first Latinos to use his exile in the U.S. to argue for broader democratic change in Latin America. Recent calls for his canonization as a Catholic saint underscore his importance in North American religious history.

"To be considered a philosopher one must be someone who pursues the truth exclusively ... (who) submits his own ideas to others for approval, not because they are his, but because he believes them to be true ..."

Felix Varela. Lecciones de Filosofía, 1818

Orphaned as a child, Varela lived an international life during an era of revolution. He moved to live with his grandfather in the Spanish colony of Saint Augustine, Florida for several years before resettling in Havana in 1801. There he entered the seminary, became a deacon and then a priest, and finally took a philosophy professorship that allowed him to pursue his interests in the natural sciences, education, and above all, national identity. Well regarded, Varela's fellow Cubans elected him to a government position in 1821, and he spoke out against slavery, and in favor of Latin American independence. Those comments, however, coincided with a conservative turn in imperial governance, making it impossible for him to stay in Spain or return to Cuba. In 1823 Varela departed instead for the U.S. Taking up residence in Philadelphia and then New York City, he encountered other Cuban exiles who had also fled political repression, many of whom saw the U.S. as a new base for organizing on behalf of a free Cuba.

As a priest in a changing New York, Varela ministered over the next 24 years to the city's growing Catholic population, including many Irish and Italian immigrants, founded a nursery and parochial schools, and served at Saint Peter's Church, Christ's Church, and at the Church of the Transfiguration. His diocesan superiors recognized his success in appointing him vicar general in 1837, a position that gave him oversight of all of New York state and parts of New Jersey. Varela spent the last few years of his life in Saint Augustine, which had become part of U.S. territory in 1819, and he died in that city in 1853, some 15 years prior to the 1868 out-

break of a long war between Spain and Cuba that would eventually lead to Cuban independence.

Like other Cuban Americans in the 19th century, Varela had remained connected to both the Caribbean and the U.S. throughout his adult life, engaging with diverse, fellow New Yorkers in churches and neighborhoods while promoting Cuban nationalism as a writer and publisher. Inspired by the American Revolution, able to write and speak more openly as a resident of the U.S., and eager to see Latin America throw off the yoke of Spanish rule, he had translated Thomas Jefferson's *A Manual of Parliamentary Practice* into Spanish for readers in the Caribbean and elsewhere in the hemisphere interested in political reform. His commitments as a priest advanced a politically-engaged form of religiosity that anticipated the efforts of future generations of Latino Catholics and Protestants. Just as important, Varela's work as a writer, translator, and journalist connected him to the 19th-century world of Latin American and American letters, and they placed him within an intellectual tradition that extended before and after his lifetime. Describing Cuban poets and pamphleteers in 1840s and 1850s New York City and New Orleans, one literary historian notes that "these writers believed that the United States offered an opportune setting for publishing tracts that would persuade the Cuban population to rise against the colonial government on the island. Writing to Cuba, they also simultaneously tried to reach English- and Spanish-language readers in the United States."[4] In similar ways, other 19th and 20th-century novelists, poets, and journalists from Latin America wrote for San Antonio, Los Angeles, Miami, or Chicago newspapers or publishing houses, keeping their eyes on both domestic and international audiences.

Félix Varela (Patria)

In the final years of his life, Varela witnessed the geographic expansion of the U.S. and the declining power of Spain, as the Florida society that he had known as Spanish in his youth became U.S. territory. Varela's death in 1853 coincided with the Gadsden Purchase, a territorial acquisition in southern Arizona and New Mexico that marked the last major expansion of U.S. territorial borders within the continental U.S. The redrawing of U.S. borders, and U.S. diplomatic and military engagements with Latin America, therefore also shaped his life, just as it defined the broader experiences of many Latinos in the 19th and 20th centuries. Many exiled Cuban writers in 1850s New York promoted the U.S. annexation of their island as a way to eliminate Spanish rule and bring American democracy to the Caribbean. Some held different views, just as ethnic Mexicans in the Southwest expressed conflicting opinions about U.S. westward movement, 20th-century Puerto Ricans debated one another about their island's ideal relationship to Washington D.C., and other Latinos – Dominicans, Salvadorans, Mexicans, Nicaraguans, Chileans, and others – have responded in various ways to U.S. military interventions in the hemisphere.[5]

María Amparo Ruiz de Burton

Born in Baja, California in 1832, nearly 50 years after Félix Varela's birth in 1788, the writer and social critic María Amparo Ruiz de Burton registered her own views of U.S. territorial expansion, American politics, and Latin American relations. As the granddaughter of a prominent military commander and former Governor in the Mexican north, Ruiz de Burton

hailed from a privileged family that had held large tracts of land in what is today Los Angeles, Orange, and Riverside Counties, as well as in the area around Ensenada in Baja California.[6] Growing up in La Paz, she enjoyed private tutors in French and Spanish, and the eminent Californio Mariano Vallejo would later call her a "learned and cultured lady, concerned with the honor and traditions of her land..."[7] But her life – and the experiences of hundreds of thousands of others throughout the region – experienced inexorable change as a result of the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846. While that conflict brought Alta California and other regions of northern Mexico under U.S. control in 1848, it also introduced Maria, then just 15-years-old, to Henry Stanton Burton, a Lieutenant Colonel more than 10 years her senior who led the invading U.S. Army in Baja California.

María Amparo Ruiz de Burton (Arte Público Press)

Many details of this love story are unavailable in the historical record, but we know that the romance was an unlikely match. While most Baja Californians rejected the presence of the U.S. army and military occupation in 1846, María and other members of her family were among the small number of Mexicans who boarded refugee transport ships bound for Alta California at the conclusion of the war, becoming U.S. citizens in the process. In July 1849, she married Henry Burton in Monterey, California over the protests of both Catholic and Protestant church officials who protested the ceremony. While Burton and other U.S. troops accommodated to the Mexican-majority environment in Monterey, Ruiz de Burton went to school to learn English, became enmeshed in Gold Rush society, and gave birth to two children over the next three years. Her struggle to make a new life in the post-1848 California resonated with the efforts of other Latinas in this period, according to recent historians.[8] Eager to settle down, her family purchased the Rancho Jamul near San Diego, a property once held by former Californio Governor Pío Pico. But in 1859 the Army summoned Burton back to the East Coast, and María and her family spent the following decade, including the Civil War years, far from Southern California, taking up residence in New York, Rhode Island, Delaware, Virginia, and Washington D.C., where she became close friends with First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln and others in government circles.

After twenty years of marriage and the trial of the Civil War, Henry Burton died of complications related to malaria in 1869, leaving María with heavy financial debts. She returned to California the following year to protect her property from the creditors, lawyers, and squatters who were seeking to take ownership of her land – an overwhelming problem for many Californio landholding families in the 1860s and 1870s.[9] Ongoing legal battles further drained her assets, but María directed her frustration into new business efforts, and into her writing career. As a businesswoman, she managed agricultural and ranching operations on her San Diego County property, creating a cement company that depended upon limestone quarried from Rancho Jamul, produced castor beans for commercial sale, and organized the construction of a reservoir. María came to know the law in great detail, as she fought to retain her property holdings in both Alta and Baja California in the courts. She published articles and letters about her land claims in San Diego newspapers, and traveled extensively, but she ultimately lost most of her rancho by the time of her death in Chicago in 1895.

While property loss was a common experience for 19th-century Latinos, Ruiz de Burton's work as a writer made her unique among her contemporaries. She left behind a pioneering literary legacy that captured many of the cultural and political concerns of her generation. Building on plays she had written in the 1850s, she released in 1872 what may have been the first English-language novel written by a Latina in the U.S., inaugurating a tradition of women's writing that accelerated in the 20th century. That first book, *Who Would Have Thought It?* (1872), published by J.B. Lippincott in Philadelphia, satirized the racial politics and hypocrisy of New England abolitionists, drawing attention to the effects of U.S. expansion on Mexican Americans in California. Subsequent writings continued to draw attention to issues of racial discrimination, economic justice, and political governance. Some readers have interpreted her 1876 rewriting of *Don Quixote*, performed and published in San Francisco as *Don Quixote de la Mancha: A Comedy in Five Acts, Taken from Cervantes' Novel of That Name*, as Ruiz de Burton's effort to link Californios to a more glorious Spanish past; others have seen it as a critique of Spanish-Mexican mishandling of its Alta California settlements. Finally, *The Squatter and the Don* (1885), her best known novel, this one published under the pen name "C. Loyal" ("Loyal Citizen"), employed a story about a romance between a Californio and a squatter to draw attention to the depredations of Anglos in Southern California, the dangers associated with railroad monopolies in post-Civil War society, and the false promises of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the U.S.-Mexico War.[10]

These concerns about race, conquest, and similar themes make Ruiz de Burton's writings, in the words of literary scholars Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita, "clearly a precursor to Chicano/a literature, as her novels investigate issues at the core of Chicano/a history and literature." *The Squatter and the Don* stands as "the first published narrative written in English from the perspective of the conquered Mexican population ... a narrative space for the counterhistory of the conquered Californio population."[11] Ruiz de Burton's literary work reflected conditions of economic and political struggles that were common for many 19th-century Mexican Americans, and her work, like that of Félix Varela, owed a great deal to the territorial expansion of the United States in the mid-19th century. Arriving in California during the Gold Rush, her circumstances were shaped by the U.S.-Mexico War, by the Civil War, and by the changing California economy in the 1860s and 1870s. As they would for others in U.S. history, wars brought major changes for Ruiz de Burton and members of her family, changing Latinos' relationship to U.S. citizenship, and the aftermath of those conflicts presented both challenges and opportunities to vulnerable members of American society.

Arturo Schomburg

If María Amparo Ruíz de Burton's experiences encapsulated many of the major issues facing Latinos from the 1820s into the post-Civil War years, Arturo Schomburg's work resonated with key themes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Born in Santurce, Puerto Rico in 1874, Arturo grew up in a family of mixed ethnic and racial background, with a mother who hailed from the Virgin Islands and a Puerto Rican father who claimed partial German ancestry. Like thousands of other contemporary Caribbean migrants, Schomburg made his way to New York City in the late 19th century, drawn to the economic opportunities in that metropolis as well as its cosmopolitan character. From the time he arrived in 1891, Schomburg joined fellow Puerto Ricans and Cubans in pressing for Latin American independence, following the lead of Félix Varela who had pushed a similar program prior to the Civil War. But now, living among working-class New Yorkers, many of them Spanish speakers, Schomburg became active in new social and political or-

ganizations – including the Cuban Revolutionary Party, a recently-founded group called Las Dos Antillas [the Two Antilles], and a Masonic Lodge that welcomed African American, Afro-Cuban, and Afro-Puerto Rican members.[12]

In taking up residency in late-19th century New York, Schomburg joined a diverse and growing community of the city's Latinos who maintained strong ties to the Caribbean and the politics of anti-imperialism. His residency in New York from 1891 until his death in 1938 coincided with major changes in the composition and orientation of that population. Working together across national lines during the 19th century, Puerto Rican and Cuban immigrants had long organized meetings, run newspapers, lobbied U.S. policymakers, and helped raise money for the fight against Spanish control. During Schomburg's time, the inspirational leadership of this movement fell to the Cuban poet, journalist, orator, and organizer José Martí, who spent considerable time among Cuban and Puerto Rican exiles in the U.S., and who helped to inspire the founding of the Cuban Revolutionary Party in New York City in 1892. Martí's efforts gave shape to the late-19th century Cuban revolution against Spain and subsequent U.S. entry into that conflict, and he became an important symbol of Cuban nationalism, hemispheric solidarity, and anti-imperialism after his death.[13]

Schomburg was intimately connected to those developments, and he watched as new circumstances unfolded in New York and other mainland cities following the outbreak of war in Cuba in 1895. As a defining historical moment for U.S. Latinos, that conflict, and U.S. intervention in 1898, proved a catalyst for new migrations, and new transnational ties, between the mainland U.S. and the Caribbean basis; it created an independent Cuba in 1902 and the establishment of Puerto Rico as a U.S. colony (and later commonwealth); it led the U.S. Congress and Supreme Court to affirm that Puerto Ricans were U.S. citizens; and it inaugurated an era of more aggressive U.S. interventions into Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and other former Spanish colonies that in turn prompted new groups of Latinos to migrate into the mainland U.S. from the early-1900s forward.[14]

Schomburg's involvement in anti-colonial, exile politics, and in his Masonic community, put him in touch not only with those developments, but also with other working-class Latino New Yorkers who redefined Brooklyn, Manhattan, and other boroughs throughout his lifetime. More than 60 percent of Puerto Ricans who lived in the mainland U.S. made their homes in New York City by 1920, and that proportion rose to 85 percent by 1940. According to Virginia Sánchez Korrol, "the attraction of New York City was largely economic. Job opportunities, above all, loom as the single most important factor encouraging potential migration."[15] Many of Schomburg's Puerto Rican compatriots found jobs in the construction or garment industries, while many Cubans took employment in cigar factories, an international enterprise that employed workers up and down the Atlantic seaboard. Other Latinos found work in different manufacturing operations, in railroad industries, or in low-wage agricultural labor. Throughout the U.S., Latinos and Latinas worked in those sectors and others during a time in which American capitalism depended more heavily on low-wage work by immigrants and people of color, and during a period in which U.S. economic investments in Puerto Rico and Mexico were destabilizing rural economies and prompting outmigration to the U.S.

Schomburg and other Latinos often faced stark discriminatory obstacles during this period. By the late-1930s, many found themselves clustered in racially defined barrios located near low-wage factories, meatpacking plants, or farms. Signs reading "No Mexicans Allowed" appeared in early-20th century Texas and oth-

er parts of the Southwest, and marriages between Latinos and whites were not allowed in some parts of the U.S. Race-based arguments in the U.S. Congress had kept New Mexico from achieving statehood until 1912, and residents of that region faced new struggles for equality in the World War I era, and in strikes by coal miners in Gallup, New Mexico during the early-1930s. In many workplaces and neighborhoods, organizers and everyday residents struggled to improve their circumstances, launching important organizing efforts in the rural Southwest, in midwestern cities like Chicago and Detroit, and up and down the East Coast.[16]

Arturo Schomburg, c. 1896 (Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library)

Like many contemporaries, Schomburg aspired to middle-class status, but he proved more talented, more determined, or more fortunate, than most. Frustrated in his efforts to become a lawyer, Schomburg taught Spanish, worked as a messenger and a clerk, and finally settled for a mailroom job at the Bankers Trust Company, where he rose to supervise its Caribbean and Latin American mail section. As racial segregation increased in New York and throughout the U.S., Latino urbanites like Schomburg often found themselves living in close proximity to African Americans, and sharing schools and other institutions with other low-income communities of color. Recalling the 1930s, Evelio Grillo noted that Afro-Cubans in Tampa, Florida "enjoyed larger and larger places in black American life, as teachers, as social workers, and some as leaders in the black American community. They chose black American spouses almost exclusively. Many of them attended college, with the largest number at Florida A&M, the public university for blacks."[17] Others in New York instead identified themselves, and at times organized themselves, by national group or more broadly as Afro-Latinos. Born in Cayey, Puerto Rico in 1901, the writer and activist Jesús Colón "identified as a black man who happened to be Puerto Rican", according to one scholar, and he came to "represen[t] the voice of those Puerto Ricans who have made their lives in the United States metropolis" prior to his death in 1974. Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the Bronx, on the other hand, created El Club Cubano Inter-Americano in 1945 as one of the 20th century's first racially inclusive Latino organizations that brought Afro-Latinos together with African Americans for political and social events.[18]

In the decades prior to World War II, Schomburg was among the most influential Puerto Ricans in the U.S., and it was his interest in scholarship, in history, and in collecting that made him famous. Throughout his life, Schomburg maintained a broad interest in black culture and history, inspired to research and write in part by past Cuban and Puerto Rican independence struggles, by the 19th-century example of the Afro-Cuban fighter Antonio Maceo, by the leadership of Rafael Serra and fellow Latinos in 1890s New York, and later by the Harlem Renaissance. Committed to uncovering the contributions of "Negroes" to world history, he collected documents, books, and stories that defied contemporary arguments about black intellectual inferiority. Those efforts made him one of the most prominent cultural figures of the Harlem Renaissance, as W.E.B. DuBois and many other writers consulted his archives in pursuing their own work from the 1910s onward. His collecting efforts were the foundation of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, housed at the

Harlem Branch of the New York Public Library, and his legacy is felt, also, in the annual Schomburg Symposium organized by the Taller Puertorriqueño in Philadelphia "that each year explores a different theme or aspect of Africa and its diaspora and its connection to the [Latino] heritage."[19]

Schomburg's efforts as an historian resonated with the broader intellectual work of Latinos during the early 20th century. Newspapers were critical to this historical period, and these years saw the establishment of key organs such as *La Prensa* in New York (1913); San Antonio's *La Prensa* (1913); and Los Angeles's *El Heraldo de México* (1915) and *La Opinión* (1926). Latin American social scientists such as José Vasconcelos, Manuel Gamio, Jovita González, and Martín Luis Guzmán spent time in California, Texas, Illinois, and New York. Finally, novelists published important works of literature. Writing in New York City, for example, the Colombian immigrant Alirio Díaz Guerra authored *Lucas Guevara* in 1914, perhaps the first Latino immigrant novel in U.S. history, while Mexican author Conrado Espinosa published *El sol de Texas* (Under The Texas Sun) in San Antonio in 1926.[20]

Luisa Moreno, c. 1920s (University of California, Irvine)

Schomburg's life therefore reminds us of many important developments in the late-19th and early-20th century experiences of Latinos in the U.S. As an Afro-Latino, he experienced discriminatory treatment from fellow Latin Americans as well as from others in U.S. society, and he aligned himself with other Spanish speakers from the Caribbean – Puerto Ricans and Cubans – but also with African Americans in turn-of-the-century New York. Race limited his economic advancement during this era of Jim Crow, but Schomburg joined other Latinos nationwide in developing community organizations, political clubs, and social groups through which he found like-minded New Yorkers, expressed his own views, and contributed to city life. With an international vision and strong sense of history, he made uniquely valuable contributions to African American intellectual culture in New York as a writer, archivist, and bibliophile, providing just one example of how 19th and 20th-century Latinos contributed to other groups in U.S. society, and how their intellectual commitments have given shape to modern American culture.

Luisa Moreno

The experiences of Luisa Moreno, one of the most influential labor and civil rights leaders in the mid-20th century U.S., differed markedly from the work of Schomburg and encapsulated critical developments between the late 1920s and the early 1950s. She was one of the relatively small number of Central Americans who made their way to the U.S. in the first half of the 20th century, a number that would increase a great deal in the 1970s and 1980s. Born Blanca Rosa Rodríguez López in Guatemala in 1907, she grew up, like María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, in a privileged Latin American family. Intending that his daughter become a nun, her father, a powerful coffee grower, sent nine-year-old Blanca to a convent in California for four years. The rebellious teenager, however, rejected her parents' authority upon her return. Aspiring to a university education, she left home for Mexico City where she found work as a journalist, published a volume of poetry, and mingled with artists in that capital city. After marrying an artist who was considerably older, she moved with him to New York City in 1928

and gave birth to a daughter just weeks after the 1929 stock market crash.

As an immigrant and young mother in New York, Moreno was privileged to speak perfect English (thanks to her schooling in California), and to be highly educated and light-skinned. She nonetheless lived in Spanish Harlem alongside working-class Puerto Ricans and Cubans of the sort whom Schomburg knew well. There she experienced a downward economic mobility not uncommon among Latinos in the 20th century, living as a poor seamstress in circumstances far different from those that she had known in her native Guatemala. Like others in the 1930s, she found her way to radical politics during the Depression decade, joining the ranks of the Communist Party, working to organize a small union for fellow Spanish-speaking garment workers, and then taking an American Federation of Labor job in 1935 to organize cigar workers in Florida. Concerned about poor housing, dangerous living and working conditions, discrimination and low wages paid to women and immigrants, she began a new life dedicated to social justice and more democratic involvement by poor people in the U.S. Other Latinos and Latinas shared Moreno's interests in the 1930s, prompted to join union and civil rights campaigns by the new hardship facing their communities, by New Deal legislation that inspired some hope for change, and by new leadership in the U.S. labor movement.

Thoroughly transformed from the young woman who had left her Guatemala home nearly a decade before, Blanca Rosa ("White Rose") Rodríguez renamed herself Luisa Moreno ("Dark") in the mid-1930s, adopting a surname that signaled her new affiliation with the working-class people of color she sought to organize. Her first name connected Moreno to the famed Puerto Rican feminist Luisa Capetillo who had been active several decades earlier.[21] Working among Latinos and African Americans, she proved a very successful organizer of Florida cigar workers, negotiating a contract that covered 13,000 employees before abandoning the American Federation of Labor for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), a new labor organization that affirmed a commitment to organizing racial minorities, women, and unskilled workers.

As an employee of the United Cannery and Packinghouse Workers of America (UCAPAWA – an affiliate of the CIO), Moreno was sent first to San Antonio, Texas to assist striking Latinas in the pecan shelling industry. Those women, who played a critical role in the Texas economy, were led by Emma Tenayuca, a young orator and organizer whose first labor activism had centered on changing San Antonio's cigar industry a few years earlier. Raised by a mother descended from Spanish settlers and a father who claimed indigenous heritage, Tenayuca later reflected that "I think it was the combination of being a Texan, being a Mexican, and being more Indian than Spanish that propelled me to take action.'" Tenayuca and other civil rights proponents focused their efforts on San Antonio's West Side, a four-square mile section in which 80,000 ethnic Mexicans endured low wages, sub-standard housing, and the highest infant death rate in the U.S. Despite opposition from the Catholic Church, city officials, and some Mexican American organizations, the city's pecan shellers organized marches, rallies, and strikes that helped to transform the politics of that critically important Latino neighborhood.[22]

Eager to see West Side residents and others gain a voice in American politics, Moreno next set off to establish the first national Latino civil rights organization. Meeting in April 1939 in Los Angeles, she brought together more than a 1,000 delegates from more than 100 organizations to form *el Congreso de Pueblos de Habla Española* (The Spanish-Speaking Peoples' Congress). No such event involving representatives

of Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, and other communities had ever taken place in U.S. history, and Moreno's efforts at once carried forward the pan-ethnic political organizing of Martí, Schomburg, and others, even as it anticipated by more than 30 years the creation of national Latino organizations that emerged in the 1960s and 1970. That conference therefore proved a milestone in Latino political history, as delegates from across the country, and from different Latino groups, committed themselves to fair housing, an end to educational segregation, unionization campaigns targeting low-wage women and immigrants, a ban on police brutality, and other demands. Just a few years removed from massive repatriation drives targeting ethnic Mexicans in Southern California and other parts of the country, the organization courageously demanded an end to such deportation pressures, with Moreno speaking eloquently about deportation trains as "caravans of sorrow" that looked eerily like the vehicles then being used to round up Jews and other "aliens" in Europe.[23]

Josefina Fierro, c.1940s (Creative Commons by cindylu)

As an organizer in Southern California before and during World War II, Moreno worked with a broad group of individuals and organizations concerned about democracy and inequality, including liberals and leftists on the West Coast, members of the Hollywood community, and working-class, often immigrant, Californians of scarce means. The number of Latinos in the Los Angeles area had grown exponentially over the course of Moreno's lifetime, thanks in part to the Mexican Revolution (1910-1921) and Cristero Revolts (1926-28) that helped to drive hundreds of thousands of rural and urban people north across the border.[24] With few Central Americans in the region until the 1970s, Moreno worked with organizers such as Josefina Fierro, whose father had fought in the Revolution under Francisco "Pancho" Villa, and whose mother had been a follower of the Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón. Fierro had worked on immigrant rights campaigns in Southern California since the mid-1930s, and she and Moreno distinguished themselves as among the most important advocates of women's rights in the U.S. during the Depression and World War II years, providing leadership that would lay a foundation for later advancement. Many of their efforts centered on social equality for women of color. In December 1939, for example, El Congreso passed a resolution in California on "The Mexican woman" that criticized the "double discrimination [she suffers] as a woman and as a Mexican," and that called "for women's equality, so that she may receive equal wages, enjoy the same rights as men in social, economic, and civil liberties, and use her vote for the defense of the Mexican and Spanish American people, and of American democracy."

As El Congreso struggled to improve American democracy, their concerns, like those of most Latinos, changed with the outbreak of World War II. On the East Coast, Bernardo Vega recalled that after Pearl Harbor "the war absorbed the attention of everyone, and the Puerto Rican community in New York concentrated most of its energies on the war effort. For my part, I too was disposed to do all that was in my power to contribute ... to the defeat of fascism."[25] Young people rushed into military service, and many Latinos and Latinas gave their labor to war industries throughout the U.S. World War II was a transformational time for many, as men and women took up arms or entered defense industries, Puerto Ri-

cans traveled to New York City in larger numbers, new immigrants arrived from Mexico to take railroad and agricultural jobs, rural residents moved to cities, and cultural life in Florida, the upper Midwest, New York, Texas, and California changed quickly.[26]

During these same years, U.S. civil rights organizations defended young Latinos, African Americans, and others who were attacked for wearing zoot suits, and often derided as anti-American, during wartime rioting. Moreno had rebelled against her own family 15 years before, and she understood the 1930s and 1940s as years of tremendous youth creativity in Latin America and the U.S. Barrio residents in California, Arizona, and Texas – often fiercely patriotic – had developed styles of dress and linguistic expressions that challenged their parents' conservatism, celebrated African American jazz, and flaunted ducktail hairstyles, tall pompadours, pegged pants, tight skirts, and other exaggerated fashions. Faced with anti-Latino violence in Los Angeles and elsewhere, and newspaper headlines that announced that Mexican youth were inherently violent and intellectually inferior, civil rights leaders such as Moreno, Fierro, and Alice McGrath pushed the federal government, military officials, elected city and state representatives, and West Coast journalists to defend Latino communities during wartime.[27]

Despite new violence and the persistence of older challenges to their advancement, Latinos certainly saw some social and political progress during and after World War II. In Texas, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) effectively used frequent reminders about Mexican American contributions to the Allied war effort, and Good Neighbor rhetoric of inter-American cooperation, to attack educational discrimination and the denial of public accommodations to Latinos. Leaders such as Alonso S. Perales and Carlos Castañeda pushed the state Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to end discrimination in hiring and wages. Returning veterans in Chicago and elsewhere took advantage of the G.I. Bill and federal housing assistance to attend college, purchase homes, and secure middle-class employment in the postwar economy. After years of struggle, residents of Puerto Rico established their right in 1952 to elect a Governor and adopt a constitution of their own as a Commonwealth, rather than a formal colony, of the U.S. The large number of Puerto Ricans moving to New York City and other mainland locales, including some 151,000 between 1940 and 1950, and 470,000 between 1950 and 1960, formed new community organizations and participated in religious, civic, and other groups. Landmark court cases, many argued by Latino lawyers, challenged racial discrimination in education, in fair housing, and in jury selection during the 1940s and 1950s.[28]

Latinos also became more visible in the U.S. cultural sphere during and after the war, affirming their place in American society by excelling as artists and performers. Actors such as Rita Moreno, Ricardo Montalbán, and Desi Arnaz took more influential roles in theater, film, and television. Postwar journalists accelerated the growth of Spanish- and English-language media, driving up the circulation of newspapers such as Los Angeles's *La Opinión*, and the merger of *El Diario* and *La Prensa* in New York in 1962. Musicians such as Mario Bauzá, Beny Moré, Celia Cruz, Miguelito Valdés, and others played to packed houses on both coasts and in the upper Midwest. Latino writers published new fiction and memoirs, including Pedro Juan Soto's *Spiks* (1956), which explored Puerto Rican struggles in New York City, and José Antonio Villarreal's *Pocho* (1959), which sought to represent Mexican American experiences in the 1930s and 1940s. Latinos became more visible in American sports, as well, thanks to boxers such as Kid Gavilán, and to baseball players such as Mike García, Orestes (Minny) Miñoso, Ozzie Vigil,

and Vic Power. Moreover, they authored important works of scholarship, including studies of Puerto Ricans in Chicago by the pioneering sociologist Elena Padilla, work in labor economics by Ernesto Galarza, and explorations of South Texas folklore and border conflict by musicologist Américo Paredes. These trends accelerated during the postwar period, as new groups of Latin Americans arrived in the U.S. seeking opportunities, or fleeing the Cuban Revolution or political turmoil in the Dominican Republic, throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[29]

Although they applauded these cultural efforts, activists associated with El Congreso and similar groups found that World War II and the immediate postwar years also presented new obstacles to Latino civil rights. Violence directed at zoot suiters had put gendered and racialized hostility towards working-class Southern Californians on display. Both unionists and middle-class Mexican Americans saw the postwar renewal of the Bracero Program, a wartime contract labor agreement between Mexico and the U.S., as an effort to flood labor markets with low-wage, temporary workers from Latin America. Latinos in New York and other cities found themselves competing for scarce industrial jobs during a time in which that sector failed to expand, and in which many garment factories and assembly plants relocated to the South in search of cheaper labor. By the late-1940s, Cold War-era concerns about communist infiltration, and a common desire to avoid the sort of labor and civil rights conflicts that had defined the 1930s, led to new surveillance of Moreno and other suspected radicals. As a result, in this time of new challenges for organized labor, El Congreso, a broad-based civil rights organization, never managed to convene after World War II. Fearing police surveillance and possible deportation, Fierro left the U.S. for Mexico in 1948, and Moreno did the same in 1950.

Edward Roybal (Library of Congress)

Edward Roybal

The postwar period witnessed the development of Chicano and Puerto Rican civil rights efforts in the 1960s and 1970s, and the formation of influential organizations such as the United Farm Workers, the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs, ASPIRA, the National Council of La Raza, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Puerto Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. These organizations drew from the experiences, the resources, and the energies of Latinos who had been involved in civil rights efforts since the 1940s and 1950s, including Puerto Ricans in New York such as Antonia Pantoja, and they often used celebrations of Latino culture to help galvanize Americans as neighborhood residents, workers, or citizens.

In Los Angeles County, it was neighborhood organizers, some of them connected directly to Moreno and El Congreso, who helped to elect Edward Roybal, one of the most influential Latino politicians in the late 20th century, to elective office in 1949. In so doing, they launched a political career that would lead Roybal to the U.S. Congress in 1963. Roybal's political career stretched from the 1940s into the early-1990s. Like the other historical figures reviewed here, his biography connects with key themes of his time such as the emerging power of Latino voters, the Latinization of Los Angeles and other major cities, and the institutionalization of Latino politics on the na-

tional scene. Born only a few years after Moreno, he made his impact on American life just as she was stepping away from her labor and civil rights organizing, and only months before she left the U.S. for Mexico.

Edward Roybal became a longtime Southern Californian, living in Los Angeles at a time in which the region became home to the largest number of ethnic Mexicans in the U.S. Like most others, however, he was a transplant, not a native, of that city. Born in New Mexico in 1916 to a family that traced its roots in the region back to Spanish colonization, Roybal moved with his parents to Los Angeles in the early 1920s during the height of pre-World War II Mexican migration to the West Coast. His native New Mexico had recently achieved statehood in 1912, and Roybal had spent his first years in a bilingual region in which Hispanos enjoyed some representation in local politics, and from which voters later sent Dennis Chávez to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1930 as the first Mexican American elected to that body. Many residents of the state suffered economic hardship after World War I, however, and Mexican Americans – including the families of soldiers who had fought in that conflict – sought jobs outside the state as sheepherders in Wyoming, mine workers in Colorado, agricultural laborers in California, and more. In 1922, when his father lost his job in a railroad strike, the Roybals left Albuquerque seeking new opportunities in Boyle Heights, a growing Mexican American neighborhood area on the east side of Los Angeles. He graduated from Roosevelt High School 12 years later, took a job with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC – an important New Deal Program), worked at times in the low-wage garment industry during the Depression, and then returned to school to study business at the UCLA and law at Southwestern University.

In a time when few Mexican Americans entered colleges and universities, Roybal had been able to secure more education than most Latinos in the U.S., and he hoped to put that schooling to good use. Concerned about public health, he took a position with the California Tuberculosis Association and rose to direct education programs for the Los Angeles County Tuberculosis and Health Association. In that capacity, he combated diseases that preyed upon poor residents of the area's barrios and colonias. Like many other Latinos nationwide, Roybal also served in the armed services during World War II, utilizing what he had learned at UCLA as an accountant for an Army infantry unit. A proud veteran, Roybal was well positioned at war's end to become a member of the American middle class, and he considered moving to the suburbs and pursuing a more comfortable life. However, his interest in advancing the cause of Latino electoral representation, civil rights, and equality of opportunity won out. He spent his vacation time in 1945 and 1946 in Chicago studying community organizing under Saul Alinsky, and when other politically active Latinos urged Roybal to run for office, he agreed to put himself forward as a candidate in 1947.

Working with like-minded Southern Californians, Roybal lost that first bid for Los Angeles City Council, but his friends and colleagues maintained their campaign organization with an eye to the next election. Over the following months that group gained the support of Alinsky as well as prominent members of Los Angeles's Jewish community, Hollywood liberals, city and county officials, Catholic clergy, and labor unionists. Multi-ethnic coalition building in fact proved key to many postwar Latino political movements. Members of Roybal's group called themselves the Community Service Organization (CSO), and they set out to register new voters for the next election through small house meetings that gathered together neighbors and friends. These were years of high political expectations for Latino voters in California, New York, Illinois, and

other states, an era that saw the establishment in 1949 of critical new organizations such as the American G.I. Forum in Three Rivers, Texas. CSO organizer Fred Ross Sr. noted the large number of potential Mexican American voters in places like East Los Angeles, that "in the past ten years practically the entire United States-born second generation has come of voting age." In his view, "sizeable segments of this second generation, particularly the veterans, are possessed of a strong social will to bring about basic improvements in the neighborhoods so that at least their children can have a better life, a better place to live it." In just over three months, the CSO registered 11,000 new voters in East Los Angeles, assuring that on election day in 1949 Edward Roybal would not only win his city council seat, he would also double the number of total votes cast in the 1947 election.[30]

With Roybal's victory, Los Angeles had elected its first Mexican American city councilman since 1878, and news of the CSO's success spread throughout Latino communities in California and Arizona. Buoyed in part by the African American civil rights movement, CSO organizer Fred Ross, Sr. identified and trained young leaders throughout the state such as César, Helen, and Richard Chávez; Dolores Huerta; Cruz Reynoso; and Herman Gallegos. Through tireless organizing and hundreds of house meetings, they shaped the most important Latino civil rights organization on the West Coast during the 1950s. Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the Central Valley, the San Francisco Bay Area, and colonias from San Diego to Monterey organized for neighborhood improvement or labor campaigns, made arguments before city council meetings, and ran naturalization classes for elderly immigrants. From 1949 until the early-1960s, the organization brought tens of thousands of California and Arizona voters – most of them Latinos – into the electoral process for the first time, and activists pressed politicians and candidates to pass a minimum wage for agricultural workers in the state, and to approve an old-age pension system for non-citizens who had worked in California for decades.

Latinos elsewhere worked on similar projects related to economic justice and political empowerment during the 1950s, and that decade laid a foundation for Latino electoral representation from coast to coast. In Los Angeles, Roybal pressed for Fair Employment Practices, an end to police brutality, and similar issues of concern to many ethnic Mexicans, running unsuccessfully as the 1954 Democratic candidate for California Lieutenant Governor. In 1956, Denver made Bert Gallegos the first Latino on its city council, and voters in El Paso, Texas elected Raymond Telles as the 20th century's first big city Latino mayor in 1957. Arizona's Alianza Hispano-Americana joined with Texas's LULAC and American G.I. Forum, and with California's CSO, to form an umbrella network of Mexican American political groups, the American Council of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, in the early 1950s. Electoral campaigns involving Latino organizers escalated towards the end of the decade thanks to the establishment of Viva Kennedy! clubs during the 1960 presidential campaign. Overseen by campaign staffer Carlos McCormick, their mobilization of the Latino electorate in California, Colorado, and elsewhere played a key role in John F. Kennedy's narrow electoral victory. In New Mexico, for instance, Kennedy claimed a victory margin of just 2,000 votes, while his win in Texas by just 46,000 ballots is often credited with winning him the national election.

The 1960 presidential election galvanized many Catholic voters, and the Viva Kennedy! campaigns brought recently-elected Latino politicians together for the first time. In October 1960, the campaign met in New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel with both Mexican Americans from the Southwest and Puerto Ricans from New York.[31] Kennedy's election en-

ergized new Latino political efforts, as voters elected Henry B. González the first Mexican American Congressman from Texas in 1961, and residents of Los Angeles in the following year made Philip Soto and John Moreno the first Latinos in the California Assembly for more than 50 years. In 1962, Southern Californians also sent Edward Roybal to the U.S. Congress as the first Latino elected to the House from that state in the 20th century.

Roybal served in Congress from 1963 to 1993, an era defined by Latino demographic growth throughout the U.S. thanks in part to new migrations from Cuba and the Dominican Republic. By 1962, the Cuban Revolution of 1959 had already prompted an enormous upsurge in that population in Florida, New York, New Jersey, and other states. As a community that traced its residency in the U.S. to the late 18th and early 19th century, the era of Félix Varela, the number of Cubans had grown steadily since World War I – with 16,000 arriving in the 1920s, roughly 9,000 arriving in the 1930s, 26,000 during the 1940s, and some 80,000 in the 1950s. Their numbers rose sharply after 1959, however, and U.S. government programs, including the Cuban Adjustment Act, gave that population special preference in immigration law. Some 300,000 Cubans immigrated between 1965 and 1973; another 125,000 "marielitos" entered the U.S. around 1980; and a large group of "balseros" arrived in the mid-1990s.[32] Similarly, the 1960s and 1970s saw a dramatic upsurge in the Dominican population of the U.S., as well. Prompted by political turmoil and repression, economic challenges in their home country, and U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965, the number of immigrants from that country increased from fewer than 10,000 in the 1950s to more than 90,000 in the 1960s; nearly 150,000 in the 1970s, more than 250,000 in the 1980s; and more than 330,000 in the 1990s. While most settled in the New York area, Dominicans moved in significant numbers to Florida and other parts of the U.S., as well.[33] During the 1970s and 1980s, new groups of South Americans, including Chileans, Argentinians, and Colombians, also moved to the U.S. in growing numbers, drawn by economic opportunity as political violence created dangerous instability in their home countries.[34]

Congressional Hispanic Caucus, 1984 (United States Congress)

Roybal's term in Congress also coincided with changes in the mainland Puerto Rican population, and with the arrival of large numbers of Central Americans to California and other parts of the U.S. after 1980. Thanks in part to more convenient air travel linking New York and San Juan, Puerto Ricans continued to move to that city and other parts of the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s, building communities that had developed dramatically during the 1940s and 1950s when island industrialization programs had actively encouraged outmigration. Moreover, it was not just New York's barrio that grew, as the Puerto Rican presence spread and became more visible after 1960 in Hartford, Boston, Worcester, and other Northeastern cities; in Newark and Trenton and Philadelphia; in Cleveland and Chicago; in Los Angeles and San Francisco; and in Tampa and Miami.[35] During the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1980-1988), immigration from Central America, especially from El Salvador and Guatemala and Nicaragua, developed as residents fled civil wars, U.S. military involvement, and economic hardship in the hope of securing work and security in the U.S. The number of

Central Americans increased from 331,219 in 1980 to 1,323,380 by 1990, with many moving to California, Texas, Louisiana, Florida, Washington D.C., and Illinois. Many considered themselves temporary refugees, eager to return to their home countries after the cessation of hostilities, but the duration and extent of violence in Central America, and the possibilities seemingly available, encouraged many Central Americans to settle permanently in the U.S.[36]

Most important to Roybal's California Congressional district, the number of Mexican migrants to the U.S. grew after the conclusion of the Bracero Program in 1965. Arrivals from that country comprised 25 percent of the total number of immigrants admitted legally to the U.S. between 1960 and 2000, and hundreds of thousands of other border crossers entered the U.S. without documents in order to work in agriculture, industry, or the service sector. As the scale of Mexican migration increased in the 1970s and 1980s, thanks both to demands for low-wage workers in the U.S. and to economic restructuring in their home country, migrants hailed from regions of Mexico that had sent few emigres in the past, braving new and more militarized regulations at the U.S.-Mexico border, and they moved in larger numbers to regions of the U.S. such as the rural South and Midwest.[37]

Puerto Rican Day Parade, New York (Creative Commons by asterix611)

Throughout Roybal's term in Congress, immigrant- and U.S.-born Latinos drove U.S. economic growth, their remittances bolstered Latin American economies, they joined the U.S. military in large numbers, and they played critical roles in shaping American literature, film, radio, and other cultural productions. Many also joined Roybal in winning election to influential political offices. Maurice Ferre became mayor of Miami in 1973, the first Puerto Rican to lead a major city in the mainland U.S.; Henry Cisneros and Federico Peña, both Mexican Americans, became mayors of San Antonio and Denver in 1981 and 1982. Born in Cuba, Xavier L. Suárez became the first Cuban American mayor of Miami in 1985. Moreover, voters elected Latino governors in several states, including Raúl Castro and Jerry Apodaca in Arizona and New Mexico in 1974, and Bob Martínez in Florida in 1986. Some of these gains were due not only to the growing number of Latino voters, or to the political skills of individual politicians, but also to Congress's extension in 1975 of Voting Rights Act protections to Latinos and other "language minorities," which mandated bilingual election materials, and a key 1982 amendment to the act that shaped voter redistricting in areas with large numbers of Latinos.[38]

Just as important to Roybal's time in office were the social movements emerging after 1960 in which Latinos mobilized to change American politics, U.S. cities, educational institutions, workplaces and job sites, and more. These efforts built upon, but also departed from, already established Latino mutual aid organizations and neighborhood improvement associations, church-based groups, and efforts associated with the Democratic Party. Members of the League of United Latin American Citizens in Texas helped to create the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO) based on Viva Kennedy! clubs, for instance. In 1962, former leaders of the Community Service Organization in California started the labor and civil rights organization that became the United Farm Workers of America. New York's Puerto Rican Day Parade, which had begun in 1956 as the Desfile Hispanoamericano de Nueva

York, took on a new activist cast by the late-1960s, and the Puerto Rican Forum in New York, established in 1957, while continuing to develop community leaders, established groups such as ASPIRA and the Puerto Rican Family Institute over the following decade. Other political and cultural responses challenged the U.S. political system, and some adopted more confrontational engagements with officials, employers, and American institutions.

The 1960s and 1970s were years of political urgency, scholars contend, when Puerto Ricans and other Latinos "came to embody that famous line from the Langston Hughes poem: 'Nothing lights a fire like a dream deferred.'"[39] As one recent study of Chicago's 18th Street suggests, "Some local activists worked in social service agencies, formed community-based organizations, and began building coalitions with other groups across the city. Others had more radical critiques of American society and envisioned revolutionary social changes that struck at the root of inequality."[40] By the early 1970s, Latinos had formed organizations such as the Young Lords Party in Chicago and New York, and the Brown Berets in California and Texas; students were arguing for better schools in California and Texas, and for the establishment of programs teaching Chicano Studies and Puerto Rican Studies; and young and old expressed growing concern about the death tolls paid in the Vietnam conflict by Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others. Immigration reform became a key feature of the national political agenda, as well, with some Latinos arguing for greater restrictionism during the 1970s and 1980s, and most seeming to value a pathway to citizenship for undocumented U.S. residents.[41] Latinos debated the merits of legislation that sought to make English the official language of states like California or of the entire nation, while other immigrant- and U.S.-born residents became involved in a revived labor movement during the 1980s and 1990s in the hope of addressing the deep structural disparities in employment, living conditions, and education levels that dogged cities and rural areas into the late 20th century.

Congressman Roybal and many other Latinos in elected office responded to these concerns and others from the early 1960s into the early 1990s. Serving on important House committees, he became the first to introduce a bilingual education bill to the U.S. Congress, promoted public spending on AIDS and Alzheimer's research, worked to expand veterans' benefits, proposed national health care legislation, and voted to establish a cabinet-level Department of Education. Roybal also built dialogue between Latinos serving in the U.S. Congress, and between Latino government officials throughout the U.S. In 1976 he co-founded the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC), a legislative service organization that initially brought Roybal together with fellow representatives Kika de la Garza (D-TX), Baltasar Corrada del Río (Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico), Herman Badillo (D-NY, and the first Puerto Rican elected to serve in the House), and Henry B. Gonzalez (D-TX), but that welcomed many more representatives in the 1980s and 1990s across a widening ideological spectrum, including Manuel Lujan (R-NM), Bill Richardson (D-NM), Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-FL), Esteban Torres (D-CA), Robert Garcia (D-NY), Nydia Velásquez (D-NY), José Serrano (D-NY), Robert Menendez (D-NJ), and others. In the same year of the founding of CHC, Roybal also established the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), serving as president of that large body until 1991.

Conclusion

President William J. Clinton recognized the critical historical contributions of Congressman Roybal awarding him a Presidential Citizens Medal in 2001. In addition, the work of other influential Latinos such as Antonia

Pantoja, César Chávez, and Dolores Huerta, along with a long list of Congressional Medal of Honor winners, has come to greater national attention in recent decades. The U.S. has too often ignored the centrality of women like Luisa Moreno and María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, or men like Félix Varela or Arturo Schomburg, who also shaped our collective past, served and educated fellow Americans, advanced the democratic political process, or helped to define American culture. Perhaps, following the logic of Walt Whitman's argument in 1888, some have remained so "impress'd by New England writers and schoolmasters, we tacitly abandon ourselves to the notion that our United States have been fashion'd from the British Islands only ... a very great mistake." Such abandonment, such insistence, now requires a steady and determined affirmation of the most narrow descriptions of national belonging, and a turning away from all of the evidence that shows Latinos as key historical participants, collaborators, and leaders in many fields throughout the U.S. In fact, the first consideration of Latinos' place in North America was authored more than 400 years ago in 1610, well before the Pilgrims named Plymouth Rock, with the publication in Spain of Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá's *Historia de Nuevo México*. That text, considered "the first published history of any American state," should remind us again of the longstanding presence of Latinos in North America, of the critical histories we miss when we ignore those subjects, and of the many important paths that Latinos have explored since the colonial period.[42]

"To that composite American identity of the future, Spanish character will supply some of the most needed parts."

Walt Whitman, The Spanish Element in Our Nationality

As the previous pages suggest, individuals such as Félix Varela, María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Arturo Schomburg, Luisa Moreno, Edward Roybal, and others must be our guides if we are to understand how and why people have long moved between Latin America and the U.S., the democratic struggles linking U.S. residents to other countries, the importance of religiosity in everyday life, the work of our best writers and artists, and the extent to which Latinos have built this national community, and other communities, over more than two centuries. The essays that follow, authored by some of the nation's most distinguished scholars, delve more deeply into these and other critical aspects of our nation's past.

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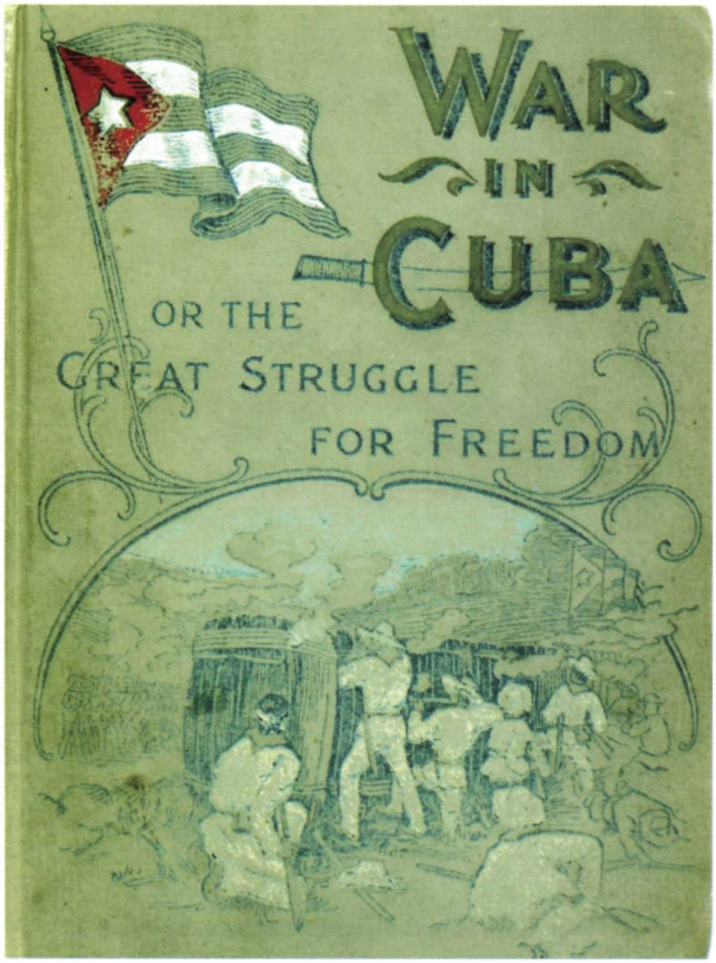


Clockwise from top left:
The Alamo, War of 1836, San Antonio, Texas (Library of Congress, Jack Boucher, 1961); "The Bombardment of Porto [sic] Rico," War of 1898, Cromolithograph (Library of Congress, 1898); Flag of the Republic of the Rio Grande (Creative Commons by Daniel Rodriguez, 2007); San Pasqual Battlefield, War of 1846, San Pasqual Valley, California (National Park Service, David Lowe, 2004); "The War in Cuba or the Great Struggle for Freedom" by Senor Gonzalo de Quesada and Henry Davenport Northrop (The Dominion Company, First Edition, 1896)

The Latino Crucible: Its Origins in 19th-Century Wars, Revolutions, and Empire

Ramón A. Gutiérrez

The people who now reside in the U.S. and call themselves Latinos have long and complex historical genealogies in this country. Many of them entered the U.S. willingly as immigrants in the 20th century, but just as many were territorially incorporated through America's wars of imperial expansion in the 19th century. As many ethnic Mexican residents of the Southwest correctly explain, "We did not cross a border; the border crossed us." Or as others oft remark, "We are here because you were there." To understand how and why Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, the three groups that today constitute the bulk of American Latinos, first entered the U.S., let us imagine two very separate zones of imperial concentration in the Americas that were born in 1492 with the voyages of Christopher Columbus.

Many Latinos date their origin as subjects or citizens of the U.S. to the period between 1800 and 1900.

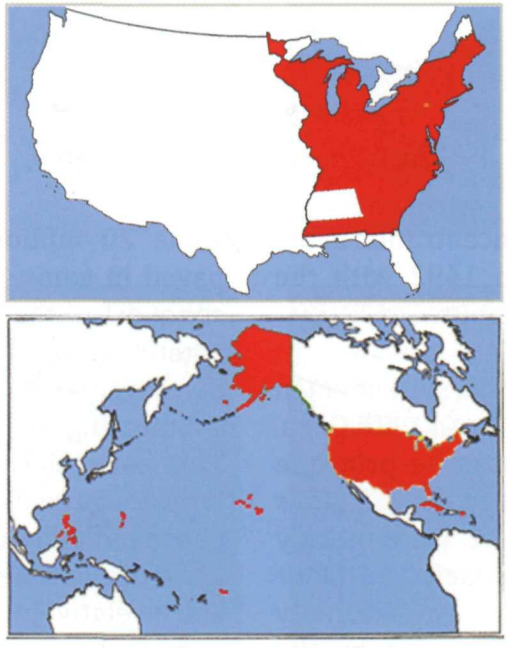
The first area of Spanish imperial settlement in the Americas was in the Caribbean, with Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hispaniola as its principle sites. The native inhabitants of these islands were few in number at contact, were quickly decimated by European diseases, and labor demands and their labor was just as rapidly replaced by African slaves. This is why the Spanish Caribbean has long had such a strong African cultural tradition and such a distinct racial legacy around issues of blackness. Cuba is by far the largest Caribbean island, almost eleven times bigger than Puerto Rico. For four centuries, Cuba was one of the most productive and prosperous of Spain's colonies. It was the staging point for the early Spanish expeditions of exploration and conquest in the Americas, and it was through the port of Havana that most trade flowed between Europe and Spanish America. Florida and Louisiana by virtue of their geographic proximity and trade were closely tied to Cuba in the colonial period and have remained in its cultural orbit ever since. Of the 50.5 million Latinos now living in the U.S., 12 percent or 6.3 million trace their ancestry back to these initial Spanish settlements in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The largest group of Latinos in the U.S. is from Mexico, representing about 63 percent of the group's total and numbering 31.7 million by the 2010 census count. In the early 16th century, expeditions of exploration originating in Cuba learned of the wealthy Aztec Empire in the Valley of Mexico with its immense population of some 20 million and its streets putatively paved in gems, silver, and gold. The Spanish conquest of the Aztecs followed in 1521, and when that was completed expeditions of conquest radiated out from Mexico, eventually subjugating the Inca Empire in Peru in 1532. This zone of Hispanic presence in the New World was centered in Mexico City and had a dense indigenous population that supplied its labor needs under both Aztec and Spanish rule. Since relatively few African slaves were ever imported into this colony, its racial politics have focused on *mestizaje*, or racial mixing between whites and Indians, while largely ignoring its African heritage.

Mexico was tied to Europe through established trade routes between Havana and Veracruz, and connected to Asian markets by the convoys that regularly sailed between Mexico's Pacific port at Acapulco and Manila Bay in the Philippines. For our story about the devolution of Spain's American colonial empire and the genesis of Latinos, we focus only on Mexico's at-

tempts to settle its far north, what became the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. In the 18th century, the mines of northern Mexico were producing the bulk of the world's silver. The settlement of New Mexico, Texas, and California became an imperative for Spain as a way of protecting these operations and thwarting English, French, American, and Comanche threats.

Many Latinos date their origin as subjects or citizens of the U.S. to the period between 1800 and 1900. This essay roughly takes these dates as its temporal beginning and end. The U.S. began 1800 as 16 states with no major territorial possessions. It ended 1900 having fulfilled a continental ambition, with sovereignty over Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, and Alaska, and with an overseas empire that included Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and Hawaii. This rapid expansion gave rise to a legitimating nationalist myth of empire that became popularly known of Manifest Destiny. In its most elemental form, Manifest Destiny asserted that God providentially had chosen the Anglo-Saxon race of the U.S. to bring civilization to inferior, dark peoples, to sweep away monarchy and replace it with democracy, to establish republican forms of government premised on Protestantism, generously helping benighted pioneers and people who occupied the spaces America coveted. Manifest Destiny was a complex time/space matrix of ideas variously inflected, but unitarily evolutionary and racialist, explaining America's need for new lands, ports, and markets, for secure national borders, and most of all, for its God-ordained destiny to greatness.



U.S. territorial expansion from 1800 (top) to 1900 (bottom) (National Park Service, Kathleen Madigan, 2012)

Revolutionary Stirrings

At the end of the 18th century, Europe and the Americas were overcome by a number of revolutions that profoundly transformed the colonial empires England, France, and Spain had built. Thirteen of England's North American colonies declared independence in 1776 as the United States of America. Then, influenced by America's republican creation embodying many French Enlightenment ideals, France too underwent a revolution in 1789. With *liberté, égalité, fraternité* as their motto, the revolutionaries swept away feudal, aristocratic, and religious privileges, issuing a Declaration on the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and ultimately beheading both King Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette.

News of the French Revolution rapidly spread to Saint-Domingue, France's most profitable colony in the Caribbean, which was then producing with African slave labor much of the sugar and coffee consumed in England and France. From 1788 to 1791, as the ties of empire weakened and the French monarchy was swept aside the island's white planters and settlers mainly fought among themselves divided as royalists and separatists, but united in wanting self-rule, the continuation of slavery, and their racial privileges as whites. As the revolution became more radical in France, extending in 1791 full legal equality to all free men, whatever their color, this proclamation inspired slaves to seek their

own freedom too, sparking revolts on Saint-Domingue, which quickly left many of the island's plantations destroyed and some 2,000 whites dead. Spain and England came to the aid of the planters on Saint-Domingue, but just as they did France abolished African slavery in 1794, the first country in the world to do so, sparking slave revolts in Spain and England's colonies. What began as an independence movement in Saint-Domingue in 1791, quickly devolved into a genocidal racial war against whites and French power, and ending in 1804 with the creation of the Republic of Haiti.

Enlightenment ideals about equality, citizenship, and inalienable rights similarly infected Spain's colonies. These ideas proved particularly incendiary when compounded by local grievances about heavy taxation, the over regulation of trade, the unity of church and state, and the place of the Indian in the colonial scheme. Napoleon's invasion of Spain and his removal of the Bourbon dynasty from its throne in 1807 provoked a crisis of royal authority both in Spain and in the Americas, quickening independence in the latter, as one region after another declared themselves independent states. By 1825, only Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines remained under Spanish rule.

Contesting Manifest Destiny

The victors of war always control the writing of history, forging and fixing exactly how events will be represented, remembered, and studied. This is particularly the case in American historiography because the narratives of the nation's development have been so thoroughly interested in denying empire and erasing the resistance of those peoples who were swept aside by conquest. Indeed, many American history books still attest that the nation's territorial expansion was motivated by benevolence, by an Anglo Protestant civilizing mission to rescue and uplift racialized savages, even denying genocide, calling it by a more genteel name "Indian removal," and asserting that there was little opposition to American rule.

American history textbooks still largely narrate the 19th century as a series of pivotal wars, from the Texas Revolution (1836), to the U.S.-Mexico War (1846), to the Spanish American War (1898). When American history is told and taught this way Latinos all but disappear. Mexican Texans and Anglos united during the Texas Revolution against a Mexico they deemed tyrannical. When we as modern Americans are urged to "Remember the Alamo," however, it is a call to remembrance not of this unity but of the butchery Mexico unleashed to crush Texan self-rule. The popular names we still use to refer to America's expansionistic wars intentionally erase many of the major actors, certainly all of the vanquished, particularly those who became subjects and second-class citizens of the U.S. by virtue of their race and subjugation. Mexicans, *Tejanos,* and Comanches are often missing from the imperial narratives of the Texas Revolution. Comanches, Navajos, and the old Spanish/Mexican residents in New Mexico, Arizona, and California are rarely mentioned in accounts of the U.S.-Mexico War. Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos are absent from the title of the Spanish American War, and even more so missing from the narratives of their independence struggles. My goal here is to reinscribe these missing groups, consciously shifting the optic from war names to war dates to incorporate more fully the histories of forgotten groups.

The War of 1836

At the beginning of the 19th century Spain's settlements east of the Mississippi River in Louisiana and Florida, changed hands a number of times. In 1803, the U.S. paid France 15 million dollars for the Louisiana Territory, an area that stretched from New Orleans all the way north to portions of the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, encompassing some 828,000 square miles. When Spain ceded

Florida and Louisiana, it encouraged its subjects to move westward into Texas offering them virtually free, tax-exempt land.

Who exactly owned Texas was a question of considerable contestation after 1803. The U.S. claimed it as part of the Louisiana Purchase, something Spain patently denied. In 1805, the Viceroy of New Spain commissioned a boundary study, which resulted in Father José Antonio Pichardos' 3,000-page *Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, issued in 1808. The report arrived too late. In 1807, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain, placed his brother Joseph on the throne, and lacking now a legitimate monarch, accelerated the popular momentum for declarations of independence, including Mexico's in 1810. The future of Texas was now something Mexico would have to resolve.

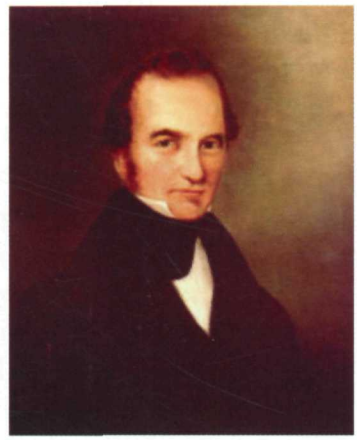
By the middle of the [18th] century the Comanches had become the major force in the southern plains.

Anglo colonists from Louisiana, who had rapidly seen the boundaries of political authority under which they lived shift from Spain to France, to the U.S., began moving into Texas where land was abundantly cheap and slavery could be maintained. Moses Austin, then a resident of Missouri, petitioned the town council of San Antonio de Béjar for an *empresario* grant in 1819, to settle 300 families, taking it upon himself as the agent or *empresario* to fulfill all the conditions of the contract. The Governor of Coahuila and Texas approved it, but before possession could take place, Moses Austin died. It fell to his son, Stephen F. Austin, to settle the families. Each immigrant family was granted one section of land (640 acres) with the clear understanding that the settlers had to be former residents of Spanish Louisiana, had to swear allegiance to the monarchy, had to honor the language and culture of Texas and had to be Roman Catholic in faith. They agreed. They never really complied.

In the years that followed, the Mexican government awarded many more *empresario* grants. Why Spain and then Mexico eagerly welcomed Anglo settlers into Texas is best understood with a short digression to include another set of powerful historical actors in the region, Native Americans. In 1706, New Mexico's Spanish authorities reported that a group of Indians known as Comanches had entered the grasslands south of the Rio Grande. Though the observation was made in passing and seemingly without alarm, by the middle of the century the Comanches had become the major force in the southern plains, amassing contingents of armed and mounted warriors that often reached the thousands, significantly outnumbering anything Spain, France, England, or the U.S. could muster to resist their advances. Known to the Spanish as the *indios bárbaros*, these "barbaric Indians" were indeed formidable opponents. Remembered fearfully by the Spanish for their plundering and killing and for their looting and enslaving, they were, in fact, nimble political actors who often consciously played the local functionaries of European empires against each other to expand their own commercial trade networks in livestock, hides, and slaves. From the 1780s on the territory of their effective control expanded rapidly because of their acquisition of horses and arms, their development of remarkable equestrian skills and their unflinching humiliation of their competitors. By the 1840s, their lands reached from the eastern border of Texas at the Nueces River westward to New Mexico's western border, eventually extending to encompass the southern half of Colorado all the way south to the Mexican states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi, which were home to Spain's most lucrative silver mines. In this area the Comanches cut a swath of trade and terror few could match, prompting historian Pekka Hämäläinen to call it a Comanche Empire, which on the

ground fully overpowered anything Spain, Mexico, France, England, or the U.S. could muster.

Spain began opening Mexico's northern provinces to rapid settlement, offering arms and large land grants, even to foreign immigrants after 1803, to stem Comanche raiding and American and English encroachments. Softening its highly restrictive trade policies to heighten communication and protection of its settlements, merchants from various countries were also allowed to enter Mexico's north. Soon they were traversing the Camino Real, which provisioned the silver mines in Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí, linking from south to north Mexico City, Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, and Santa Fe; now connecting the Royal Road to Kansas City and Chicago.



Stephen F. Austin, 1840 (Texas State Library and Archives Commission)

In 1821, the Kingdom of New Mexico, which then encompassed what became New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah, was by far the most densely populated place in northern Mexico, with some 28,500 residents who called themselves Spaniards and 10,000 Pueblo Indians. California was second with a populace of 3,400 Spaniards and 23,000 mission Indians. Arizona counted about 700 Spaniards and 1,400 congregated Indians and Texas had roughly 4,000 Spaniards and 800 Indians in its mission settlements.

What Mexican settlers, Anglo immigrants, and merchants under the protection of various flags found as they entered to settle the northern Mexican provinces of Chihuahua, Nuevo Mexico, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tejas in the early 19th century were large ranches, dispersed farming settlements, and small towns. Many of them had begun as *colonias*, or colonies intended to fortify the frontier. By the 1820s, however, they were being increasingly attacked by the Comanches and were rarely able to defend themselves, leaving many of their settlements abandoned.

Foreign immigrants from the U.S. flocked into Texas quickly outnumbering the older Mexican *tejanos*. From 1823 to 1830, roughly 1,000 Anglo Americans arrived per year; in the 1830s the pace quickened to some 3,000 yearly, recruited mostly from Kentucky, Arkansas, and Louisiana. On the eve of the War of 1836, there were roughly 30,000 Anglo Americans residents, 5,000 black slaves, 3,470 Mexicans, a settled Indian population of 14,200, and a surrounding nomadic Indian population of 40,000 Comanches.

From the moment Anglo American colonists arrived in Texas, four issues dominated their relations with *tejanos*, with local authorities, and with the Mexican state: slavery, religion, Comanche raids, and representative government. Since the early 1800s, Spain had maintained that any slave who fled the U.S. and crossed the Sabine River into Texas would be considered free. In 1810, at the start of Mexico's independence war, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the movement's first leader, abolished slavery as a way of gaining broader support. The revolution was crushed and slavery remained intact. Stephen F. Austin insisted that slavery was legal in Texas, which indeed it still was. The Mexican Constituent Congress of 1824 tried to abolish slavery hoping that by doing so it would curtail the Anglo immigrant onslaught. It failed. In 1827, the state Constitution of Coahuila and Texas declared: "No one is born a slave in the state from the time this Constitution is published in the seat of each district; and after six months the introduction of slaves is prohibited under any pretext." Stephen F. Austin persisted

in defending slavery but to no avail. Finally, on September 15, 1829, Mexico's President Vincent Guerrero emancipated all slaves and prohibited all commerce in them, immediately heightening tensions with Texans who owned them and who began concocting various ruses to keep them.

"My name stands first in the Constitution of Mexico... and today I am a colonist of the Province of Texas."

Lorenzo de Zavala

Anglo Americans were also patently violating the terms of their settlement grants around issues of religion. A few Anglo American men married Texas Mexican women and converted to Catholicism. The majority did not. The federal Constitution of 1824 declared Roman Catholicism as the only sanctioned religion in the republic, immediately heightening conflict between Mexican Catholics and Anglo Protestants. In 1825, when the state legislature of Coahuila and Texas debated the colonization law that would soon govern settlements, Stephen F. Austin lobbied to get this requirement changed from "Catholic" to "Christian". Again, he failed.

If slavery and religion profoundly pitted *tejanos* against Anglo Americans, the Comanche threat they faced bound them together, but mostly in collective impotence. The national government's forces had been left too weakened by the wars of independence and could scarcely be marshaled to protect them. The Comanches effectively controlled most trade in the southern plains, sometimes peacefully trading their livestock, bison hides, and captives for iron works, guns and ammunition, but just as often raiding and taking what they wanted. What solidarity existed between Mexicans and Anglos in Texas had been forged through mixed marriages and common defense against Indian enemies who limited their movements and constrained their commerce.

Since its foundations in the early 1700s, Texas had been a region far removed from the centers of political power. Under Spanish rule, Texas was one of New Spain's Internal Provinces (*Provincias Internas*) governed by an intendant in Mexico City. With the Constitution of 1824, Mexico became a federal republic with Texas and its neighbor province Coahuila united as one state. Texas had minimal representation at the state capitol in Saltillo, constantly bristled about this fact, and regularly petitioned state and federal governments for more local control. They wanted the creation of more town councils (*cabildos*), trial by jury, the ability to use English in all legal and administrative matters, exemption from state taxes, the right to own slaves, religious tolerance, and a state-sponsored educational system.

Texas' first, but short-lived attempt at self-government came in 1826, when the Cherokee and Anglo residents of east Texas allied as the Republic of Red and White Peoples, most commonly known as the Republic of Fredonia. Calls for independence were again voiced in January 1832, when General Antonio López de Santa Anna staged a military coup in Mexico City, ushering in a centralist government. Texans, by far the most militant defenders of federalism in Mexico, again felt disenfranchised. Stephan F. Austin immediately traveled to Mexico City to make the case that Texas should be an independent state. Before learning that Santa Anna had rejected his proposal, however, he wrote the *cabildo* of San Antonio saying that they could begin the process. Austin's letter was intercepted. He was quickly imprisoned. While awaiting trial in Mexico City he penned and published his *Exposition to the Public about Texas Affairs* (1835) demanding Mexican statehood.

Fearing that Austin's detention might spark rebellion, the authorities quickly set him free.

He found his compatriots in Texas fuming and badly divided on a course of action. Would it be Mexican statehood, autonomy in the form of an independent republic, or annexation by the U.S.? Even before Austin reached Texas, the settlers of Nacogdoches conscripted a militia eager to demand U.S. annexation. Meanwhile, back in Mexico City, the centralist government pointed to Texas as one of the problems federalism had created. Greater central control from Mexico City over this increasingly renegade province was what was needed.

Texans bolted. They did so on November 3, 1835. What they envisioned for themselves was still not clear. Stephen F. Austin assumed leadership over the military defenses of Texas, while Sam Houston turned to the recruitment of volunteers, money, and arms. On March 2, 1836, just after General Santa Anna's troops arrived to crush the rebellion, Texas finally declared its independence, elected David G. Burnet as president and Lorenzo de Zavala as vice president. Their Declaration of Independence recited anew their well-known grievances, most of which were already moot due to federal reforms. Elite *tejanos* were themselves divided on succession. Some of the prominent merchants and landowners—José Asiano, José Antonio Navarro, Juan Nepomuceno Seguín—supported it, while such powerful men as Carlos de la Garza and Vicente Córdova opposed it, wishing to remain loyal Mexicans and confident that succession was yet another Anglo ploy to continue slavery. They were correct. *Tejanos* immediately became apprehensive as they heard Anglo Texans openly declaring that Mexicans were unfit for self-government and republican rule. Mexicans were a cruel and cowardly breed of mongrels. They were indolent and ignorant, the Anglos maintained. Mexicans naturally had grave forebodings about such incipient racial conflict, which indeed would rapidly intensify after independence.

Mission Concepción, site of the Battle of Concepción, Texas (Creative Commons by Travis Witt, 2010)

General Santa Anna and the Mexican Army moved quickly against the rebels. The first major defeat of the Texas patriots came on March 6 at the mission garrison of the Alamo. All 187 Texan defenders died; between 600 and 1,600 Mexican soldiers were killed. Santa Anna's troops next marched on Goliad, where another major contingent of Texans had gathered in defense of their revolution. Here too Texans were quickly overpowered, taken as prisoners of war, and on March 26, 1836, all 303 of them were executed. These defeats emboldened the Texans and attracted numerous volunteers from the U.S. "Remember the Alamo, Remember Goliad," became their battle cry. Sam Houston sallied forth with his troops and on April 21 captured Mexico's president General Santa Anna, decimating his forces at the Battle of San Jacinto. When General Santa Anna and David Burnet signed the peace treaty on May 14, 1836, Mexico promised to compensate Texas for destroyed property, release all prisoners, and vow never to wage war against Texas again. Texas was independent at last.

Though victorious, Texas was left impoverished by the war. Its principle irritant, the Comanches, had only been strengthened by the retreat of the Spanish and the defeat of the Mexicans. Texas could not pay its troops. Food was in short supply. Much of the arable land lay fallow and what had been planted had been destroyed. On learning of Texas independence,

however, support poured in from the U.S. for reasons the editor of New York's *Courier and Enquirer* made clear: "War will now be carried into the enemy's country, where gold and silver are plenty, there will be fine picking in the interior. The war will never end until Mexico is completely our own and conquered."

In the decades that followed 1836, Anglo immigrants and their slaves rapidly flocked to Texas. *Tejanos* were increasingly outnumbered, so much so that by 1850 they were only five percent of the state's population. The American newcomers knew little of the area's history and quickly vaunted opinions that they were white and Mexicans were not. As Oscar M. Addison put it in the 1850s, Mexicans were "a class, inferior to common nigers [*sic*]." Anglos asserted that they were superior and Mexicans were inferior, that *tejanos* should toil for the benefit of Anglos, but not the inverse. During the second half of the 19th century, *tejanos* faced blatant discrimination, were segregated in limited social spaces, and encountered mostly abuse and neglect from government offices and officers, the most brutal coming from the Texas Rangers. Even elite status proved of little protection, as many Anglo newcomers seized their lands, claiming them as compensation for the destruction and bloodshed Mexican nationals had inflicted on whites during the revolution.

"This is no war of defense, but one of unnecessary and offensive aggression."

Henry Clay, Speech on the Mexican War, 1847

Tejano responses to the new racial order were various. In places where the two communities were sufficiently separated they retreated and accommodated, but remained resentful and suspicious of their fellow citizens. A few of the *tejano* elite assimilated and took up political posts in the new order, their loyalties always suspect, particularly whenever the harassment of *tejanos* broke out in violence and rebellion. Anglo rustling of *tejano* livestock became a daily fact of life, which was met with exact retaliation. Many *tejanos* dreamt of life free from Anglo control and consequently joined the failed movement to create the Republic of the Rio Grande in 1840, which would have united that portion of Texas lying west of the Nueces River with Nuevo León, Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, and Nuevo México. Here too their hopes were dashed. *Tejanos* joined local rebellions against Anglo domination, like those initiated by Juan Nepomuceno Cortina in Brownsville in 1859, and by Gregorio Cortez in Kenedy in 1901.

What almost a century of Anglo domination in Texas produced was an etiquette of race relations by which *tejanos* understood their subordination, and at least in public, accepted it and respectfully observed its rules. In the 1920s, one sociologist observed that *tejanos* always had to approach Anglos with "a deferential body posture and respectful voice tone." One also used the best polite forms of speech one could muster in English or Spanish. One laughed with Anglos but never at them. One never showed extreme anger or aggression towards an Anglo in public. Of course the reverse of this was that Anglos could be informal with Mexicanos; they could use '*tú*' forms, '*compadre*' or '*amigo*' and shout 'hey, *cabrón*' or 'hey, *chingado*' (son of a bitch) in a joking, derogatory way. Anglos could slap Mexicanos on the back, joke with them at their expense, curse them out, in short, do all the things people usually do only among relatively familiar and equal people.

The War of 1846

In the years following Texas independence, its annexation into the U.S. became a cause célèbre. During his presidential campaign in 1845, James Knox Polk made the annexation of Texas, Oregon, and California his central promise. Before his election, however, Congress approved the annexation on March 1, 1845. Mex-

ico lodged a protest. It deemed annexation an act of war and immediately broke off diplomatic relations with the U.S. In a strange twist of irony, General Antonio López de Santa Anna's main campaign promise for the Mexican presidential election in 1843 was that he would reannex the rebellious Texas province and defend California. Santa Anna won, soon learned of the annexation of Texas, and prepared for war. That President Polk dispatched John Slidell to Mexico with an offer to purchase California, New Mexico, and a western border for Texas at the Rio Grande for $30 million only made matters worse.

A contrived border dispute provoked hostilities between Mexico and the U.S. in 1846. Since Spanish colonial times the western boundary of Texas had been the Nueces River. The Congressional resolution annexing Texas listed no western border precisely because a previous bill listing it as the Rio Grande had been defeated. With Texas now annexed President Polk ordered General Zackary Taylor's 3,500 troops into the disputed territory between the Rio Grande and the Nueces, simultaneously sending Commodore John D. Sloat and the Pacific Squadron with instructions that if Mexico declared war Sloat should immediately seize California's ports. On April 25, 1846, General Taylor wrote President Polk saying, "hostilities may now be considered as commenced," reporting on a brief skirmish between Mexican and American troops in the disputed territory. In his May 11 message to Congress requesting a declaration of war, Polk contended, "after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the U.S., has invaded our territory and shed American blood on American soil." Senate Whigs ridiculed Polk's assertion saying that he had intentionally invaded Mexico to provoke a war. It was during the public debates over this contentious war that the notion of Manifest Destiny gained a name and tangible form. John O'Sullivan, editor of the *Democratic Review* and a great supporter of the war reasoned in 1845 that it was "Our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."

San Pasqual Battlefield (War of 1846), California (National Park Service, David Lowe, 2004)

The war against Mexico really had begun six months before its formal declaration. In December 1845, President Polk commissioned John C. Frémont for a "scientific" expedition to California. His arrival there with a band of armed men provoked local anxieties. They were quickly ordered to leave. Frémont feigned that he was simply headed to Oregon and needed supplies. On June 14, 1846, his intention became clear when a group of Americans arrested one of California's Mexican commanders, General Mariano Vallejo, and declared their independence. On July 5, Frémont was elected the head of the Republic of California and four days later, on July 9, Commodore John D. Sloat's forces marched inland to Sonoma, having previously taken San Francisco. Sloat declared California a U.S. possession, lowered the bear flag, and hoisted the stars and stripes.

The U.S. waged war against Mexico on four fronts. The Pacific Squadron took the ports of northern California by July 9, 1846. The Army of the West, under the command of General Stephen W. Kearny, took Santa Fe on August 15, 1846, and from there proceeded westward to southern California. Part of Kearny's company was dispatched south into Chihuahua. Under the command of Colonel Alexander Doni-

phan Chihuahua was occupied by early February of 1847.

The American strategy for the conquest and occupation of California was to take the northern ports first, then sail south to Los Angeles, where Robert F. Stockton's naval forces would reconnoiter with Kearny's army to take control of southern California. Both Kearny and Stockton encountered significant resistance from the local Californios, but by January 13, 1847, the invasion was secure.

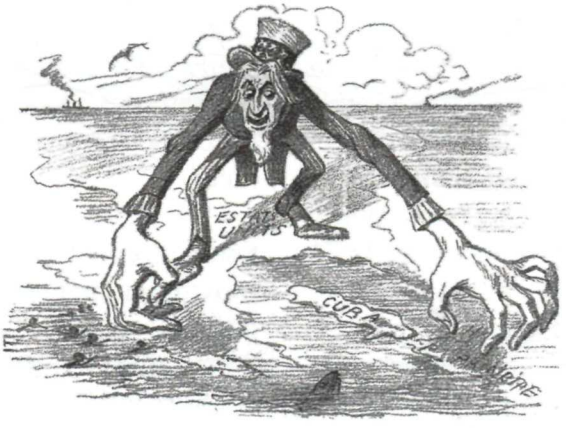
With New Mexico and California nominally under American control by early 1847, President Polk next dispatched General Winfield Scott to occupy Mexico City. Arriving at the port of Veracruz with an armada on March 7, Scott proceeded to bombard the city until its residents surrendered on March 27. From there his troops advanced on Puebla, and then on Mexico City, which they occupied on September 15, 1847. Though Mexican President Santa Anna had led his troops bravely and had fought valiantly through tough battles and guerilla skirmishes, they were fighting a professional army that was well equipped and rigorously trained, and thus no match.

Nicholas P. Trist, the U.S. Peace Commissioner, arrived in Mexico City shortly after to negotiate the war's end. The Mexican government was in shambles. No one was prepared to negotiate with Trist the unfavorable terms he wanted to impose. The treaty called for Mexico to acknowledge the Rio Grande as the border with Texas, to surrender 55 percent of its national territory -- New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, and California—for which Mexico was indemnified $15 million. Signed on February 2, 1848, in the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo and thus bearing its name, the Treaty was negotiated under extreme duress. Mexico City was militarily occupied. President Polk let it be widely known that he had popular support to annex all of Mexico if necessary.

The Treaty consisted of 23 articles, most of which dealt with military logistics, prisoner exchange, property disposition, commercial rights, and arbitration procedures that would govern all subsequent disputes between the two countries. Article VIII gave Mexican citizens residing in conquered territory one year to leave. Those who remained would become American citizens and their "property of every kind...[acquired by] contract...shall be inviolably respected..." Article IX guaranteed that the ceded territories eventually would be incorporated into the U.S. Until that moment Mexican residents would enjoy American federal citizenship, "their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction." Article XI recognized that because "a great part of the territories...are occupied by savage tribes," the U.S. vowed to police the Comanches and Apaches to curtail their raiding and sale of hostages, arms, and livestock on both sides of the border.

Article X stated, "All grants of land made by the Mexican Government or by the competent authorities...shall be respected as valid, to the same extent that the same grants would be valid, if the said territories had remained within the limits of Mexico." The U.S. Senate excised this article from the treaty precisely because it gave too much protection to Mexican land grants. The Mexican treaty negotiators understood that without this protection Mexicans in the ceded territories would quickly lose their land, which indeed they did, though at different speeds in California and New Mexico. The discovery of gold in California in 1849 hastened the process there. U.S. courts, usually based on flimsy justifications, failed to honor many of the land grants the Mexican government had awarded its citizens between 1821 and 1846. Those grants it did recognize were much reduced in size, stripped of the use of the commons that formed most grants, thereby guaranteeing that they would be inadequate for farming or ranching.

One of the persistent myths of American historiography has been that Mexicans happily greeted American soldiers as liberators, offered no overt resistance to military occupation, and allowed the conquest to occur without spilling a drop of blood. The facts attest otherwise. There was significant resistance in both California and New Mexico to American rule. In 1847, New Mexicans assassinated Charles Bent, the occupational governor imposed on them by the U.S. military. They fought vigorously and died valiantly in various theatres of the war. When they were eventually overpowered, they militarily resisted colonial domination and the dispossession of their lands through guerilla activity. Tiburcio Vásquez and Joaquín Murieta in California are but two of the men disparaged by the American press simply as "bandits." In New Mexico those resisting occupation banded secretly creating organization such as *La Mano Negra* and *Las Gorras Blancas*. They formed political parties, such as *El Partido del Pueblo Unido*, and joined anarchist and syndicalist groups. If Mexico's north is now remembered as having been easily conquered, it was because Comanches raids had so weakened the area's defenses and had so depleted its essential resources that locals were poorly animated and even less so equipped to mount a major defense.



"La Fallera Del Oncle Sam" [Uncle Sam's Ambition] (La Campana de Gràcia, M. Moline, 1896)

The War of 1898

Having annexed half of Mexico in 1848, American foreign policy discussions naturally turned to Cuba, which the U.S. had coveted and repeatedly tried to purchase since colonial times. As the U.S. had warned in its 1854 Ostend Manifesto, no country would be allowed sovereignty over Cuba except Spain and if she persisted in her refusal to sell the island, the U.S. would take it by force: "The Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries."

The War of 1898 is often explained as the result of a number of national developments, most notably industrialization and extensive material progress, followed in 1893 by the most severe economic depression the country had then witnessed. Between 1803 and 1898, the U.S. saw massive geographic and demographic growth. The country was now continental in scope, with a score of colonized subjects, particularly in the West. The Indian threat had been eradicated through genocidal wars and forced confinement on reservations. Between 1870 and 1910, the U.S. absorbed 20 million immigrants. By 1898 many of them—the Chinese, Japanese, and Jews—were being increasingly denigrated as unworthy of national membership. This was a period of technological advances in transportation and communication, with many people abandoning subsistence agriculture in the countryside for wage labor in cities. Frequent labor unrest sought socialist solutions, while populists agitated against unbridled capitalist corporations and unregulated trusts. Indeed, it was in 1893 that historian Frederick Jackson Turner declared the American frontier closed. In the minds of elites and perhaps the popular masses as well, America had reached its limits at precisely the moment other empires were scrambling to claim one-quarter of the globe as their colo-

nies. If American dynamism and economic vitality were to be maintained, new lands had to be conquered.

The territorial spoils of the War of 1898 were Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Island. It was really Cuba, however, that the U.S. most coveted because of its proximity, its strategic location, its natural resources, and because of the extensive investments Americans already had in the island. Cuba was a paradise for agricultural production, abundantly yielding sugar and its by-products, molasses, and rum. Since the cultivation and processing of sugar cane was undertaken mostly by free blacks and African slaves, by the early 19th century planters in the American South began militantly promoting Cuba's annexation, fearing that black insurgency there might infect the mainland with racial war, as it had in Haiti in 1791. Cuba was slavery's last haven in Spain's empire, not abolished until 1884. After Barcelona, Havana was Spain's second busiest port. After Mexico City and Lima, Havana was the third largest city in Spanish America in 1821 and one of its richest.

American interest in Cuba was expressed quite early and doggedly sustained. President Thomas Jefferson sent agents to Cuba in 1805 with offers to purchase it from Spain. President James Monroe had his eye sharply focused on Cuba when in 1823 he forcefully announced the "Monroe Doctrine," warning European powers that any intervention in the Americas would be deemed an act of aggression that would provoke immediate U.S. response. At the end of the War of 1846, President Polk again offered to buy Cuba for $100 million; President Pierce upped the ante by $30 million but failed still.

"Let those who desire a secure homeland conquer it."

Jose Marti, May 1895

The majority of Spain's colonies were independent by 1825. There had been a number of scattered attempts to gain Cuban and Filipino independence since the 1860s but all of them were easily foiled or rapidly faded. Finally, on February 24, 1895, a group of rebels in Cuba's *Oriente* province issued a call to arms—the *Grito de Baire*—against Spain, proved more successful. Led by José Martí, Máximo Gómez, and Antonio Maceo, with broad popular support from every sector of Cuban society, by August 1896, the insurgents had amassed a fighting force of some 50,000 widely distributed across the island. The Cuban rebels quickly mired Spain in a guerilla war in which she simply slogged along. War-weary, facing army mutinies, draft riots, and antiwar demonstrations at home, Spain was further weakened by the eruption of a second major independence movement in the Philippines in August of 1896. Since 1892, Filipinos had been secretly organizing an independence movement. Now it had broken out in armed rebellion, creating an autonomous government headed by Andrés Bonifacio.

Spain tried to blunt the Cuban independence movement on January 1, 1898, by conceding to political reforms and home rule. The rebels demanded complete independence. As Spain's soldiers mutinied and refused to fight, many of them wilting under the heat of the tropical sun, sickened by yellow fever and other diseases, it became clear to Cuban rebels and American observers that Spain had lost it will and ability to fight. Seeing a vulnerable Spain and unwilling to fathom an independent Cuba, the U.S. dispatched the warship *Maine* to Havana to protect American interests. On February 15, the ship exploded and sank, killing 266 sailors and wounding at least 100 more. To this day, the cause of the explosion remains unclear. At the time, the sinking was attributed to a Spanish mine. Quickly the calls for war against Spain intensified in the U.S. "Remember the Maine, to

Hell with Spain!" became an oft-shouted, frequently reprinted, jingoistic refrain.

The U.S. feared an independent Cuba largely because of racial anxieties. Cuba had an immense free black population that had grown enormously with emancipation in 1884. What would happen if the island nationalists won? Would this racially riven polity be able to establish a stable government? President McKinley's government thought not, refused to sell the Cuban insurgents arms, and consistently intercepted *Free Cuba* volunteers before they could set foot on the island. Stewart L. Woodford, McKinley's minister to Spain, summarized American worries and ambitions well when he stated, "I see nothing ahead except disorder, insecurity of persons, and destruction of property. The Spanish flag cannot give peace. The rebel flag cannot give peace. There is one power and one flag that can secure peace and compel peace. That power is the U.S. and that flag is our flag."

Cuban volunteers in their barracks, Florida, 1898 (Florida Memory Project)

The spring of 1898 found the U.S. attempting to broker a peace with Spain, simultaneously asking the rebels to disarm and accept an armistice. Both refused. On April 11, President McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war to subordinate Spain. The U.S. would enter the fray as a neutral broker, McKinley explained, who, at war's end, would become plenipotent over Spain's former possessions. The war declaration never mentioned the active struggles the Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Filipino independence movements were waging on the ground or the provisional governments they had established. Instead, McKinley emphasized, "Our trade has suffered, the capital invested by our citizens in Cuba has been largely lost, and the temper and forebearance of our people have been so seriously tried as to beget a perilous unrest among our citizens..."

Cuban rebels and their American Congressional supporters balked, finally approving a war resolution on April 25 only if it included the Teller Amendment in which the U.S. "disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty... [and once Spanish rule is ended] to leave the government and control of the island to its people." As we will see shortly, this was a promise that would hauntingly constrain the U.S. when the war ended.

The War of 1898 was short. Hostilities began on May 1 when American naval forces steamed into Manila Bay in the Philippines, engaged Spain's naval forces, destroyed all of their ships, and within seven hours had silenced most of the fire from land batteries. That same day the major ports of Cuba were blockaded; on May 11 American ground troops invaded. By July 16, Spain's naval forces in Cuba surrendered. American forces then advanced to Puerto Rico and occupied it on July 26. Spain and the U.S. suspended hostilities on August 12, announced a general armistice, and on December 10, 1898, signed the Treaty of Paris ending the war.

The treaty was drafted entirely by Spanish and American representatives. No Filipinos, Cubans, or Puerto Ricans participated. For $20 million, Spain relinquished its claim and sovereignty over Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, a number of small Spanish-controlled Caribbean Islands, and part of the Samoan archipelago. Spain's Queen-Regent María Christina accepted the terms of the treaty noting bitterly

that her country "resigns itself to the painful task of submitting to the law of the victor, however harsh it may be, and as Spain lacks the material means to defend the rights she believes hers, having recorded them, she accepts the only terms the U.S. offers her..."

The U.S. rapidly overwhelmed Spain's forces largely because in the 1880s America's military strategy had been reshaped from national to global in scope, shifting its focus from the defense of national borders and the protection of its merchants, to the creation of mobile, offensive forces that were variously embedded abroad in areas of import to the U.S. This required the construction of military bases on foreign soil, the creation of a "New Navy" with a large number of modern, steel battleships, and a highly trained military, which was accomplished by creating the Naval War College in 1884. When Spain battled the U.S. in 1898, it lacked such modern ships and had organized its navy to defeat internal insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines, but had not prepared itself for naval assaults from without or at sea. When these two highly unequal armadas and personnel met, Spain was easily outflanked.

Grito de Lares commemoration
The *Plaza* de la *Revolución*,
Lares, Puerto Rico
(Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 2009)

Cuba was allowed to declare its own independence in 1902, but only after the American Congress saddled it with the 1901 Platt Amendment, which formally replaced the Teller Amendment. The Platt Amendment created a neocolonial relationship between the U.S. and Cuba whereby it striped Cuba of most of its sovereign powers and prohibited it from entering foreign treaties or assuming foreign debt. In addition, it required Cuba to cede territory to the U.S. in perpetuity for the Guantánamo naval base and grant the U.S. the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to guarantee "a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." The Platt Amendment governed U.S.-Cuban relations until 1934.

Puerto Rico did not fare as well. Spain had always imagined it as one of its lesser colonies, as a minor military base in which it invested little but extracted all it could. Whereas Cuba prospered with the cultivation of sugar cane in the 19th century, Puerto Rico remained relatively stagnant and sparsely populated, without a major export crop. Its agriculture was devoted mainly to subsistence farming and coffee production, which were worked by relatively few African slaves, a majority white population (the largest of any of the major islands in the Caribbean), and a colored population that was mainly free.

Puerto Rico, like most of Spain's American colonies, briefly sought but failed to gain independence in the 1820s and 1830s. Another attempt was made on September 23, 1868, with the Grito de Lares, inspired by Ramón Betances, a French trained physician who had lived in exile most of his adult life. On that day over a thousand rebels declared the birth of the Republic of Puerto Rico, hoisted their flag, abolished slavery, and named a new town council for Lares. The movement failed rather rapidly, lacking popular support, composed as it was mostly of planter and merchant elites who wanted to end the economic grip Spanish merchants and large landholders held

over the island. Such sentiments erupted in the 1880s, and again on the eve of American invasion. When Betances learned that the Americans were about to invade Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898, he urged his fellow countrymen to rise en masse, forcing the Americans to acknowledge a fait accompli. "It's extremely important," Betances wrote, "that when the first troops of the U.S. reach shore, they should be received by Puerto Rican troops, waving the flag of independence..." That did not occur. Instead, Spain granted Puerto Rico autonomy in November of 1898, several months after Spain and the U.S. had signed an armistice ending hostilities, but before a peace treaty had been ratified. Puerto Rico's independence was ever so brief.

Vámonos, borinqueños,
vámonos ya,
que nos espera ansiosa,
ansiosa la libertad.
¡La libertad, la libertad!

La Borinqueña, Lola Rodríguez de Tió, 1868

For the U.S. the spoils of the War of 1898 were Cuba and the Philippines. Robert T. Hill, an American geologist who just before the war wrote a book on the West Indies noted that Puerto Rico was more unknown to the U.S. "than even Japan or Madagascar...The sum total of the scientific literature of the island since the days of Humboldt would hardly fill a page of this book." The American Congress debated what to do with Puerto Rico precisely because it was too small, too poor, too thinly populated, and for some, too racially dark to merit statehood. Its colored population in 1899 was 40 percent.

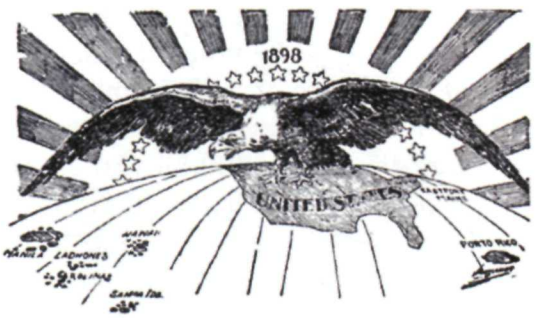
From October 18, 1898 to May 1, 1900, Puerto Rico was administered by the U.S. as a colony, ruled successively by three military governors: Maj. Gen. John R. Brooke, Maj. Gen. Guy V. Henry, and Brig. Gen. George W. Davis. Puerto Rico's elites, wearied by four centuries of Spanish exploitation, were hopeful that American rule would be a radical improvement, based as it was on ideals of democracy and progress. They soon learned otherwise. Puerto Rico was now an American colony and would remain so. One of the first acts Governor Brooke took was to rename the island Porto Rico, its official spelling until 1932.

The transition from military to civilian rule occurred on May 1, 1900, when the Foraker Act was put into effect, setting out the terms of the island's governance. Puerto Rico was declared an unincorporated territory. Neither the U.S. Constitution would apply nor would its residents be deemed American citizens. The island would be under the authority of a civilian governor, appointed by the President of the United States and approved by Congress. An Executive Council (*Consejo Ejecutivo*) would be similarly appointed to serve as the governor's cabinet and a 35-member House of Delegates (*Cámara de Delegados*) would be elected to two-year terms, but all of their decisions were subject to veto by the governor or Congress. Most other officials—the attorney general, the treasurer, the court's justices, the commissioner of education—would likewise be presidential appointees. The *San Juan News* on May 29, 1901 well captured Puerto Rican frustration, "We are and we are not an integral part of the U.S. We are and we are not a foreign country. We are and we are not citizens of the United States...The Constitution covers us and does not cover us...it applies to us and does not apply to us." Americans considered Puerto Ricans to be ill prepared for self-government, backward and uncivilized, and in need of paternal tutoring. Or, as Governor Henry stated in 1899, "I am...giving them kindergarten instruction in controlling themselves without allowing them too much liberty."

The Foraker Act was also an economic instrument of blunt force to advance American inter-

ests on the island and to thwart local ones. The act imposed a monetary system based on the dollar, devaluing the local *peso*, thus creating cheap access to land for sugar companies that would soon transform the island's exports to one. The native capitalist development Puerto Rico had established before 1898 in sugar, coffee and urban manufacturing, was quickly destroyed. Although the U.S. did invest in eradicating tropical diseases, in educating the population, and constructing an extensive system of roads, most of these infrastructural expenditures were undertaken to improve the climate for U.S. businesses, providing them with healthier workers, minimally educated consumers, and routes to export their goods.

The Foraker Act of 1901 was replaced by the Jones Act, Puerto Rico's Second Organic Act, on March 2, 1917. The new constitution's changes were minimal and mostly cosmetic, offering lexical changes in the island's governing bodies, calling for a higher proportion of Puerto Rican election to these, and finally declaring the island's residents as U.S. citizens. Jurisdiction over Puerto Rico remained in the hands of the U.S. Congress and Puerto Ricans ever since have demanded more autonomy, some have wanted statehood, and still others have maintained the dream of independence.



"Ten Thousand Miles From Tip to Tip" (Philadelphia Press, 1898)

When Spain and the U.S. signed the Treaty of Paris ending the War of 1898, Filipinos resisted American occupation, declaring themselves independent on June 12, 1898. For the next forty-eight years, the Filipinos doggedly fought the American invaders. On July 4, 1946, the U.S. finally recognized an independent Republic of the Philippines. The treaty provisions in the Bell Trade Act were akin to those neocolonial strictures imposed on Cuba through the Platt Amendment. Filipinos were not allowed to make or trade any item that would compete with similar American products, nor could they nationalize natural resources in which U.S. citizens had ownership stakes. In addition, the U.S. was given sovereignty over its military bases in the Philippines in perpetuity.

Coda

In the 100 years between 1800 and 1900 the U.S. created two empires—one continental and one oceanic—utimately extinguishing the imperial ambitions France, Spain, England, and the Comanches once had. The human and natural resources annexed by the continental empire augmented the nation's industrial capitalist production. The maritime empire was built by establishing sovereignty over a series of islands that assured America easy movement to global markets, with permanent military bases from which they could easily launch attacks. All of this was done and justified in the name of a God-chosen nation destined to greatness. If suffering occurred, if peoples had to be "removed," if innocents lost all of their possessions, so be it. It was the duty of a superior U.S. to uplift and civilize weaker savages. If they refused, noted an 1846 article in the *Illinois State Register* then, like "reptiles in the path of progressive democracy...they must either crawl or be crushed." Never mind what territorial rights of anteriority existed. Never mind what rules of international law existed. For as John O'Sullivan proclaimed in 1845: "Away, away with all these cobweb tissues of rights of discovery, exploitation, settlement, contiguity...The God of nature and of nations has marked it for our own; and with His blessing we will firmly maintain the incontestable

rights He has given, and fearlessly perform the high duties He has imposed."

This, then, is a history of how residents of Spain, Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico entered the U.S. through wars of territorial expansion during the 19th century. In the 20th century, both Mexico and Cuba would experience major social revolutions that would propel their citizens to the U.S. in search of liberty, refuge, and work. Puerto Ricans would make similar treks but as American citizens, seeking to better their lives on the mainland. And it was in the U.S. in the 1980s that these and other immigrants of Latin American origin coalesced politically as Latinos.

The views and conclusions contained in this document are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the U.S. Government. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute their endorsement by the U.S. Government.

Clockwise from top left:
Men being deported as part of Operation Wetback, Elysian Park, Los Angeles, California (Library of Congress); Fiesta Boricua on Paseo Boricua, Chicago, Illinois (Creative Commons by Plij, 2008); Immigration Reform march, Washington, D.C. (Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, *Two Reforms, One Day, One Broad Message*, 2010); A freedom flight arriving in Miami from Varadero, Cuba, 1970 (Juan Clark Cuban Refugee Center Collection); East (Spanish) Harlem, New York, New York (Creative Commons by Mozart Diensthuber, 2006)

An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States

David G. Gutiérrez

Immigration from Latin America—and the attendant growth of the nation's Hispanic or Latino population—are two of the most important and controversial developments in the recent history of the United States. Expanding from a small, regionally concentrated population of fewer than 6 million in 1960 (just 3.24 percent of the U.S. population at the time), to a now widely dispersed population of well more than 50 million (or 16 percent of the nation's population), Latinos are destined to continue to exert enormous impact on social, cultural, political, and economic life of the U.S.[1] Although space limitations make it impossible to provide a comprehensive account of this complex history, this essay is intended to provide an overview of the history of Latino immigration to the U.S. with particular emphasis on issues of citizenship and non-citizenship, the long running political controversies over immigration policy, and the global economic context in which regional migration and immigration have occurred. The essay suggests that the explosive growth of the nation's pan-Latino population is the result of the intricate interplay of national, regional, and global economic developments, the history of U.S. military and foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere, the checkered history of international border enforcement and interdiction efforts, and, not least, the aspirations of Latin American migrants and potential migrants themselves.

The history of Latino migration to the U.S. has complex origins rooted in the nation's territorial and economic expansion.

Foundational Population Movements: Mexico

The history of Latino migration to the U.S. has complex origins rooted in the nation's territorial and economic expansion. Technically, the first significant influx of Latino immigrants to the U.S. occurred during the California Gold Rush, or just after most of the modern boundary between the U.S. and Mexico was established at the end of the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-48). Under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (signed outside of Mexico City in February 1848), the Republic of Mexico ceded to the U.S. more than one-third of its former territory, including what are now the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, and parts of several other states. In addition, the treaty also offered blanket naturalization to the estimated 75,000 to 100,000 former citizens of Mexico who chose to remain north of the new border at the end of the war.[2]

With exception of the approximately 10,000 Mexican miners who entered California during the Gold Rush, migration from Mexico was very light during most of the 19th century, averaging no more than 3,000 to 5,000 persons per decade in the period between 1840 and 1890.[3] This changed dramatically at the beginning of next century. As the pace of economic development in the American West accelerated after the expansion of the regional rail system in the 1870s and 1880s, and as the supply of labor from Asian nations was dramatically reduced by a series of increasingly restrictive immigration laws beginning in 1882, U.S. employers began to look to Mexico to fill a dramatically rising demand for labor in basic industries including agriculture, mining, construction, and transportation (especially railroad construction and maintenance). Drawn to the border region by the simultaneous economic development of northern Mexico and the south-

western U.S. (largely facilitated by the eventual linkage of the American and Mexican rail systems at key points along the U.S.-Mexico border), at least 100,000 Mexicans had migrated to the U.S. by 1900. The outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 greatly intensified the movement of people within Mexico and eventually across the border, a trend that continued for the first three decades of the 20th century.

Historical migration statistics for this period are notoriously inaccurate because of inconsistent enumeration techniques, changing methods of ethnic and racial classification in the U.S., and the fairly constant movement of uncounted thousands of undocumented migrants into and out of U.S. territory. Extrapolation from both U.S. and Mexican census sources, however, provides a sense of the magnitude of population movement over this period. In 1900, the number of Mexican nationals living in the U.S. reached 100,000 for the first time and continued to rise dramatically thereafter, doubling to at least 220,000 in 1910, and then doubling again to 478,000 by 1920. In 1930, at the beginning of the Great Depression, the number of resident Mexican nationals is conservatively estimated to have increased to at least 639,000. When combined with the original Mexican American population (that is, the descendants of the former citizens of Mexico who lived in the Southwest at the end of the U.S.-Mexican War), the total Mexican-origin or heritage population of the U.S. in 1930 was probably at least 1.5 million, with the largest concentrations in the states of Texas, California, and Arizona, and a smaller yet significant number working in industrial jobs in the Midwest, especially in the metropolitan areas of Chicago, Detroit, and Gary, Indiana.[4]

Braceros arrivingby train into Los Angeles, California (Oakland Museum of California, Dorothea Lange, 1942)

Despite a brief reversal of migration flows during the Great Depression, when an estimated 350,000 to 500,000 Mexican immigrants and their children were pressured or compelled to leave the country in a mass repatriation campaign coordinated by local, state, and federal officials, Mexican migration trends seen earlier in the century quickly resumed after the U.S. entered the Second World War in 1941.[5] Facing a significant farm labor shortage as a result of conscription and war mobilization, U.S. employer lobbies convinced the Federal Government to approach Mexico about the possibility of implementing an emergency bilateral labor agreement. Still stinging from the humiliation suffered by Mexican nationals and their children during the repatriation campaigns of the previous decade, Mexican government officials were at first reluctant to enter into such an agreement, but after securing guarantees from U.S. officials that contract workers would be provided transportation to and from Mexico, a fair wage, decent food and housing, and basic human rights protections, the two governments signed the Emergency Farm Labor Agreement in the summer of 1942.[6]

Soon dubbed the Bracero Program (from the Spanish colloquial word for manual laborer) this new guest worker program had a number of important long-term effects. On the most fundamental level, the program not only reopened the southern border to Mexican labor, but also more significantly, reinstituted the use of large numbers of immigrant workers in the

U.S. economy for the first time since the Depression. The scale of the program remained fairly modest through the war years, with an average of about 70,000 contract laborers working in the country each year during the war. Over time, however, the Bracero Program, which was extended by various means after the war, had the effect of priming the pump for the much more extensive use of such workers. By 1949, the number of imported contract workers had jumped to 113,000, and then averaged more than 200,000 per year between 1950 and 1954. During the peak years of the program between 1955 and 1960, an average of more than 400,000 laborers (predominantly from Mexico, but augmented by smaller numbers of Jamaicans, Bahamians, Barbadians, and Hondurans as well) were employed in the U.S. By the time the program was finally terminated in 1964, nearly 5 million contracts had been issued.[7]

"There is a definite need for a source of imported labor during the harvest peaks."

R.E. Browne, Southern California Farmers Association, 1950

The guest worker program instituted in the early 1940s also had the largely unanticipated effect of increasing both sanctioned and unsanctioned migration to the U.S. from Mexico. By reinforcing communication networks between contract workers and their friends and families in their places of origin in Mexico, increasing numbers of Mexicans were able to gain reliable knowledge about labor market conditions, employment opportunities, and migration routes north of the border. Consequently, the number of Mexicans who legally immigrated to the U.S. increased steadily in the 1950s and 1960s, rising from just 60,000 in the decade of the 1940s to 219,000 in the 1950s and 459,000 in the 1960s.[8]

More importantly over the long run, the Bracero Program helped to stimulate a sharp increase in unauthorized Mexican migration. Drawn to the prospect of improving their material conditions in the U.S. (where wages were anywhere from seven to ten times higher than those paid in Mexico), tens of thousands of Mexicans (almost all of them males of working age) chose to circumvent the formal labor contract process and instead crossed the border surreptitiously. This was seen in the sudden increase in the apprehension of unauthorized immigrants, which rose from a negligible number in 1940, to more than 91,000 in 1946, nearly 200,000 in 1947, and to more than 500,000 by 1951.[9]

The increasing circulation of unauthorized workers in this era suited employers, who sought to avoid the red tape and higher costs associated with participation in the formal labor importation program, and would-be Mexican braceros who were unable to secure contracts through official means. Indeed, the mutual economic incentives for unsanctioned entry (bolstered by ever more sophisticated and economically lucrative smuggling, communication, and document-forging networks) increased so much in this period that it is estimated that at different times, the ratio of unauthorized workers to legally contracted braceros was at least two-to-one, and in some cases, was even higher in specific local labor markets. That the use of unauthorized labor had become a systemic feature of the U.S. economy is further reflected in that fact that over the 24 years of the Bracero Program, the estimated number of unauthorized persons apprehended—nearly 5 million—was roughly equivalent to the total number of official contracts issued.[10]

Although the U.S. government has never achieved an accurate count of the number of unauthorized Mexican migrants circulating or settling in the U.S. at any one time, population movement of this magnitude inevitably con-

tributed to a steady increase in the permanent resident ethnic Mexican population. According to U.S. Census data (which again, significantly undercounted undocumented residents in each census) and recent demographic analyses, the total ethnic Mexican population of both nationalities in the U.S. grew from about 1.6 million 1940, to 2.5 million in 1950, and reached 4 million by 1960.[11] The historical significance of the Bracero Program as a precursor to neoliberal economic practices and a driver of demographic change has recently been recognized in a number of public history projects, including the Smithsonian's ongoing Bracero Archive project and the "Bittersweet Harvest" traveling exhibition.[12]

Puerto Ricans

The growth of the Puerto Rican population in the continental U.S. has even more complicated origins. Almost exactly a half-century after the end of the Mexican War, the island of Puerto Rico became an "unincorporated territory" of the U.S. after Spain ceded the island and other colonial possessions at the end of the Spanish-American War of 1898. In the first years of American rule, Puerto Ricans were governed under the terms of the Foraker Act of 1900, which established the island as unincorporated possession of the U.S. and provided a civil government consisting of a Governor appointed by the U.S. President, an Executive Council comprised of 6 Americans and 5 Puerto Ricans, and an integrated court system. In 1917, the U.S. Congress, responding to an increasingly aggressive Puerto Rican independence movement, passed the Jones Act. The Jones Act sought to quell local unrest by providing a number of political reforms including a bicameral legislature (although still under the ultimate authority of a U.S.-appointed Governor, the U.S. Congress, and President of the U.S.), and a Puerto Rican Bill of Rights. More importantly, the Jones Act granted U.S. citizenship to all Puerto Ricans except those who made a public choice to renounce this option, a momentous decision made by nearly 300 Puerto Ricans at the time.[13]

Liga Puertorriqueña e Hispana, Brooklyn Section, 1922 (City University of New York)

Although the authors of the Jones Act had not anticipated that their actions would open the door to Puerto Rican migration to the continental U.S., the extension of U.S. citizenship to island residents ended up having just this effect. Indeed, one of the lasting ironies of the U.S. government's action in 1917 was that even though congressional leaders had expected to continue to control Puerto Rico as a remote colonial possession, a Supreme Court ruling soon revealed the Pandora's Box Congress had opened by granting U.S. citizenship to the island's inhabitants. In the case *Balzac v. Porto Rico* (1922), the Court held that although Puerto Ricans on the island did not have the same constitutional standing as "ordinary" U.S. citizens (based on the logic that the Constitution's plenary power granted Congress almost unlimited authority to decide which specific rights people in unincorporated territory could enjoy), it also ruled that the conferral of citizenship allowed Puerto Ricans the unfettered right to migrate anywhere within U.S. jurisdiction. More importantly, the Court ruled further that once there, Puerto Ricans were by law "to enjoy every right of any other citizen of the U.S., civic, social, and political."[14]

Puerto Ricans soon took advantage of this oversight by exercising one of the most basic rights of U.S. citizenship—that of free move-

ment within the territorial boundaries of the U.S. and its possessions. Beginning soon after the *Balzac* ruling, but increasingly after the Great Depression, growing numbers of Puerto Ricans began moving to the continent, and especially to New York City. Migration from the island was spurred by an evolving colonial economy that simply did not provide sufficient employment to keep up with population growth. Prior to the 1930s, the Puerto Rican economy was heavily oriented toward sugar production, which required intensive labor for only half the year and idled cane workers for the rest of the year. With unemployment now a structural feature of the island economy, the first wave of Puerto Ricans began to leave for the mainland, searching either for work or after having been recruited to work in the agricultural industry. Consequently, the mainland population began to grow. Between 1930 and the outbreak of the Second World War, the mainland Puerto Rican population grew modestly from 53,000 to nearly 70,000, though by now, the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans (nearly 88 percent) could be found in New York City where they became low-wage workers in the region's expanding clothing manufacturing and service sectors. In addition, Puerto Rican entrepreneurs also began to expand what would soon become a thriving ethnic economy servicing the needs of the region's rapidly expanding population.[15]

Freedom Flight arrives in Miami from Cuba, 1970 (Juan Clark Cuban Refugee Center)

Puerto Rican emigration to the mainland accelerated after the war. Facing chronic unemployment on the island (which fluctuated between 10.4 percent and 20 percent for the entire period between 1949 and 1977), and the dislocations in both the rural and urban work forces caused in part by "Operation Bootstrap," a massive government sponsored plan to attract investment and light industry to the island, the Puerto Rican mainland population jumped from fewer than 70,000 in 1940 to more than 300,000 in 1950 and continued to climb to 887,000 by 1960. Although the systematic shift from agriculture to "export-platform industrialization" under Operation Bootstrap was intended to stimulate economic growth and lift workers out of poverty (which occurred for a minority of Puerto Rican workers) chronic unemployment and underemployment—and the economically driven migration that resulted—have been facts of Puerto Rican economic life since the 1950s.[16]

Demographic Developments since 1960

The demographic landscape of Latino America began to change dramatically in the 1960s as a result of a confluence of economic and geopolitical trends. In 1959, a revolutionary insurgency in Cuba led by Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Ché" Guevara shocked the world by overthrowing the regime of dictator Fulgencio Batista. Although Castro's political intentions remained unclear in the first months of his rule, by 1960 the ruling junta made it plain that it intended to rule Cuba under Marxist principles. In quick succession, a series of political purges and trials, expropriations, the nationalization of key industries and institutions (including labor unions and private schools), and the aborted invasion attempt by Cuban exiles at the infamous Bay of Pigs in the spring of 1961, led to a mass exodus of disaffected Cubans. Although a significant Cuban population had existed in the U.S. since the 19th century (mainly concentrated in Florida and New York City), virtually overnight the exodus of Cubans after the revolution created a major new Latino

American population. Numbering fewer than 71,000 nationwide in 1950, the Cuban immigrant population shot up to 163,000 by 1960.[17]

A second wave of Cuban immigration occurred between 1965 and the early 1970s when the Castro regime agreed to allow Cubans who wished to be reunited with family members already in the U.S. to do so. Although initially caught by surprise by the Cuban government's decision, U.S. immigration officials provided a mechanism for the orderly entry of nearly 300,000 additional Cuban refugees. As a result, the Cuban population of the U.S. reached 638,000 by 1970, which accounted for 7.2 percent of nation's Latino population at the time.[18] During the 1980s, a third wave of out-migration from Cuba occurred (the infamous "Mariel boatlift"), swelling the numbers of Cubans in the U.S. by another 125,000.[19] These three major waves of post-1960 immigration provided the foundation for the modern Cuban American population, which currently stands at nearly 1.786 million, or 3.5 percent of the pan-Latino population of the U.S.[20]

The majority of Cubans and their children have tended to congregate in South Florida (nearly 70 percent of all Cubans continue to reside in Florida) but over time, Cubans and Cuban Americans—like other Latino migrants—have become more geographically dispersed over time. Although the different socioeconomic profiles of the three distinct waves of Cuban migration created a heterogeneous population in class terms, in aggregate, the immigrants that established the Cuban American population have the highest levels of socioeconomic attainment of the three major Latino subpopulations in the U.S. For example, in 2008, 25 percent of Cubans and Cuban Americans over age 25 had obtained at least a college degree (compared to just 12.9 percent of the overall U.S. Latino population); median income for persons over 16 was $26,478 (compared to median earnings of $21,488 for all Latinos); and 13.2 percent of Cubans lived below the poverty line (compared to 20.7 percent of the Latino population and 12.7 percent of the general U.S. population at that time).[21]

Political turmoil elsewhere in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s—particularly in the Central American nations of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua—also contributed to significant new Latin American immigration to the U.S. Again, although citizens of each of these nations had established small émigré populations in the U.S. well before the 1970s, the political turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s resulted in an unprecedented wave of migration as hundreds of thousands of Central Americans—many of them undocumented—fled the violence of their homelands to enter the U.S. Caught between authoritarian regimes (often overtly or covertly supported by elements of the U.S. government) and left-wing insurgencies, Central American migrants became a significant part of the U.S. Latino population by 1990, when they reached an aggregate population of nearly 1.324 million. Reflecting their diverse origins and experiences, Central Americans have clustered in different areas of the country, with Salvadorans prominent in Los Angeles, Houston, San Francisco, New York, and Washington, D.C.; Guatemalans in California and Texas; Nicaraguans in Miami; and Hondurans in Florida, Texas, and elsewhere. Although most of the Central American nations have stabilized politically since the 1990s, the long term economic disruption and displacement caused by protracted civil- and

The political turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s resulted in an unprecedented wave of migration as hundreds of thousands of Central Americans—many of them undocumented—fled the violence of their homelands to enter the U.S.

guerilla wars in the region has contributed to the continuing growth of this population (discussed further below).[22]

Economic Factors

As dramatic as the story of Cuban and Central American political migration has been, however, the most significant development in Latino migration to the U.S. in recent history is rooted in profound economic shifts occurring both in the U.S. and in countries in the Western Hemisphere since the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first signs of things to come were the end of the Bracero Program in 1964 and a major overhaul of U.S. immigration law in 1965. Although both events have been touted as part of the wave of liberal reforms (including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965) that characterized this tumultuous era, the end of the contract labor program and revamping of the U.S. immigration system helped hide from view some significant changes both in patterns of immigration and the utilization of immigrant labor in the U.S. These events also tended to obscure important structural changes in both the U.S. economy the economies of Latin America that continue to the present day.

Undocumented Mexicans being deported Los Angeles, California, 1976 (latinamericanstudies.org)

One change that largely escaped public view at the time was the gradual replacement of braceros with unauthorized workers, the vast majority of them originating in Mexico. Although the use of braceros had steadily declined in the early 1960s until Congress allowed the program to lapse at the end of 1964, there is no indication that the steady demand for labor that had driven both authorized and unauthorized migration for the previous quarter-century had suddenly dropped appreciably. Given historical trends, it is much more likely that, as the program ran down, braceros were gradually replaced by unauthorized workers—or, after their contracts expired, simply became unauthorized workers themselves.

In any case, border apprehensions began to rise again almost immediately after the guest worker program's demise. Whereas the INS reported apprehending an average of about 57,000 unauthorized migrants per year in the nine years between Operation Wetback, a federal program that deported illegal Mexican immigrants from the southwestern U.S., and the end of the Bracero Program, apprehensions approached 100,000 again in 1965 and continued to rise sharply thereafter.[23] In that same year, the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) Amendments (79 Stat. 911) almost certainly exacerbated this trend. Although the new law greatly liberalized extant policy by abolishing the national origins quota system and providing a first-come, first-served system for eligible immigrants, for the first time in history the INA imposed a ceiling of just 120,000 legal immigrants per year for the entire Western Hemisphere. Later adjustments in the law further lowered the number of visas available to Western Hemisphere countries.[24]

On the economic front, the 1973 Arab oil embargo further disrupted the American labor market and eventually helped lay the foundations for an even greater influx of both legal immigrants and unauthorized workers. The extended period of simultaneous contraction and inflation that followed the 1973 crisis—and a series of neoliberal economic reforms that were instituted in response—signaled a

massive reorganization of work and production processes that in many ways continue to the present day. This ongoing restructuring was regionally and temporally uneven, but across the economy the general long term trend was toward a contraction of comparatively secure high-wage, high-benefit (often union) jobs in the manufacturing and industrial sectors and a corresponding growth of increasingly precarious low-wage, low benefit, often non-union jobs in the expanding service and informal sectors of a transformed economy.

In the international arena, the deepening global debt crisis and austerity measures imposed on many Latin American countries over this same period by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund set the stage for even more drastic economic restructuring and displacement abroad.[25] These developments also dramatically altered the gendered composition of immigrant flows. Whereas prior to this time, migration from Latin America to the U.S. was heavily skewed toward males of working age, economic restructuring abroad eventually led to a growing number of women and children entering the migrant stream. The gender breakdown of immigrant populations varies from region to region, (with Mexican migration, for example, remaining somewhat skewed toward males and Dominican migration heavily skewed toward females) but the general trend in Latin American immigration since the 1970s and 1980s has been a pronounced feminization of migratory flows. As a result, although men still outnumber women, the aggregate Latin American population of foreign birth in the U.S. is rapidly approaching gender equilibrium.[26]

The effects of the combination of these dramatic structural shifts have played out differently in different regions of Latin America. In Mexico, the nation that historically has sent the largest numbers of migrants to the U.S., the deepening debt crisis, periodic devaluations of the peso, and natural disasters like the great earthquake of 1985 helped to stimulate even more intense waves of out-migration by both males and females. As already noted, political turmoil and violence had similar effects on the nations of Central America. Moreover, in impoverished Caribbean nations like the Dominican Republic, the attraction of finding work in the U.S. (especially for Dominican women) has led to even more explosive growth in the émigré population. Whereas the Dominican population of the U.S. stood at fewer than 100,000 in 1970, by 1980, it had grown to more than 171,000, and as will be seen below, has continued to grow dramatically since.[27]

At the other end of the economic spectrum, ongoing economic restructuring in South America has led to a situation in which highly educated and highly skilled individuals from countries including Argentina, Chile, Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, and others have emigrated to the U.S. seeking economic opportunities not available to them in their places of origin. For example, according to a recent analysis of 2000 U.S. Census data, whereas only 2.3 percent of all Mexican migrants arriving in the U.S. in the 1980s had bachelor's degrees, 30 percent of those arriving from Peru and Chile, 33 percent of Argentine immigrants, and 40 percent of all Venezuelan immigrants had at least a bachelor's degree. For different reasons, this kind of "brain drain" migration has increased significantly in recent years. For example, between 2000 and 2010, the U.S. population of Chilean and Columbian descent or origin nearly doubled, and the resident population of Argentinian, Bolivian, Ecuadorian, Peruvian, and Venezuelan origin or heritage more than doubled.[28]

As always, the economic dependence of the U.S. labor market on both "legal" and "illegal" immigrants has inevitably cemented and extended links of mutual dependence to immigrant-sending regions and thus has also contributed to the continuing cycle of licit and illicit movement into U.S. territory. Since the 1970s, the

same kinds of social networks previously established by European, Asian, and Mexican immigrants have been expanded by more recent migrants, strengthening the bonds of interdependence that have tied some immigrant-source regions to the U.S. for more than a century. The depth of this interdependence becomes clear when one considers the scale of remittances sent by migrants of all statuses to their countries of origin. One study notes that as recently as 2003, 14 percent of the adults in Ecuador, 18 percent of the adults in Mexico, and an astonishing one-in-four of all adults in Central America reported receiving remittances from abroad.[29] In 2007, Mexico alone received more than $24 billion in remittances from its citizens abroad. Before the global economic contraction of 2008, when remittances peaked worldwide, remittances constituted at least 19 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Honduras, 16 percent of El Salvador's, 15 percent of Haiti's, and 10 percent of the GDP of both Nicaragua and Guatemala.[30] In short, in-sourcing of immigrant labor has become a deeply embedded structural feature of both the supply and demand side of the licit and illicit immigration equation and is, therefore, that much more difficult to arrest with unilateral policy interventions.

"We seek a new and more open global trading system, not for its own sake but for our own sake."

Bill Clinton, Remarks on the Signing of NAFTA, 1993

The effects of these interlocking trends have been intensified by ongoing neoliberal "free trade" negotiations and agreements designed to reduce trade barriers and foster greater regional economic integration. In the U.S., the two signal developments in this area, the ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and a similar initiative, the Central American Free Trade Agreement (which is currently being implemented on an incremental basis with several Caribbean, Central-, and South American nations) have been tremendously successful in increasing trade between the signatories. For example, since the ratification of NAFTA in 1994, trade between the U.S. and Canada has tripled, while that between the U.S. and Mexico has quadrupled. At the same time, however, these agreements also provided the means for U.S-based firms to export parts of their production processes to comparatively low-wage and laxly regulated economies while downsizing production capacities (and shedding higher-wage, often-unionized labor) within the borders of the U.S. Together, these structural changes laid the foundations for an intensification of two trends that have come to define the U.S. economy at the turn of the 21st century: the downsizing and outsourcing of production processes that were once based in the U.S. and a concomitant trend toward what might be called labor "in-sourcing" of ever larger numbers of both authorized and unauthorized immigrants.[31]

The stunning result of structural reshaping of the economy has been seen in two interrelated developments: the explosive growth of a Latino population with origins in virtually all the nations of Latin America, and an unprecedented explosion of the unauthorized population in the U.S. In 1970, the Latino population hovered around 9.6 million and constituted less than 5 percent of the nation's population. After that date, however, the Latino population not only grew dramatically but also became much more diverse. Overall, the nation's Latino population grew to at least 14.6 million by 1980, rose to 22.4 million in 1990, increased to 35.3 million in 2000, and approached 50 million by 2010.[32] Although ethnic Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans remain the majority of the Latino population (constituting 63, 9.2, and 3.5 percent of the total, respectively, in 2010), new immigrant influxes from elsewhere in Latin America

created a more complex demography in which Central Americans (7.9 percent), South Americans (5.5 percent), and Dominicans (2.8 percent of the total) now also have significant population clusters. The three major Latino subpopulations of ethnic Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans grew substantially in the decade between the 2000 and 2010 U.S. Censuses (charting increases of 54, 36, and 44 percent respectively), but other Latino populations from sending regions in Central and South America grew at a much faster rate, ranging from an 85 percent increase in the Dominican immigrant community to a 191 percent increase in the Honduran population.

Between 40 and 50 percent of all persons not legally in the country are individuals who did not cross the border illegally.

Overall, the immigrant populations of virtually all Spanish-speaking nations of the Western Hemisphere grew substantially in the decade between 2000 and 2010. The Dominican population of the U.S. increased from 765,000 to 1.4 million; the Guatemalan population jumped from 372,000 to 1.04 million; Hondurans from 218,000 to 633,000; Nicaraguans from 178,000 to 348,000, and Salvadorans from 655,000 to 1.6 million.[33] As of 2011, the combined pan-Latino population is estimated to have reached a figure of 50,478,000, more than 16 percent of the total population of the U.S.[34]

The number of unauthorized persons—again predominantly from Latin America but also from virtually every other nation on earth as well—has grown at similar rates since the 1970s. Reflecting ongoing economic displacement, chronic unemployment and underemployment, simmering civil unrest, and the escalating violence associated with the rise of the drug trade, human trafficking, and other illicit economic activities, unauthorized migration has risen along with legal immigration. It has always been difficult to estimate the actual numbers of undocumented persons within U.S. borders at any one moment, but demographers believe that in aggregate, the unauthorized population of the country rose from approximately 3 million in 1980, to about 5 million by the mid-1990s, reached an estimated 8.4 million by 2000, and peaked at between 11 and 12 million (or about 4 percent of the total U.S. population) before turning downward after the financial crisis of 2008-09. With much of the global economy in a sustained slump since then, the unauthorized population is estimated to have dropped by at least one million since 2009.[35]

While it is difficult to pinpoint the exact causes of slowing rates of unauthorized migration, heightened security measures and the ongoing recession have clearly contributed to the steep declines seen in recent years. Apprehensions reported by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement have dropped from a recent peak of nearly 1.64 million in 2000 to fewer than 450,000 in 2010. By 2011, border apprehensions had dropped even further to 340,252, a number that would have been almost unimaginable just five years earlier.[36] At the same time, deportations and enforced "voluntary departures" of unauthorized persons have risen sharply in recent years. According to data released by U.S. Immigration and Customs enforcement, deportations and other enforced departures rose from 291,000 in fiscal 2007 to nearly 400,000 in fiscal 2011—and were on an even higher numerical pace though the first five months of fiscal 2012.[37] Whether such trends continue when the economy recovers is an open question, especially given the increasingly integral role unauthorized workers have come to play in the economy.[38]

One other note should be added to this discussion. Although for reasons discussed elsewhere

in this essay the phenomenon of illegal immigration has commonly been associated almost exclusively with Mexicans, one should note that most migration scholars agree that somewhere between 40 and 50 percent of all persons not legally in the country are individuals who did not cross the border illegally but rather have overstayed valid tourist, student, or other visas. Thus, although illegal immigration has come to be perceived primarily as a "Mexican problem," Mexicans ultimately accounted for about 58 percent of the estimated total in 2010—the remaining 42 percent, many of them visa violators, came from virtually every other nation in the world.[39]

Future Trends

It is impossible to predict the future, but the entwined questions of Latin America immigration and the status of the millions of unauthorized Latin American immigrants currently in the U.S. will almost certainly continue to be two of the most complex and vexing issues on the American political landscape. On the one hand, growing international market competition makes it likely that the U.S. economy will continue to depend heavily on the labor of foreigners—and if patterns of regional economic integration continue, it is almost certain that Latin American immigrants of all statuses will continue to play a major role in the economic development of the nation. Indeed, before the current economic contraction, patterns of immigrant labor insourcing had accelerated to the extent that immigrants of all legal statuses were filling jobs in the U.S. at a rate comparable to the one that existed in the great age of industrial migration more than a century ago. Although the ongoing recession has clearly suppressed the hiring of both native and foreign workers, recent data reveals just how much immigrant workers have become crucial components of American economic life.

According to U.S. Census data, as recently as 2007, highly-skilled "legal" immigrants had become essential in many key economic sectors, constituting fully 44 percent of all medical scientists, 37 percent of all physical scientists, 34 percent of all computer software engineers, 31 percent of all economists, 30 percent of all computer engineers, and 27 percent of all physicians and surgeons. With citizen members of the "baby boom" generation entering retirement in ever-increasing numbers, demographers predict that pressure to recruit highly educated and highly skilled immigrants will continue to rise.[40]

In the vast occupational landscape below such elite professions, immigrant workers of all legal statuses (the U.S. Census does not distinguish between "legal" and unsanctioned workers) have also become structurally embedded in virtually every job category in the economy. As would be expected, more than half of all agricultural workers, plasterers, tailors, dressmakers, sewing machine operators, and "personal appearance workers" are immigrants. Authorized and unauthorized immigrant workers are estimated to constitute another 40 to 50 percent of all drywall workers, packers and packaging workers, and maids and housekeepers. In the next tier, immigrants comprised 30 to 40 percent of all roofers, painters, meat and fish processors, cement workers, brick masons, cooks, groundskeepers, laundry workers, textile workers, and dishwashers. Beyond their expected presence in these labor-intensive occupations, however, immigrants of all statuses are estimated to hold 20 to 30 percent of at least 36 additional occupational categories.[41] But in addition to the numbers captured in official labor statistics, it is also important to keep in mind that untold numbers of other noncitizens toil in the vast and expanding reaches of the "informal" or unregulated "gray" and subterranean "black" market economies.[42] Indeed, the turn to licit and illicit immigrant labor at all levels of the economy has been so great that it is estimated that foreign workers accounted for *half* of all jobs created in the U.S.

between 1996 and 2000 and comprised at least 16 percent of the total U.S. work force at the turn of the twenty-first century.[43]

Of course, on the other hand, the increasingly visible use of immigrant workers and the growth and dispersal of the Latino population since the 1980s into areas such as the American South and the industrial Northeast—places where few Latinos have ever been seen in substantial numbers before—have fanned the flames of dissent and nativism among those who are infuriated not only with what they see as the unconscionable expansion of the nation's unauthorized population, but more generally, with the erosion of domestic living standards associated with the ongoing restructuring of the U.S. economy. Fears about the inexorable aging of the "white" citizen population and the rapid growth of a comparably youthful non-white Latino population have tended to heighten resentment against the foreign-born and their children—and especially against those without legal status. (In 2010, the median age of non-Hispanic white persons was 42, compared to a median age of 27 for all Latinos).[44] The widespread sense that the Federal Government—and lawmakers in both political parties—have not seriously enforced existing law obviously has also added to the frustration of those holding such views.

May Day March and Rally for Workers and Immigrant Rights, Seattle, Washington, 2011 (ImmigrationProf)

Consequently, in what is clearly the most dramatic recent development in the debate over immigration and border control policy, states and localities have entered the fray by enacting a range of measures designed to pressure unauthorized persons to leave their jurisdictions. Following precedents set by activists in California and elsewhere, localities such as Hazleton, Pennsylvania in the East, Escondido, California in the West, and at least 130 other American towns and cities in between have passed local ordinances that do everything from criminalizing the hiring of unauthorized day laborers, making it illegal to rent to unauthorized residents, suspending business licenses of firms employing unauthorized workers, and criminalizing the public use of languages other than English. In addition, a number of states—perhaps most notoriously Arizona, and more recently, Indiana, Georgia, Alabama, and others—have debated and/or enacted a variety of measures designed to pressure unauthorized persons to depart their jurisdictions. In 2010 alone, states passed more than 300 such laws, including measures requiring local law enforcement officials, teachers, social workers, health-care providers, private-sector employers, and others to verify the citizenship of any individual they encounter in their official duties or businesses—and make it a crime for non-citizens not to have documents verifying their legal status. Some have gone so far as to propose that unauthorized persons be prohibited from driving (or, for that matter, be barred from receiving any kind of state license), and that states not recognize the U.S. citizenship of infants born of unauthorized residents, regardless of the birthright citizenship provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Federal courts have thus far tended to enjoin or strike down such statutes as violations of federal prerogative in immigration matters, but the future in this arena of immigration and citizenship politics and jurisprudence remains uncertain.[45]

Given the tremendously unstable state of the U.S. and global economies and the highly politi-

cized debate over border enforcement and undocumented immigration in the second decade of the century, it is impossible to predict even partial resolution to these festering controversies. Although the continuing precariousness of the economy may well lay the groundwork for the projection of more force on U.S. borders and an even more hostile climate for Latinos and non-citizens already within U.S. territory, global economic trends will almost certainly continue to create incentives for the ongoing structural use and abuse of both officially authorized and unauthorized Latino immigrant workers. Under these circumstances, it is likely that the historical debate over border enforcement, the continuing growth of the pan-Latino population, and the status of unauthorized persons will persist into the foreseeable future.

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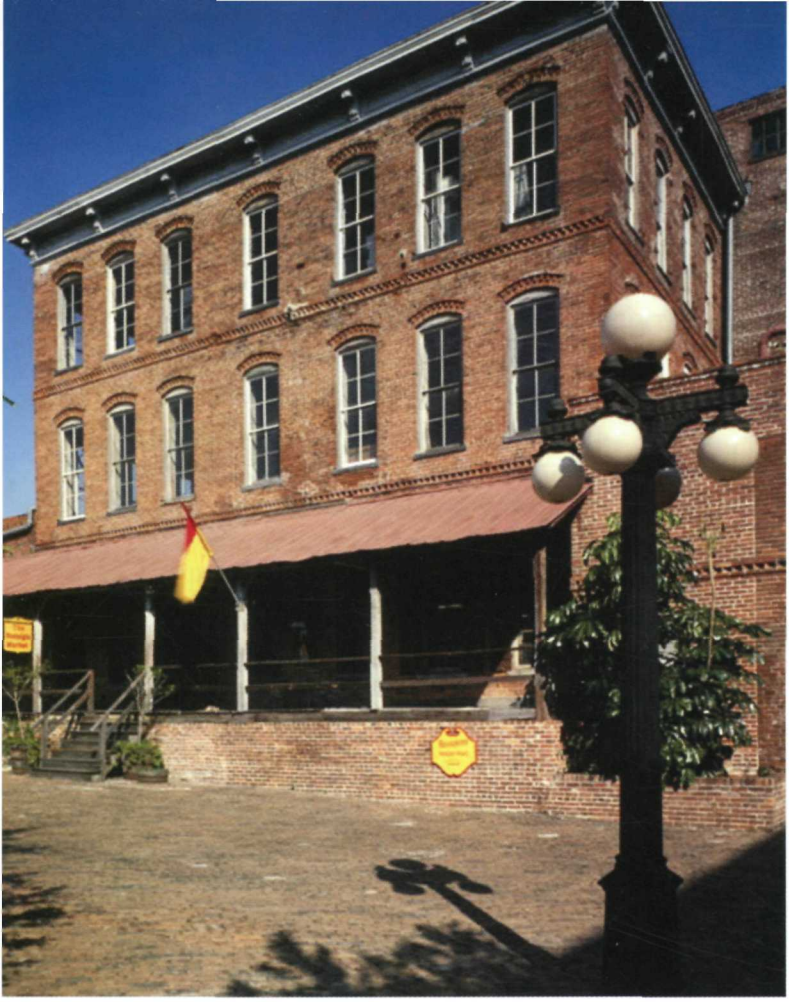

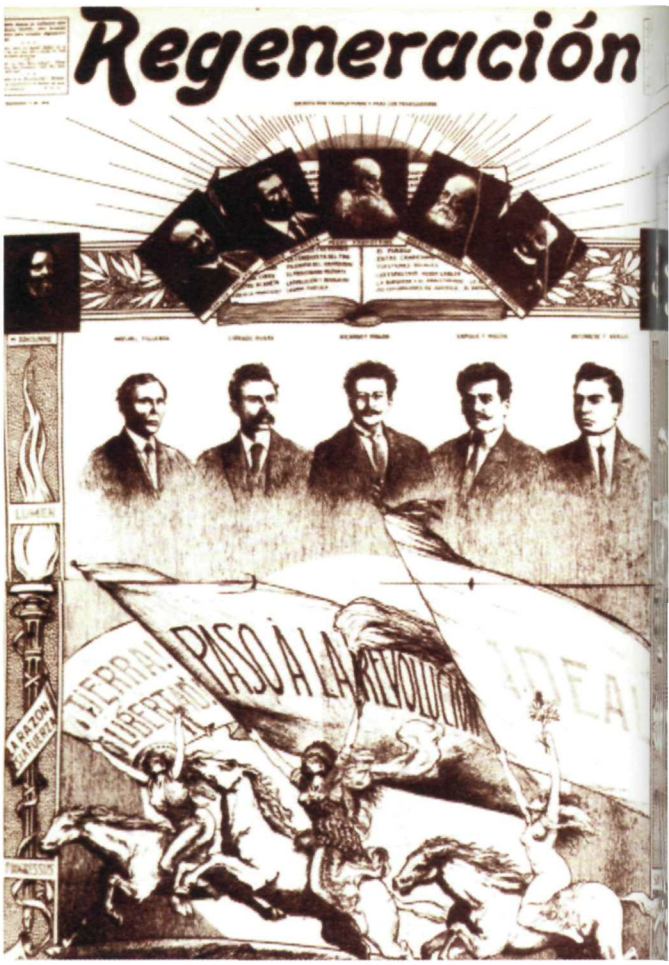

Clockwise from top left:
Vincente Martinez Ybor's Cigar Factory, site of José Martí's "Cuba Libre" speech, Ybor City in Tampa, Florida (Library of Congress, HABS, HAER, HALS Collection); Cover of *Regeneracion* newspaper, September 1910 (Pitzer College); Aurora Levins Morales (University of Illinois at Chicago); La Princesa Prison, where Albizu Campos was jailed, San Juan, Puerto Rico (Creative Commons by Boricuade Corizon); Leonor Villegas de Magnón sitting down in boxcar door, 1914 (Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage, University of Houston)

Envisioning and Re-visioning the Nation: Latino Intellectual Traditions

Nicolás Kanellos

Latinos have resided in North America since before the arrival of northern Europeans at Jamestown and Plymouth. They already lived in lands that became English colonies and later the states of the early American Republic. Of course, their largest populations dwelled in what became the southern and western U.S., Mexico, and the Caribbean, most of which would be conquered and/or bought by the expanding U.S. during the second half of the 19th century. Whether before or after their incorporation into U.S. territory, the people that would in the future be called "Latinos" or "Hispanics" had a rich intellectual history, having introduced the first written European language, book culture, and universities to the hemisphere. They pondered and wrote about all of the cultural and scientific themes that we think of as part of the occidental tradition. They continued this rich intellectual tradition in the lands that became part of the U.S.

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Over the course of U.S. history, Latinos thought about, struggled with, and wrote about the major philosophic and political themes of 19th and early 20th centuries nation building: 1) the meaning and implementation of democracy, especially through establishment of a liberal republic; 2) their democratic and cultural rights under U.S. dominion; 3) their growing sense of nationhood; and 4) the particular challenges of slavery and disenfranchisement of women in a democratic republic that had yet to realize its ideals.

From the very outset, Latinos thought about and expressed their opinions, penned and published philosophical, humanistic, scientific, and political discussions on all of the major topics that today we consider as part of the national intellectual heritage of the U.S. They did so through speeches in the public arena, books and periodicals, and in the classroom; in fact, the earliest schools on the continent were missionary schools run by the Spanish friars, and the earliest presses and newspapers in the West and Southwest were Spanish-language publications. While below we mention only a few individuals who made an impact on the spread of intellectual thought, these thinkers and activists were not alone in developing, articulating, and publishing the important ideas; rather, they were members of communities of thinkers, writers, and political activists who helped them hone their ideas. Indeed, it would take volumes to chart adequately the full development of Latino thought; thus, this essay is just an initial foray into a rich and complex intellectual history. The traditional Anglo- or Euro-centric history of the U.S. has consistently ignored Latino intellectual history; however, today, this intellectual tradition, like that of other ethnic and minority groups and women, is integral to achieving a full understanding of our development as a nation.

The contributions of Latinos to the civilization of the Americas, including what later would become U.S. life and culture, begins during the period of exploration and colonization and includes such legacies of American life as technologies of farming, ranching, mining, natural resource management, etc., most of which can be attributed to the mestizo culture (mixed European, African, and Native American) that arose not only south of today's border but also in the lands that would become the U.S. The starting point for this essay, however, will

properly be the U.S. shortly after winning its independence from the British Empire and its establishment of a new form of government. Since the days of the early American Republic, Latino intellectuals have struggled to: 1) export to their countries of origin the democratic ideas learned from the speeches of the U.S. "founding fathers" and the texts of the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, and the American Constitution; and 2) demand the implementation of these lofty concepts among minorities and the disenfranchised within the boundaries of the American Republic. At first, these intellectuals from throughout the Americas, from as far away as the Rio de la Plata and Peru idealistically flocked to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston to acquire this knowledge, translate it, and smuggle it in to the various regions of New Spain in order to prepare for their independence from "the mother country" and create an ideological foundation on which to establish their own republics. The largest number of these political thinkers were drawn to Philadelphia at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, not only because it was, at that time, the capital of the U.S., but also because numerous printers were available who, for competitive fees, made "freedom of the press" a reality for the Spaniards and Spanish American creoles (*criollos*) whose mission it was to adapt U.S. democratic and republican principles to political texts that would be smuggled into the Caribbean and as far south as the Rio de la Plata.

The Struggle for Independence and Democracy

The first of the Spanish colonies to proclaim (1810) and later gain (1821) its independence was Mexico, and numerous Mexican founding revolutionaries studied the ideas emanating from the young U.S. More importantly for our essay, the seeds of an independent Texas and the first cradle of a "Latino" culture were broadcast from Philadelphia and sown in Texas soil precisely by one of those translators and disseminators of liberal democratic ideals: José Alvarez de Toledo (1779-1858). A creole born in Cuba and educated for a career as an officer in the Spanish navy, Alvarez de Toledo was named to the Spanish Congress in Exile (*Cortes*) to represent Santo Domingo during the Napoleonic occupation of Spain. Associating with the other liberal representatives from the Americas and participating in underground societies that discussed the new ideas and forms of government emanating from the U.S., Alvarez de Toledo conspired with revolutionaries and went into exile in Philadelphia, where he plotted with many other such co-conspirators who had migrated there from as far away as Peru. Through newspaper articles, political pamphlets, and fiery speeches, Alvarez de Toledo voiced such ideas as: "Sixteen million inhabitants occupying this delicious Continent are never represented in the eyes of the Government and Rulers in Europe, except as a horde of miserable slaves who must blindly obey whatever they are ordered to, and in profound silence kiss those same chains that they have dragged since the time of Cortez and Pizarro."[1]

Alvarez de Toledo's particular contribution to the liberation of the Americas was to help organize an invasion of Texas and undergird it with the ideology of liberal democracy. In 1811, he published a fiery broadside, *Mexicanos, llegado es el tiempo señalado por la Providencia para que sacudáis el yugo bárbaro...*, calling for Mexican Independence, basing it not only on the rights of man and language similar to the U.S. Declaration of Independence, but also presciently postulating an indigenous identity for Mexicans, and by extension all Spanish Americans:

> Mexicans: the time signaled by Providence has arrived for you to shuck off the barbarous and insulting yoke that the most insolent of despotisms has ignominiously forced upon you for some three

> hundred years. Now that the Cadiz government has obliged you to continue dragging the same chains used by the kings of Spain to imprison you, those kings who had no authority over you except what you allowed them in governing you [...] I advise you, oh illustrious children of the famous Montezuma, do not sheath your swords until you have established order and gained complete freedom for your country.[2]

It may seem unlikely that Alvarez de Toledo, or anyone else, for that matter, would be issuing manifestos to Mexicans, on the rights of the governed to select their governors, from as far away as Philadelphia at that time. However, this was precisely when Alvarez de Toledo was conspiring with José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara (1774-1841), a blacksmith from Revilla on the Rio Grande River, to get support from American government and business interests for the invasion of Texas. Gutiérrez actually took copies of the manifesto with him to distribute during the invasion of his force, made up mainly of Anglo-American mercenaries and adventurers. In addition, Alvarez penned another pamphlet, *El Amigo de los hombres* (The Friend of Man), that was distributed by Gutiérrez and his forces. Subsequently, Alvarez recruited a printer and a U.S. government filibuster, and went down to Nacogdoches, Texas, where he wrote and typeset Texas' first newspaper, *La Gaceta de Texas* (1813) in *La Casa Piedra* (Old Stone House). The Alvarez/Gutiérrez de Lara mission succeeded in overcoming the royalist forces for about a year, during which time a constitution was written for Texas, but the bloody counterattack of the Spanish effectively ended that first Texas republic.

La Casa Piedra (Old Stone House), Nacogdoches, Texas, 1885 (Texas State Library and Archives)

Texican (Anglo-Texan) and *Tejano* (Mexican-Texan) citizens finally won their independence, not from Spain, but from a newly independent Mexico in 1836. In fact, it was a Mexican intellectual, who had participated earlier in writing Mexico's constitution and served in its congress, who became the lead writer of the constitution and first laws of the Texas Republic: Lorenzo de Zavala (1788-1836), the first vice president of Texas. Years of turmoil between liberals and conservatives followed Mexican independence, and the liberal Zavala was forced into exile in 1830. He subsequently took the opportunity to travel throughout the American Republic and examine firsthand U.S. life, laws, and culture. In 1834, he published his book *Viaje a los Estados Unidos del Norte América* (Journey to the United States of North America), not only preceding Alexis de Tocqueville's celebrated *Democracy in America* (1835), but offering a differing and often more insightful view of American democracy.

Zavala was ambivalent, nevertheless, about what he saw and how it applied to Mexico; he wrote that the Mexicans had followed too closely ("serviley") the U.S. example. In essence, Zavala, as an early transnational figure, had the vantage point of comparing both the American and Mexican cultures, and their systems of laws and governance as part of his mission to promote Mexican nationhood. He wanted to bring to the fore the best of both worlds; at the end of his book, he exhorts the Mexicans to create their own nationhood precisely by choosing from both traditions. I would argue that Zavala would play

out this particular role in his contribution to the Texas constitution. Further, I would argue, that this incipient biculturalism—after all, the Texas constitution was bilingual, as were the constitutions of the other southwestern states to be founded after 1848—was of particular benefit to the life and culture not only of Texas but, eventually, of the U.S. as a whole.

Lorenzo de Zavala (San Jacinto Museum of History)

In writing the Mexican constitution, Zavala had advocated a liberal, federalist government as opposed to a centralist government, one of the main issues that would later drive the Tejanos and Texicans to rebel against Santa Anna's centralized, despotic rule. He also not only advocated for property rights for the indigenous peoples and for the rights of mestizos in Mexico, but also led the effort to abolish slavery.[3] Zavala moved to the northern Mexican province of Texas in hopes of fashioning a utopia,[4] one where biculturation (a 21st-century term) would help mediate the culture and politics of both Mexico and the U.S. What Zavala and his fellow drafters of the Texas constitution did, in fact, was select what was most convenient and comfortable for them from the laws of both Mexico and the U.S.

Latino Contributions to American Law

Spanish/Mexican laws, thus, passed into the Texas Republic and, subsequently into the State of Texas in 1850; they include many laws dealing with water usage, protection of the homestead, a single court system, and the definition of families and their members' rights; specifically covering areas where Anglo-American law was seen as deficient. Aside from the many laws that govern property and water rights; the most taken for granted but far-reaching are the laws regarding families. The Spanish legal concept of community property was codified in the Texas Republic and later in its state laws, but eventually came to be a basic tenet for all of the U.S.; under Anglo-American law, property belonged exclusively to the husband and, upon his death, the wife only had life interest in one-third of his property. Furthermore, the Latino concept of common-law marriage also passed into Texas law. Some scholars believe that even the right to file a joint tax return derives from the community property concept.[5]

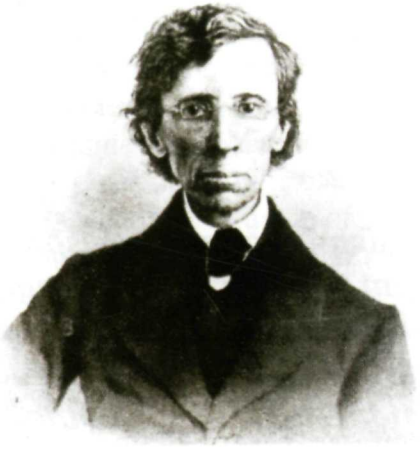
Numerous other concepts of Spanish/Mexican family law were incorporated into the legal code of Texas, and eventually made their way into the State of Texas and other states. Children issuing from common-law marriage had to be treated as legitimate and could inherit the property of either or both parents. Adopted children, likewise, would have all the rights of biological children, but they could still claim rights from their biological parents. Entire books have now been written on the Hispanic legal concepts that today inform U.S. laws, but few of these treatises have recognized the intellectuals like Zavala who foresaw and began pioneering the concept of a bicultural American nation that would facilitate this type of legal *mestizaje*.

From U. S. Shores, Latinos Lead Caribbean Independence Movements

While Zavala was working on a constitution for a newly independent Mexico, in the northeast U.S., Latinos from the Caribbean were still struggling for their independence from Spain. The longest lasting independence movement in the hemisphere was that of Spain's Caribbean colonies, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, and much of their independence struggle and nation-

building was to be plotted, funded, and written about from U.S. shores. Like their Spanish American predecessors in Philadelphia, the Cubans and Puerto Ricans were learning all they could from their American hosts while, like Gutiérrez de Lara and Alvarez de Toledo before them, they too would seek the sponsorship and finances of American government officials and commercial backers.

One of Cuba's first and most illustrious exiles was the philosopher-priest Félix Varela (1788-1853), who founded *El Habanero* newspaper in Philadelphia in 1824 and moved it to New York in 1825. Subtitled "political, scientific and literary paper," *El Habanero* openly militated for Cuban independence from Spain. Varela set the precedent for Cubans and Puerto Ricans of printing and publishing in exile and having their works circulating in their home islands. Varela was also among the expatriates who were actively translating American liberalism and government organization, as in his 1826 translation and annotation of Thomas Jefferson's *Manual de práctica parlamentaria: para el uso del Senado de los Estados Unidos* (Manuel of Parlamentary Practice: for Use in the United States Senate). Varela's own writings on philosophy and education, most of which were published in the U.S., were said to be the only "best sellers" in Cuba, and Varela himself the most popular author there, despite the existence of a "conspiracy of silence" in which his name could never even be brought up in public on the island.[6] That Varela would launch *El Habanero* and other Cubans and Puerto Ricans would continue the exile press in New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Key West, and Tampa is remarkable, given the scant tradition of newspaper publishing on these islands under Spanish government control and censorship.



Félix Varela (Arte Publico)

Despite his revolutionary writing, his plotting with filibusters, and political organizing; Varela never lived to see Cuba liberated and independent. He became Americanized, doing social work among Irish immigrants in New York, and contributing his theological and philosophical thought to the American Catholic Church and beyond. Varela was raised in St. Augustine, the Spanish colony of East Florida, before it was purchased by the U.S. He received his advanced education and was ordained as a priest in Havana and, by 1822, was considered Cuba's foremost philosopher. Varela promoted in speeches and publications his concept of liberal democracy as God-given rights of man, which led him to become a target of the Spanish authorities. Like Alvarez, he also was elected to the Spanish *Cortes*, where he advocated freedom of the Spanish colonies and the abolition of slavery. When King Ferdinand VII returned to the throne on the withdrawal of the French from Spain, Varela was prohibited from returning to Cuba and went into exile in the U.S. in 1823. From Philadelphia and New York, he continued militating for independence and the abolition of slavery. Varela worked at various churches in the city, becoming a leading ecumenist and, notably, heading up campaigns against alcoholism at least a decade before Father Theobald Mathew began to administer "the pledge" to American congregations in 1849. From the 1830s onward, Varela edited magazines for Catholic children and adults, of which the works for children became the textbooks for a Catholic education within the U.S. Varela dedicated himself to preparing the infrastructure as well as social and political legitimacy of the

Catholic Church in the U.S.; he sought to ground the faith in the American virtues of freedom and democracy. Varela retired in St. Augustine in 1850 and died there in 1853.

The Struggle for Human and Civil Rights

Varela's mid-century death coincides more or less with the waning of Latin American idealism regarding the practice of liberal democracy in the U.S. From the beginning of the 19th century, the young American Republic had engaged in an expansionist program that resulted in the often-forced incorporation of formerly Hispanic lands into what was obviously becoming an American empire. From Florida to Louisiana to Texas and culminating with the Mexican War that wrenched away and incorporated into the U.S. the northern half of Mexico's sovereign territory, American expansionism was undergirded by the colonialist superiority of the Monroe Doctrine and the messianic racism of Manifest Destiny. Now Latinos both inside and outside the U.S. feared for their rights and sovereignty while still struggling to make democracy a reality for themselves as newly declared American citizens in the South and Southwest, and as newly independent republics south of the border.

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Spanish-language newspapers from New York to Los Angeles became the sounding board for grievances against racial and religious discrimination against the Hispanics, who were now American citizens, while at the same time railing against the filibustering and imperialistic gaze that Uncle Sam was focusing on other parts of Mexico and Central America. That gaze would eventually lead to incorporating Cuba, Panama, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands as American colonies and repeated military intervention in the Dominican Republic. American economic expansion and foreign policy continuously produced the migration of more and more people from these areas to work in the fields and factories of the U.S. Latino labor was to become just another commodity imported, like the agricultural products and raw materials being exploited and imported by American companies. After the Civil War and the abolition of slavery in the U.S., American agribusiness and railroad construction firms intensified their importation of cheap labor while at the same time converting the resident Mexican population of the Southwest into a proletariat.

One of the first Latino intellectuals to link the internal and external effects of American expansionism and ideologies of racial superiority was Francisco P. Ramírez (1837-1908), born in Los Angeles when it was still part of Mexico. Like many other Latinos on the East Coast and in the Southwest, he was proud to become an American and looked forward to the blessings bestowed by the Constitution and Bill of Rights. In 1855, when he was still a teenager, he founded *El Clamor Público* (The Public Outcry). As the editorialist for the newspaper, he encouraged Spanish-speakers to learn English, study the American Constitution, and exercise their franchise. He repeatedly demanded that the authorities honor the Bill of Rights, as well as the safeguards for property and cultural rights codified in the 1848 peace treaty with Mexico, but his indignation grew as the civil and property rights of Californios were not being protected. Instead, he observed widespread discrimination and the Californios being despoiled of their lands and subjected to vigilante justice in what he called a "lynchocracy." He challenged the ideology of Manifest Destiny and its link to American imperialism with its genocidal tendencies; unlike Anglo-American editors in the West, he never called for the control and ex-

termination of Native Americans. He was also disillusioned that slavery continued to exist in the U.S., despite the lofty ideals espoused in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

Over the course of the five years he published *El Clamor Público*, Ramírez achieved a level of social and political analysis that one would think well beyond his age and experience and even beyond what Latino intellectuals in Texas, the eastern seaboard, and much of Spanish America were concluding at this time. He became one of the first Latinos in history to analyze U.S. imperial expansion and the threat it represented to all of Latin America—and he linked this external threat to the Latin America to the oppression he and his people faced as a new minority within the U.S. This he achieved by reading some 50 newspapers a week in three languages as he was trilingual—Spanish, English, and French—delivered by steam ship to Los Angeles from throughout South and Central America, as well as coming west via stage coach. In this analysis, he anticipated by decades José Martí's concept of living "in the belly of the beast" and Martí's call for identifying and solidifying "Nuestra América" (Our America). Ramírez came to consider his community in the Southwest a part of "Hispano-América"; whereas when he started his newspaper his mission had been to defend the native Californios, over time he realized that his mission was to defend all *hispanoamericanos*. By the time he shuttered the paper, he had developed a transnational consciousness even to the extent of promoting Pan Hispanism. Ramírez continually crossed borders, territorially as well as culturally and politically, in his search for community and nation. It was an odyssey that led him to embrace the broadest Latin American constituency possible, in opposition to the Colossus of the North.

In his June 6, 1858 masterly essay, Ramírez passionately integrated his vision of *hispanos* within and outside the borders of the U.S.:... in the land of Washington and Franklin, where at every juncture human rights as well as the natural way people live are violated, and the sovereignty of nations is invaded. The recent conquests effected in Mexico, dismembering half of the national territory, the scandalous events in Central America, the unjust initiatives against the natives of Panama in New Granada (Colombia), the protests from Las Aves Island in Venezuela, the Galapagos in Ecuador and Lobris in Peru, the initiatives against the Antilles, be they through force of arms or through separatist movements, which in the language of morality spoken by nations is the ultimate expression of ignominy, etc. etc....here is a compendium of maps outlined in the overabundant imagination of the Great Federal Republic, which will extend down to Buenos Aires if its course of conquest is not blocked. Is that fusion of peoples and languages, customs and religions a practical base on which to establish one lone people made up of one hundred different nations, absorbing the Latin states and broadening continental democracy to the detriment of its neighbors' interests? No, a thousand times, no is the people's cry and, no, a thousand times no is the echo repeated by all the descendants of Gonzalo de Córdoba and El Cid against this pernicious tendency protected by its laws and principles; each *hispanoamericano*, like an eternal Hannibal everywhere, will fight to avenge the rapine and usurpation of their fatherland ...[7]

Similar sentiments to Ramírez's print-journalism were consistently expressed in the fiction written by the first Mexican American to write novels in the English language: María Amparo Ruiz de Burton. A well-to-do southern California landholder, married to as U.S. Army officer, Ruiz de Burton wrote under a pseudonym, "C. Loyal," that revealed neither her ethnicity nor her gender—her correspondence reveals her life-long opprobrium of societal limits on women. Her romance, *Who Would*

Have Thought It? (1872) deconstructed racial and gender relations in the northeast U.S. during the era of the Civil War and her novel, *The Squatter and the Don* (1885), documents how the railroad monopolies and the banks colluded to deprive the Californios of their lands. Like Ramírez, she was able to relate the U.S. westward expansion to its imperialist designs on Latin America. As Rosaura Sánchez states, "the space of fiction allowed the writer to address the rhetoric of liberal democracy and denounce not only imperialist practices abroad but colonialist, classist, racist, and nativist policies at home."[8]

"Men have no special rights because they belong to one race or another: the word man defines all rights."

José Marti, "Mi Raza"

In perception that seems contemporary to us today, Ruiz de Burton indicted monopolies and corporations for the power they held over legislatures and Congress. She also criticized racial and cultural discrimination, even among the abolitionists of the North. In *Who Would Have Thought It?*, Ruiz de Burton subtly allegorized "the fall of a romantic conception of politics and the unmasking of liberal/democratic ideologies."[9] Thus while attacking the real-life perversion of the nation's democratic ideals, Ruiz de Burton was already reflecting the disenchantment that was becoming widespread among Latino and Latin American intellectuals who had first wholeheartedly embraced the exceptionalism and leadership of the U.S. as a true liberal democracy.

Obviously, Ramírez and Ruiz de Burton were able to achieve a bicultural perspective not only because of their cultural and linguistic experiences, but also because they were living on the frontier where two world views were clashing, revealing to them the betrayal of the "American" ideals and protections written into the nation's founding documents. Anoth-er longtime resident, who benefited from the perspectives gained from living inside and outside of the American Republic was José Martí, who came to be the most revered thinker in the Spanish-speaking world. Through tireless organizational efforts in New York, Tampa, Key West, and New Orleans, through fund-raising and lobbying of tobacco workers, and through penning and delivering eloquent political speeches, and publishing a variety of essays in Spanish and English, José Martí was the Latin American quintessential intellectual "man of action," simultaneously becoming a leading figure in Spanish American literary Modernism.

Born on January 28, 1853, in Havana, Cuba, and inheritor of the example of Varela, Martí lived for more than 14 years in exile in the U.S. and invested his life in the cause of Cuban independence from Spain, as well as attempting to create a basis for Spanish American solidarity and identity and present a united front against the threat of the U.S., most eloquently represented in his essay, "Nuestra América." In New York, Martí published a newspaper, *Patria* (Fatherland), as a forum for the Cuban revolutionary movement and for his warnings against American expansionism, capitalism, unmasking monopoly, and demystifying liberal democracy,[10] among many other topics. "Far from the melting pot," he explains, "the U.S. is a divided nation, a place of conflict and hatred on the basis of region, class and race/ethnicity; here freedom is not equally shared," and democracy is corrupted and weakened.[11]

It was Martí's extensive travels throughout the U.S., observing its inner dynamics and its Native American and Afro-American minority cultures, as well as his trips through the southern hemisphere, that led him to create an overall vision of life in the New World and the need for *hispanos* both within and outside "the belly of the beast," the term that he coined for the U.S. empire, to stand firm and preserve their conti-

nental identity and sovereignty. Like all of his predecessors mentioned above, Martí was incensed by racism in both Latin America and the U.S. He traveled extensively in the Jim Crow South and reported on segregation and lynchings of blacks. His influential essays, "Mi Raza"[12] and "Nuestra América," envision a future without the separation of races and the vestiges of slavery.

It was Martí's close associate, the Afro-Puerto Rican Arturo Alfonso Schomburg (1874-1938), however, who contributed the most depth and understanding of the African racial heritage, not only in the Americas, but also in the world. With only a high school education obtained after moving to New York in 1891, Schomburg became the secretary of the Cuban and Puerto Rican revolutionary organization, Las Dos Antillas (The Two Antilles); he was also the secretary for Latino Masonic lodges. After the war with Spain, he became heavily involved in the African American community of New York. Schomburg soon became the greatest bibliographer of the African diaspora to that point, wrote books and articles, and amassed the world's largest, multilingual library dealing with African culture in the U.S., the hemisphere, and the world. The knowledge he collected, analyzed, and disseminated has been seen as one of the catalytic elements of the Harlem Renaissance cultural movement before World War II. Many Afro-Caribbeans had been stigmatized by race in both the islands and on U.S. soil, but Schomburg proudly identified himself as a Negro and was accepted as a leader among African American artists and intellectuals. In 1920, he became president of the prestigious American Negro Academy, and today, his extensive collection of African diaspora materials form the core of the New York Public Library's Division of Negro Literature, History, and Prints. Schomburg once wrote that, "History must restore what slavery took away from the Negro, his glorious past to act as stimulation for inspiration for him. Pride of race is the antidote for prejudice."

Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, c. 1910 (The New York Public Library)

Defining Modern Colonialism and Imperialism

Once Cuba and Puerto Rico became colonies of the U.S., the struggle for democratic rights by Cubans and Puerto Ricans both on the islands and on the continent continued, now focused against racial oppression on the continent and freedom and independence on the islands. In the 20th century, it was an Afro-Puerto Rican who brought the nationalist struggle to the forefront of American consciousness: Pedro Albizu Campos (1891-1965). In the tradition of the passionate and eloquent orators, such as Martí, Albizu Campos through his speeches,[13] writings, and organizational leadership became one of the most influential Puerto Rican political figures in the 20th century. He reinvigorated the independence movement and became an outspoken critic of racial discrimination both in Puerto Rico and on the continent. A Harvard-educated lawyer who had served in the U.S. Army during World War I, he became a member of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico and, in 1930, he assumed the presidency of the party. Under his direction, the party supported labor organizing and helped win various strikes, but official suppression intensified even to the extent of a massacre by police in 1935, and, in 1936, the killing of various leaders and the arrest of Albizu Campos for breaking U.S. sedition laws. He was imprisoned at the federal penitentiary

in Atlanta until 1943, and his U.S. citizenship was revoked; nevertheless, when released he returned to leadership of the party. He was arrested once again, in 1950, when the nationalists attacked the residence of President Harry S Truman, but his sentence was suspended in 1953, only to be renewed in 1954 when the nationalists shot up the House of Representatives; he remained a prisoner, although one who had suffered a massive stroke and was hospitalized, until his death in 1965.

Alonso S. Perales and his wife, Marta, c. 1940s (Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage, University of Houston)

In such essays and speeches as "Observations on the Brookings Institute Report,"[14] Albizu Campos indicted the despotism of the U.S. and its puppets within the colony's ruling class, he protested absentee landlords and the lack of self determination of the Puerto Ricans; he indicted the military presence on the island, the imposition of a foreign language and its exclusive use in education, as well as a betrayal of American democratic ideals in its imperial relationship with Puerto Rico. Albizu Campos equated the status of Puerto Rico to enslavement by the U.S., echoing his personal heritage of being a descendant of slaves, which led to him being an outspoken enemy of racism. His speech in Lares, September 1950, eloquently stated this concept:

> One cannot give a speech while the newborn of our country are dying of hunger, while the adolescents of our country are being poisoned with the worst virus, slavery. While the adults of our homeland must leave Lares (their hometown) and don't even have exit to foreign countries different from the enemy power that binds us. They must go to the U.S. to be slaves of economic powers, of the tyrants of our country, they are the slaves who go to Michigan out of need, to be scorned and outraged and kicked. One cannot give a speech easily while this tyrant has the power to tear sons out of the hearts of Puerto Rican mothers to go to Korea, into hell to be killed, to be the murderers of innocent Koreans ...[15]

In "Concept of Race,"[16] Albizu Campos negated the biological and phenotype definition of race to embrace the Spanish meaning of the term *raza* as a cultural uniting of the peoples of the world, as when through the discovery of America the bloodlines of the peoples of Europe, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere were blended into a cultural unity; this represented his hope that Latinos would be the example and harbinger of the elimination of racial distinctions and superiority. Albizu Campos added an extra step in the evolution of Martí's dream of racial understanding and integration.

Latinos Fight for Their Country and Return Home to Demand Their Civil Rights

While Albizu Campos was doing everything possible to break away from the U.S., another World War I veteran was struggling for integration and the implementation of civil rights for his people: Alonso S. Perales (1898-1960), in San Antonio, Texas. Perales was among the veterans returning from both world wars, where they had received the most casualties and earned the most medlas for valor, to demand the rights they were netitled to as American citizens. A grassroots activist and lawyer, Perales and other veterans such as José Luz Saenz founded and led various civil rights organizations, but both are best remembered for

being co-founders in 1929 of the League of United Latin American Citizens, the civil rights organization that is still active today and counts numerous chapters throughout the U.S. and Puerto Rico. An indefatigable orator and writer for more than 50 years, Perales published newspaper columns, had a radio broadcast, and published three volumes of essays and speeches, besides maintaining an active life as an unpaid lobbyist for the advancement of Mexican Americans through fighting for their constitutional rights and education. Perales insisted that Mexican Americans should retain their culture while maintaining their American citizenship.[17] Perales led activists to participate in party politics and worked for the passage of bills in the Texas Legislature and Congress to outlaw discrimination based on race. He wrote demanding respect for Mexican American civil rights, an end to segregation and such abuses as lynchings—a plea that harkens back to Ramírez:

Casa del Obrero Internacional, Los Angeles, California (The Black Rose Society)

> What we long for is the respect of our unalienable rights and privileges. We would like equality of opportunity in the various battlegrounds of life as well as before courts of justice. We would like for persons of Mexican descent in violation of the laws that govern the country to be tried before a competent Court of Justice and not to be lynched [...] We would like to go to a theater, a restaurant, dance hall, or any other establishment whose doors are wide open to the general public, whenever we feel like it. We do not want to be ousted, as is frequently done, with the mere excuse of our racial origin. In one word, we ask for justice and the opportunity to prosper.[18]

Perales' groundbreaking work as an activist and thinker, who largely influenced Mexican American thought through his Spanish-language columns, editorials, and letters in San Antonio's *La Prensa* and other periodicals, influenced academic thought through his frequent correspondence with Professor Carlos Castañeda, a historian credited with creating groundwork for the recovery of history, the opening up of educational opportunity for Latinos, and creating an intellectual basis for the Chicano Movement of the 1960s. Many of the leaders of the movement, such as José Angel Gutiérrez, first encountered the research of Castañeda, as well as that of Américo Paredes, in their university classes. Of the four most recognized movement leaders—Gutiérrez, Reies López Tijerina, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, and César Chávez—only Gutiérrez disseminated his thought on a wide scale through print. It was another movement leader, often unheralded because of the male-oriented politics of Chicano nationalism, who in reality became both a spokesperson and critic of the nationalist politics of the Mexican American civil rights movement of the 1960s and early '70s: Enriqueta Vásquez (1930-). Vásquez was one of the first of a strong cohort of Latina feminists who for the next few decades would define and articulate women's rights as being just as important as the larger Latino community's overall struggle for legal, economic, educational, and cultural rights.

With the deep and varied experience of farmworker poverty, spousal abuse, and eventually a few community college courses, Enriqueta Vásquez became one of the most influential voices to arise out of the Chicano Movement, precisely because of the passion and clarity of

thought that characterized her weekly columns in the widely disseminated newspaper, *El Grito del Norte* (Shout from the North), that was published in Española, New Mexico, from 1968 to 1973. The widely read Vásquez was in the vanguard of developing a Chicano cultural nationalism that sought to reclaim the indigenous past while countering the overwhelming pressure for conformity exercised by the Anglo-American mainstream. She was a tireless enemy of discrimination, rac-ism, and sexism, while seeking to mediate feminism within a nationalist ideology. "Vásquez...funda-mentally accepted Chicano nationalism as a strategy of struggle for *raza* liberation and self-determination. She was convinced that cultural nationalism did not have to be a restrictive and constraining ideology for women. Rather, she criticized how the male construction of cultural nationalism equated tradition with women's subordination.[19]

> ***"The woman must help liberate the man and the man must look upon this liberation with the woman at his side, not behind him following, but along side of him leading."***
>
> Enriqueta Vásquez, *"The Women of La Raza, Part I"*

Through denunciation and humor, nevertheless, Vás-quez crafted what scholar Lorena Oropeza has called "a unique pedagogy of hope."[20] Vásquez's perspective, like that of Ramírez, Ruiz de Burton, Martí, and Albizu Campos before her, was international, linking the Chicano struggle to nationalist movements around the world and among ethnic groups in the U.S., most importantly that of Native Americans. This was related to her promoting the myth of the Chicano homeland of Aztlán, dating back to the Aztecs. Aztlán "brought us back to our beginnings.... It gave us a myth.... This made us a tribe," she has stated.[21]

Democracy and Women's Suffrage

Enriqueta Vásquez's struggle to accord women their due place in the Mexican American civil rights movement was not unique. If the struggle to realize the promises of democracy and republican statehood was long and gave rise to much of the intellectual thought of Latinos in the U.S., the struggle for the rights of women was no less protracted nor intense, although for most of Latino history the struggle for women's suffrage and, after the vote was won, for enjoying *all* of the fruits of citizenship was often treated as subordinate to achieving political and civil rights in the movements headed by men. Even in the 19th century, the strong women who helped organize the Cuban and Puerto Rican independence movements, such as Emilia Casanova de Villaverde (1832-1897) and Lola Rodríguez de Tió (1843-1924), both of whom were conveners of revolutionaries and wrote for newspapers in New York, devoted most of their energies and writings in support of their countries' revolutions, often subordinating their desires for gender equity to the political necessities of the moment. Even Ruiz de Burton used a pseudonym and only openly addressed gender discrimination in her private correspondence.

Nevertheless, there were Latinas who assumed intellectual, creative, and activist roles at first within the areas assigned to women in publications and later in their own newspapers, magazines, and books. They were never as numerous as the thousands of males who wrote and were published, taking for granted their access to and domination of the means of intellectual and artistic production. Many of the women's names are lost to history because of the anonymity or pseudonymity that was part of their strategy for access; other names are only now being recovered, even though these women published side by side, on the same pages, or in the same periodicals, with males.

In the last two decades, the extensive English-language works of such native authors as María

Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Jovita González, Cleofas Jaramillo, Adelina "Nina" Otero-Warren, among others all writing in English, have shown how each in her own way sought to preserve what they thought of as a "Spanish" past in the Southwest and even challenge the imposition of American culture and its political hegemony, if not directly contesting the American national myths, at least constructing equally valid—and equally fantastic and/or flawed—Latino myths of priority, civilized European roots and racial background. In the 20th century, Jaramillo, González, and Otero Warren attempted to salvage the remnants of Latino culture while often opposing the overwhelming cultural obliteration that attended Anglo-American migration to and domination of the Southwest. Through their cultivation at times of unconventional writing genres, such as cookbooks, personal narratives, and the retelling of folklore, they offered a counter history to Manifest Destiny and proved that a worthy and legitimate civilization existed in the Southwest before Anglo-American expansion.

Leonor Villegas de Magnón (seated) and Araceli García with the Cruz Blanca flag c. 1910 (Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage, University of Houston)

Among the most militant women to have graced American soil were the anarcho-syndicalists who participated in laying the foundations for the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Accompanying the male leaders of the insurrection into exile and participating in the founding and promoting of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (Mexican Liberal Party or PLM), Andrea and Teresa Villarreal, Sara Estela Ramírez, Blanca de Moncaleano, and Leonor Villegas de Magnón, just to name a few, created a space—what Emma Pérez calls, third-space feminism—for women in the articulation of the nation they were attempting to create through militant, revolutionary action.[22]

These women were not just camp followers for the better-known revolutionaries that Mexico celebrates today as its founding fathers, but thinkers, speechmakers, and even frontline gun-wielding fighters. More importantly, each of those mentioned above accompanied their activism with a powerful record of journalism and, in the case of Villegas de Magnón, detailed memoirs of women's revolutionary activities. While their primary mission was the freeing of Mexico from an iron-fisted dictatorship and the creation of a just and open society in Mexico, their leadership on American soil influenced the existing labor movements and created a model of women's activism in the U.S.

Sisters Andrea (1881-1963) and Teresa Villarreal (1883-?) organized protests in the Southwest and published newspapers in support of the working people of the world and the overthrow of the Porfirio Díaz regime in Mexico. They wrote for the primary forum for the PLM, *Regeneración* (Regeneration) in Los Angeles, but also established and operated their own newspapers in San Antonio: Andrea's *La Mujer Moderna* (1909, The Modern Woman) and Teresa's *El Obrero* (The Worker), continuing to espouse anarchism in support of labor organizing. In the essay signed by both sisters, "¿Qué hacéis aquí hombres? Volad, volad al campo de batalla" (What are you doing here, men? Fly off, fly off to the battlefield), published in *Regeneración* on January 21, 1911, they base their call to arms for men in both the U.S. and Mexico on their mettle as women who fear not violence and death.

Another practitioner of this third-space feminism who, as a fervent anarchist, did not sub-

scribe to nationalist projects and did not believe in social classes or borders, but nevertheless joined the PLM, was Colombian Blanca de Moncaleano (-1928). After years of activism in Bogotá, Colombia, where she and her anarchist-leader husband Juan Francisco Moncaleano ran the Casa del Obrero (Worker's House), she suffered political persecution and moved to Mexico during the first phase of the Mexican Revolution in 1911, but eventually made her way to Los Angeles with other anarchist ideologues. By 1913, Blanca de Moncaleano and her husband opened up and ran the Casa del Obrero Internacional (The International Workers' House) in Los Angeles, where she edited the women's anarchist newspaper *Pluma Roja* (Red Pen), which was known for its virile writing style, figuratively donning men's pants.[23] *Pluma Roja* was printed at the Casa on the same press as *Regenración.*

Beyond attacking patriarchal society, state, and the Church, Moncaleano was severely critical of revolutionary men not conscious of their own suppression and enslavement of women.[24] As would be expected, Moncaleano sought to break down the nationalist ideological linkage of woman to home, family, and to procreating the nation. In the June 13, 1914 edition of *Regeneración*, she wrote: "Do not forget that a woman has rights equal to those of a man. She is not on this earth only to procreate, to wash dishes, and to wash clothes."[25]

By the end of the 19th century, Laredo was a border crossing and rail terminus for Mexico and had become an important center for revolutionary and feminist organizing. Another PLM member who articulated gender and labor issues in her speeches and writing was Sara Estela Ramírez (1881-1910), who had immigrated to Laredo from Saltillo in 1898 at the age of 17 to teach school. She soon became an intellectual leader in the border town. Through her performance of her own poetry and her eloquently moving speeches, Ramírez promoted labor unions and addressed political issues in community meetings and labor rallies. She published articles in Laredo's *La Crónica* (The Chronicle) and *El Demócrata Fronterizo* (The Border Democrat) and, in 1910, began publishing her own newspaper, *La Corregidora*, named in honor of a heroine of Mexican independence. In 1910, she founded a short-lived literary magazine, *Aurora*; she died that same year, probably of tuberculosis.

It was another PLM co-conspirator in Laredo, however, who became the personification of writing and militancy, the women's version of the "pen and the sword": Leonor Villegas de Magnón (1876-1955). Villegas was born in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, but since the age of five had lived in Laredo, where her father administered his ranching, import-export, and other businesses. The bilingual Villegas obtained a college education in New York in 1895, moved back to Laredo, and in 1901 married Adolfo Magnón and lived for nine years in a turbulent Mexico City, where she, too, became associated with Ricardo Flores Magón and the PLM. When the revolution broke out in 1910, Villegas was back in Laredo, teaching school and organizing revolutionary groups, founding and running an organization, Unión, Progreso y Caridad (Unity, Progress and Charity), giving refuge to political exiles, and proselytizing through articles she published in *La Crónica*, *El Progreso* (Progress) and *El Radical* (The Radical). Within a couple of years, she recruited Texas Anglo and Mexican women for her nursing corps, the Cruz Blanca (White Cross), which worked on the battlefields as part of Venustiano Carranza's Constitutionalist Army. Serving often at Carranza's side, she was like a general to her nurses, and often as well to the female spies and fighters (*soldaderas*) who rendered service.

When the major hostilities were over and men began taking account of and writing the history of the revolution, Villegas became aware that the important role women had played was

soon being forgotten. She, therefore, wrote her memoir, *La rebelde*, to correct the record and celebrate the leadership and contributions of women. Despite all of her and her families' connections in the political and business spheres in Mexico, no house would publish her story. She then decided to re-write, not translate, the story in English as *The Rebel* and met a similar fate with publishers in the U.S. Only recently have these memoirs been published, under the editorship of scholar Clara Lomas, who has stated, "These narratives stand as one of the few perspectives written by women in the early 1900s on the Mexican Revolution. They document the pivotal role of border activism that in effect erases geopolitical boundaries."[26] More importantly, they serve as a sterling example of women working from the interstices, the third spaces assigned to their gender, such as nursing, to expand their assigned role in public life. Even though her books were not published in her lifetime, they serve as an example today of a feminism that transcended borders, both of gender and geo-politics.

El Centro Obrero in Ybor City, where Luisa Capetillo often spoke, Tampa (Ybor City), Florida (Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library, c. 1913)

By far, the most productive anarchist writer was not university-educated, not a political exile, nor involved in armed insurrection but a transmigrant who worked as a labor organizer in the islands of the Caribbean, Tampa, Florida, and Long Island, New York: Puerto Rican Luisa Capetillo (1879-1922). Unlike Villegas, Capetillo was largely self-educated and belonged to the working class that the aforementioned women intellectuals aspired to liberate. Perhaps this partially explains her more radical embrace of anarchism's anti-nationalist program and its goal for a classless society in which there was absolute equality of the sexes. Born in Puerto Rico and raised by autodidact, unwed working-class parents, Capetillo was politicized from a young age, especially by her mother who participated in literary and study groups often as the only female in attendance.[27] After Puerto Rico came under U.S. dominance, Capetillo became active in the island's major labor union and began publishing articles in newspapers such as *Unión Obrera* (Worker Unity).[28] Capetillo herself became a purveyor of working-class ideologies when she joined the ranks of the most important institution for worker self-education as a *lector*. An almost exclusively male profession in cigar factories on the island and the continent, the lector would spend half the day reading newspapers to the workers and the other half reading a variety of matter, including the works of Kropotkin and Bakunin and other theorists of anarchism and socialism.

Her mission to educate workers as to their human rights and as to participation in the social revolution that would remake world culture was not limited to the factory readings but eventually extended to her newspaper articles, her plays, and her books, including the following: *Ensayos libertarios* (Libertarian Essays, 1909), *La humanidad en el futuro* (Humanity in the Future, 1910), *Mi opinión sobre las libertades, derechos y deberes de la mujer* (My Opinion on the Liberties, Rights and Duties of Women, 1911), and *Influencia de las ideas modernas* (The Influence of Modern Ideas, 1916). She also founded and edited a magazine entitled *La Mujer* (Woman). In her personal life as in her writing, Capetillo was iconoclastic, refusing the authority of males, the Church, and the state; deconstructing and criticizing patriotism; working for women's suffrage; and advocating free love.

Puerto Rican writer Clotilde Betances de Jaeger (1880-197?) enjoyed a middle-class upbringing with enough family resources to pay for and receive an education at Cornell University, receiving her degree in natural sciences in 1916 and later going on to earn a masters degree in religious studies at Butler College in Indianapolis in 1949. After receiving her B.S. and returning to Puerto Rico, Betances began her career as a schoolteacher and columnist for periodicals in San Juan and moved to New York City in 1923, where she wrote for Spanish-language newspapers and magazines in the city. She would spend the rest of her life in New York, teaching and producing an important body of feminist thought, as well as religious writing, in a broad range of periodicals not only published in the city but also in Spanish America and Spain.

Betances took the women's fashion and beauty beat as a foothold into the male-dominated media, a foothold that she subsequently transformed into a space for the exploration of feminist issues. In *Grafico*, which became her primary forum for more than 50 columns she penned in 1929 and 1930, she took on such issues as the new role of women in society, especially exploring the implications of her having won the vote in the U.S.; the growth and importance of the number of women in the work place; the importance of her receiving professional training; the need to free women from the bonds of marriage and towards economic independence and even free love; a woman's control over her body, even to the extent of family planning, using contraceptives and abortion; as well as such political topics as the poor quality of the schools, racism in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, the Church, American imperialism, and the colonial status of Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries.[29]

In her construction of a "mujer nueva" (new woman), Betances encouraged women to participate in the economy and in politics both nationally and internationally. In her columns, she would comment on city and national politics, presidential campaigns, international affairs, and war, which she denounced repeatedly. In her June 15, 1929 column, she analyzed how women's liberation was intimately linked to the economy and that in a time of crisis, like the onset of the Depression, it was incumbent on women to educate themselves and become consciously involved in the economy: "Mujer de corazón, mujer de mentalidad, mujer nueva, la economía es tu problema inminente y tienes que resolverlo. La economía del hogar entra en tu jurisdicción, la economía del mundo es tu herencia" (Woman of the heart, woman of the mind, new woman, the economy is your imminent problem and you have to solve it. The economy of the home is part of your jurisdiction; the economy of the world is your heritage).

Rather than look for foremothers in the past, as other Latina feminists had in the 17th-century Mexican poet/scholar Sor Juan Inés de la Cruz, Betances sought out contemporary role models of women who were seeking to free their sisters from economic subjugation and the fiction of the nation, writing about Spanish, Cuban, Puerto Rican authors, among others, and reviewing their books as points of departure for her own essays. While she advocated Puerto Rican independence from the U.S., in the main she considered the question of women beyond the constraints of national projects and, thus, chose her models from throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

From the 1970s, when the first large cohorts of Latinos were admitted to universities, to the present, numerous scholars have resuscitated and studied the ideas of these diverse Latino thinkers who explored the dimensions of nationhood, who sought to understand their particular Latino identity and its relationship to the imagined community that American institutions, media and popular culture have canon-

ized. Scholars such as Rodolfo Acuña (Chicano), Frank Bonilla (Puerto Rican), Américo Paredes (Chicano), Lisandro Pérez (Cuban American), Silvio Torres-Saillant (Dominican American), and Virginia Sánchez Korrol (Puerto Rican) were pioneers in establishing ethnic studies and bilingual education programs and produced generations of historians, lawyers, political scientists, sociologists, and cultural theorists and critics who have succeeded in democratizing the curriculum and greatly advancing Latino thought. More importantly, they and their students have taken their knowledge into the community at the same time they opened the doors to academia wider so that low-income Latinos could achieve an education. Working with such organizations as the Aspira Association, National Council of La Raza, and the Tomás Rivera Center, to name just three, the scholars are continuing to translate their research and teaching into social change for the betterment of Latinos and the nation at large. In addition, such theorists of Latina liberation and feminism as Gloria Anzaldúa, Aurora Levins Morales, Emma Pérez, and many others have blazed paths towards the gender equity that Latino culture and a democratic society should make real. Latinas have been in the vanguard of defining and advancing queer and subaltern studies, fields that are further democratizing academia in the 21st century. Latinos and other people of color have expanded American intellectual canons, from the academy to the social, cultural, and political realms. Not only in revising the history of the U.S., but also in developing such frameworks as critical race and gender theories, they have revolutionized "American Studies," have been the base for Cultural Studies, and have irrevocably changed the U.S. intellectual landscape

"Estudiemos y preparemos nuestra generacion para las luchas futuras que se avecinan"

(Luisa Capetillo, "Mi Opinión")

Today, after some three decades of increased immigration, not just from Mexico and the Caribbean, but also from Central and South America, the Latino community is much larger and much more diverse. In all truth, the intellectual thought and writing by Latinos in the U.S. has been much more diverse than can be comprehended from the above essay. Not all intellectuals were or are considering questions of nationalism, gender, race, civil rights, etc. The late 20th and early 21st centuries also saw, for example, the development of scientists, engineers, economists, and others with different concerns who have had an impact on various fields, such as space exploration, medicine, physics, environmental science, and biology, fields in which Latinos have won Nobel Prizes. By the mid-21st century, Latinos are projected to make up as much as one-third of the U.S. population. Latino intellectuals will continue to envision and re-vision the nation within the context of this new demographic and cultural reality. They will continue to contribute to knowledge in all fields of endeavor, especially as there is more access to education and more opportunity to develop intellectual pursuits.

Endnotes

1 Diez y seis millones de habitantes que ocupan este delicioso Continente, no se representan jamás á los ojos del Gobierno y Mandatarios de Europa, sino como una horda de esclavos miserables que deben obedecer ciegamente á todo lo que se les mande, y besar en profundo silencio las duras cadenas que arrastran desde los tiempos de Cortés y Pizarro.

2 "MEXICANOS: llegado es el tiempo señalado por la Providencia para que sacudáis el yugo bárbaro, y afrentoso, con que por el espacio de casi 300 años os oprimió ignominiosamente el despotismo insolente. Ahora quiere el Gobierno de Cádiz obligaros a que continuéis arrastrando las mismas cadenas, con que is aprisionaron los Reyes de España, los cuales no tenían sobre vosotros más autoridad, que la que vosotros mismos les prestasteis para ser por ella gobernados [...] Yo os consejo, ilustres hijos de Moctesuma, que no envainéis vuestras espadas hasta no haber reestablecido el orden, y dado entera libertad a vuestro país."

3 W. S. Cleaves, "The Political Life of Lorenzo de Zavala" (University of Texas Thesis, 1931), 32-69.

4 John Michael Rivera, "Introduction," in *Journey to the United States of North America*, by Lorenzo de Zavala (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2005), xxvii.

5 See Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 253, and Joseph McKnight, *The Spanish Elements in Modern Texas Law* (Dallas: J. W. McKnight, 1979).

6 Ambrosio Fornet, *El libro en Cuba* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1994), 73-4.

7 "... en la tierra de Washington y Franklin, donde se ven a cada instante violados los derechos de la humanidad, la forma natural y viviente de cada pueblo, o invadida la soberanía de las naciones. Las conquistas efectuadas receintemente en México, desmembrando la mitad del territorio nacional, los escandalosos sucesos de la América Central, las pretenciones injustas sobre los naturales de Panamá en Nueva Granada, las reclamaciones de la Isla de las Aves en Venezuela, Galápagos en el Ecuador y Lobris en el Perú, las pretensiones sobre las Antillas, sea por la fuerza de las armas o por razón de la enajenación, que en el lenguaje de la moral de las naciones es la última expresión de la ignominia, etc. etc. ... aquí en compendio el mapa delineado en la imaginación desmesurada de la gran República Federal, que se extenderá hasta Buenos Aires si no se la detiene en la carrera de las conquistas. ¿Será factible esa fusión de razas y de lenguas, de costumbres y religiones, para fundar un pueblo único de cien naciones diferentes absorbiendo los estados latinos y ensanchando la democracia continental con detrimento de los intereses vecinos? No, mil veces, no, es el grito de la opinión popular y no, mil veces, no es el eco que repiten todos los miembros descendientes de la raza de Gonzalo de Córdoba y del Cid contra esta tendencia perniciosa que protegen sus leyes y principios: cada hispano-americano cual otro Aníbal en todas partes enemigos sempiternos que venguen las rapiñas y usurpaciones de su patria ..."

[8] Rosaura Sánchez, "Dismantling the Colossus: Martí and Ruiz de Burton on the Formulation of Anglo America," in *José Martí's "Our América": From National to Hemispheric Cultural Studies*, eds. Jeffrey Belnap and Raúl Fernández, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 117.

[9] *Ibid*, 123.

[10] *Ibid*, 116.

[11] *Ibid*, 118.

[12] José Martí, *Obras completas*, (Havana: s.d., 1975), II: 298.

[13] Excerpts of his speeches are available online at http://saudadebrothers.com/2011/06/30/free-pedro-albizu-campos/, accessed June 12, 2012.

[14] Pedro Albizu Campos, "Observations on the Brookings Institute Report," in *The Intellectual Roots of Independence: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Political Essays*, eds. Iris M. Zavala and Rafael Rodríguez (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), 173-180.

[15] "Pedro Albizu Campos Speech in Lares" (September 23, 1950) online at http://writetofight.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/pedro-albizu-campos-september-23-1950-lares-puerto-rico.pdf, accessed June 12, 2012.

[16] Pedro Albizu Campos, "Concept of Race," in Zavala, 181-182.

[17] F. Arturo Roslaes, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006), 347.

[18] Alonso S. Perales, "Alonso S. Perales on the Ideals of Mexican Americans," in *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Struggle,* ed. F. Arturo Rosales (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000), 167.

[19] Dionne Espinoza, "Re-Thinking Cultural Nationalism and La Familia throughWomen's Communities: Enriqueta Vásquez and Chicana Feminist Thought," in *Enriqueta Vásquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte,* eds. Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006), 208.

[20] Lorena Oropeza, "*Viviendo y luchando:* The Life and Times of Enriqueta Vásquez," in *Enriqueta Vásquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte*, eds. Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006), xxi.

[21] *Ibid*, xxxviii.

[22] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 33.

[23] *Ibid*, 33.

[24] Lomas, "Articulation," 306.

[25] Cited in Pérez, 69.

[26] Clara Lomas, "Villegas de Magnón, Leonor," in *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Latino Literature*, ed. Nicolás Kanellos (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), III: 1235-36.

[27] Norma Valle-Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo. Pioneer Puerto Rican Feminist (Nuestra*

Voz) (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 44-45.

[28] Félix V. Matos, "Introduction," *A Nation of Women: An Early Feminist Speaks Out/Mi opinión sobre las libertades, derechos y deberes de la mujer*, by Luisa Capetillo (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2004), xv.

[29] María TeresaVera-Rojas, "Betances Jaeger, Clotilde." In Kanellos, *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Latino Literature*, I: 48.

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Clockwise from top left:
Lector at a cigar factory in Ybor City, c.1920s, Ybor City, Tampa, Florida (University of South Florida Tampa Library); Nameplates on the front pages of historic U.S. Spanish-language newspapers, c.1808-1956 (University of Houston); Rita Moreno in the film version of *West Side Story*, 1961 (International Cinema Review) Desilu Studios, co-owned by Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball, c.1950s (Sony Pictures Entertainment Museum); WKAQ-TV studio, 1967, San Juan, Puerto Rico (University of Puerto Rico)

More Than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States

Félix F. Gutiérrez

In Spring of 2006, millions of people marched in more than 100 demonstrations for humane immigration reform in metropolitan centers such as Los Angeles, Washington, D.C. and New York City, and in heartland cities such as Des Moines, Iowa; Garden City, Kansas; and Omaha, Nebraska. In addition to huge turnouts, a notable aspect of the non-violent protests was that no single leader or organization was identified as leading them. No César Chávez, Martin Luther King Jr., or Mahatma Gandhi exhorted people to action or led marches that seemed to spring up spontaneously from late March into May 2006.

Caught off-guard by the massive demonstrations, major news organizations scrambled to report who had awakened what the *Washington Post* called "A Sleeping Latino Giant." They quickly credited Latino media for the huge turnouts. "Spanish-Language Media Organized Protests," The Associated Press reported after the first demonstrations in March. Most stories focused on Spanish-language radio. A *Los Angeles Times* article was headlined "How DJs Put 500,000 Marchers in Motion."[1] While radio personalities such as Eduardo Sotelo (*El Piolín*), heard mornings on Univision stations nationwide, were active in spreading advance word of the marches, where they would happen, and who should participate, they were not the only Latino media voices ahead of the marches. Spanish-language television networks Univision and Telemundo provided advance coverage and advice, as did Latino newspapers. The morning of Southern California's first march, Los Angeles' *La Opinión* newspaper front-page headline read *"A Las Calles!* (To the Streets!). The next day a half-page picture of the 500,000-strong marchers in front of City Hall ran over the headline *"Megamarcha."*

As the U.S. continues to develop as a multicultural/multimedia nation, so will media focused on the nation's Latinos.

Many English-language news reports treated activism as something new to Latinos and their media. They had not covered the long planning for the marches or the deep record of Latino media advocacy on behalf of their communities. One that dug deeper was *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer.* An interview with two Latinos involved in media began by asking whether the marches represented a "new role for Spanish-language media or something that has been with us for a long time?"[2] A Southern California interviewee responded that activism was not new to that region's Latino media. In 1855 the first Spanish-language newspaper in Los Angeles, *El Clamor Público* (The Public Clamor), was a strong voice for equal rights following the United States takeover of California in 1848. Other examples cited included Los Angeles radio personality Pedro J. González's vocal opposition to forced repatriations of Mexicans and their families in the 1930s Great Depression and *La Opinion's* critical coverage of the U.S. Department of Justice's Operation Wetback in the 1950s.[3] Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, some Latino newspapers proclaimed "Defense of the Community" as their mission. The turnout of between 3.5 to 5 million persons for the marches, the roles of Latino media covering them, and general audience media playing catch-up to understand and report the story to predominately-Anglo audiences once again revealed a tension between Anglo media and Latino media that has existed for centuries.

Anglo media are English-language print, broadcast, and digital media directed at the

general mass audience of the U.S. In this group would fall most television stations and networks, general circulation daily newspapers, many magazines, and movies. They seek to attract viewers, readers, and listeners by offering news, programs, or movies with a broad appeal to people from different races, ages, sexes, income, and other demographic categories.

Although they reach multicultural, multiracial audiences, Anglo media have tended to view people of diverse cultures through eyes that see Anglo Americans as the norm and others as apart from the norm. This "us and others" media view has offered less accurate images, reporting, and coverage of people of color and the communities in which they live. This is especially apparent in Anglo media's portrayal and coverage of Latinos.

Latino media are produced by, for, or about Latinos and their communities. Their success in drawing audiences and ultimately advertisers is built on having a close connection with the wide range of activities and issues of interest to Latinos in the U.S. They are more closely linked to their audiences and play important roles in explaining the U.S. to their readers, listeners, and viewers, while also covering news in Latin America. "In the mainstream media, almost the only time you see a minority is a crime or welfare story, something negative," observed UCLA Professor David Hayes-Bautista in a 1994 American Society of Newspaper Editors' report. "In the Spanish-language media, you also get the human interest, the arts and sports stories....Latinos are reduced to only one slice in the Anglo media, while in the Spanish media, a whole community is presented."[4]

The different media roles described by Hayes-Bautista have long been evident in the often-contrasting images, portrayals, and coverage of Latinos and Latin America presented by Anglo and Latino media. English-language Anglo media have tended to offer a narrow view of Latinos as they appear and might appeal to a predominately-Anglo audience. Latino media in Spanish, English, or both languages have covered and reported a broader range of activities, issues, and perspectives for Latino audiences. Historically, Anglo media have offered an outsider's view of parts of Latinos and their lives in the U.S. Latino media have provided a more complete picture of Latino lives that otherwise would have been ignored or misrepresented. Ultimately, Latino media also provide an archival record of Latinos and their lives in the U.S. This essay will first explore Anglo media coverage and portrayal of Latinos, then Latino media's multiple roles over the centuries.

Coverage of Latinos in Anglo Media

Historically, the role of Anglo media in relation to Latinos has been to cover or portray Latinos to a largely Anglo audience through mass entertainment and news media with images, issues, and stories that will appeal to and attract that audience. It is a role with deep historical roots in American literature[5] and entertainment media.[6]

Greasy bandidos, fat mamacitas, romantic Latin lovers, lazy peons sleeping under sombreros, short-tempered Mexican spitfires, violent revolutionaries, faithful servants, gang members, and sexy señoritas with low-cut blouses and loose morals have long been staples of Latin images in fiction, films, and television. When seen on the screen or page, the stereotyped characters quickly trigger a picture in the heads of the audience of what the character is like and what role she or he will play as the plot unfolds. This typecasting has deep roots in popular literature and entertainment. Many of these stereotypes were popularized during the Industrial Revolution, when popular literature such as dime novels was published widely. The first movies quickly picked them up and repeated them *ad infinitum*. During the 20th century, Hollywood was slow in allowing a broad-

er range of roles for Latinos. After Puerto Rican-born actress Rita Moreno won an Oscar for her role in the 1962 film *West Side Story,* she was offered only typecast film roles and did not make another movie for seven years. Instead, she built a career that made her the only Latino performer to win all four top show business awards: an Oscar, Tony, Emmy, and Grammy.

In the late 20th century, the growing Latino audience and advocacy by groups such as Nosotros and Justicia opened more opportunities for producers, writers, directors, and performers. On screen, there is a wider variety of roles for Latinas and Latinos. Many of the old stereotypes persist, however, with typecast characters in contemporary settings.[7] Nearly as old as these stereotypical images are efforts by Latino media to advocate more authentic participation in film and broadcasting. As early as 1911, the newspaper *La Crónica* of Laredo, Texas campaigned against the stereotyping of Latinos and Native Americans cast as "villains and cowards" in the newly popular cowboy movies, noting that Mexicans "and other Latin races...are generally the only and most defamed in these sensational American movies." *La Crónica* urged other Latino newspapers to join protests of theaters and filmmakers, noting Latino families often left theaters when they saw such portrayals that "in reality don't fit us."[8]

"Mexican Spitfire at Sea" movie poster (classicfilm, 1942)

By the late 1960s, Anglo media had become a target of Latinos long dissatisfied with the images in entertainment media. Also targeted were stereotypical advertising images, such as the Frito Bandito. These concerns gave rise to protests from Latin American governments, legal challenges to broadcasters, and efforts for inclusion focused on Anglo media and their advertisers.[9] In addition to the stereotyping in literature, movies, broadcasting, and advertising, Anglo news media long resisted everyday coverage of Latino communities and often slanted stories to portray Latinos as strangers threatening Anglo society. Unlike the fictional images, these news reports were presented as facts and carried the authority of the news media organizations presenting them. Their roots go back to the nation's earliest years, when expansionists driven by what became known as Manifest Destiny cast eyes on lands held by Spain and Mexico.

These accounts reinforced the commonly accepted narrative of national development by portraying the U.S. as a benevolent liberator called by destiny to lead the lands and the people on them to a more civilized and enlightened advancement. The people living in the Caribbean islands and Southern hemisphere, along with those inhabiting lands taken by the U.S. in wars of conquest, were reported as obstacles needing Yankees to lead them to a better life. "What has miserable, inefficient Mexico, with her superstition, her burlesque upon freedom, her actual tyranny by the few over the many—what has she to do with the great mission of peopling the new world with a noble race? Be that ours, to achieve that mission!" wrote future literary giant Walt Whitman in the *Brooklyn Eagle* shortly after the U.S. declared war on Mexico in 1846. A few years earlier Richard Henry Dana reported in his epic book *Two Years Before the Mast* that Mexicans in California were too lazy to develop their own lands and observed, "nothing but the character of the people prevents Monterey from becoming a great town."

The years before the Spanish-American War of 1898 continued the journalistic spirit of Manifest Destiny. Detailed drawings, banner headlines, and one-sided news reports of Spain's colonial rule of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines ran in newspapers owned by media giants Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, as well as others. The U.S. was portrayed as the liberator of people oppressed by Spain.[10] Hearst fabricated stories of Spanish atrocities in the Caribbean and before war was declared in 1898 sent a reporter to rescue the "fairy-like little Cuban maiden" Evangelina Cisneros from "the infamies of Spanish prison life" in Cuba.[11] In an 1898 book *The Spaniard in History,* James C. Fernald observed, "the Spaniard...is not one to be trusted with the control of a weak or subject race. The sword which has been drawn in behalf of the oppressed of Cuba must not be sheathed till Spanish power has ceased to touch with its blight the Western World."[12]

NEW YORK JOURNAL
AND ADVERTISER

EVANGELINA CISNEROS RESCUED BY THE JOURNAL.

An American Newspaper Accomplishes at a Single Stroke What the Red Tape of Diplomacy Failed Utterly to Bring About in Many Months.

Evangelina Cisneros, New York Journal, 1897 (University of Texas at Austin)

News images of Latinos as a weaker or less engaged people needing the help of Anglos to make progress continued through the 20th century at times when Latino activities were felt to be newsworthy. Coverage was sparse and, when it occurred, often focused on natural disasters, social turmoil, or political upheavals in Latin America or when Latinos in the U.S. and elsewhere were seen by the Anglo media as posing a challenge to the Anglo status quo, such as the influx of Cubans to South Florida in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[13]

A survey of magazine articles on Mexicans in the U.S., published in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1890 to 1970, revealed few stories and "the articles that were written often had a crisis or negative overtone....when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved with civil strife."[14] When Latinos were covered in Anglo news media during much of the 20th century, the editors, news directors, and reporters often used shorthand word symbols to trigger stereotypes of the Latinos seen as posing a threat, such as "Zoot Suiters" in the 1940s, "Wetbacks" in the 1950s, "Chicano Militants" in the 1960s, and "Illegal Aliens" in the 1970s and 1980s.[15] The underlying message was the people so labeled posed such a threat that extraordinary measures were needed to confront them.

A database search of *New York Times* stories linking "Puerto Ricans" and "nationalists" between 1940 and 1970 revealed more than 400 combined uses of the labels, with the heaviest coverage coming in the early 1950s when nationalists threatened the U.S. government and interests. Puerto Ricans were included as one of five New York City groups "Beyond the Melting Pot" in Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Nathan Glazer's 1963 book of the same title. The book's section on Puerto Ricans included Spanish-language media, but no mention of the Anglo media or how their coverage kept the city's estimated 720,000 Puerto Ricans beyond society's proverbial melting pot.[16]

The absence of daily Latino news coverage and focus on problems, when covered in Anglo media, provided little understanding of Latinos to the general public. A 1967 *Atlantic* magazine article on Mexican Americans was headlined "A Minority Nobody Knows."[17] When the national

news media of the era reported on the "minority nobody knows," their stories sometimes revealed more of their own lack of knowledge or their Anglo preconceptions than the realities of the people they tried to cover. A 1967 *Time* magazine story, describing predominately Latino East Los Angeles, reported "tawdry taco joints and rollicking cantinas," "the reek of cheap wine," "the fumes of frying tortillas," and "the machine gun patter of slang Spanish."[18] Such outsider views did little to promote cross-cultural understanding, but reinforced the prejudices of many in their audience. Two years later *Los Angeles Times* reporter Rubén Salazar told a San Antonio conference on "Mass Media and Mexican Americans" that for newsrooms "the Mexican-American beat in the past was nonexistent."

"Mexican Americans were something that vaguely were there but nothing which warranted comprehensive coverage—unless it concerned such, in my opinion, badly reported stories as the Pachuco race riots in Los Angeles in the early 1940s, or more recently, the Bracero program's effect on Mexican Americans," he said. Salazar, who wrote a widely-recognized series on Los Angeles' Spanish-speaking community in 1963, said Anglo news media trying to cover late 1960s activism should move beyond familiar stereotypes to understand and tell complex stories. "The media, having ignored the Mexican Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story," he continued. "It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican American, is not amused that under that serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo."[19] One of few Latino journalists working for metropolitan newspapers in the 1950s and 1960s, Salazar was well qualified to predict problems news media would encounter if they did not make efforts to employ Latinos in their newsrooms. A 1971 survey of Texas daily newspapers revealed that Latinos made up only 3.2 percent of editorial workers in the papers surveyed, many of them in towns along the Mexican border.[20]

From the 1970s to the present, newspapers, and broadcast stations have made concerted efforts to recruit, employ, and promote more Latinos in the newsroom as part of overall diversity efforts, though significant gaps between population and employment continue. In 2012, when Latinos made up 16.7 percent of the nation's population, the American Society of New Editors reported they comprised 4.07 percent of journalists on daily newspapers and the Radio Television Digital News Association reported they made up 7.3 percent of local television and 2.6 percent of radio news employees. Those employed have worked to increase their numbers and to provide more accurate and complete coverage of Latinos. In 1983, a team of 18 *Los Angeles Times* reporters and photographers directed by editors Frank Sotomayor and George Ramos earned the paper the Pulitzer Prize Gold Medal for Public Service for a 21-part series "Southern California's Latino Community."[21] Latinos hired in efforts to advance newsroom diversity have earned Pulitzer Prizes and other national honors for their photography, reporting, and columns, including two Pulitzer Prizes by Cuban-born journalist Liz Balmaseda at *The Miami Herald.*

Even with the advances in employment and coverage, there are significant gaps in Anglo news coverage of Latinos. Aside from the Latino athletes, politicians, and entertainers who are covered as celebrities, stories featuring everyday activities associated with Latinos often fall into two broad categories. One category portrays Latinos as ***problem people*** who either cause problems for the Anglo society as gang members, drug dealers, illegal residents, or as beset by problems associated to being Latino as they try to learn English, support a family by doing hard work for low pay, or try to build a better life in a new land. The other cat-

egory is ***zoo stories*** of Latinos on display colorfully celebrating their cultures in Puerto Rican Independence Day celebrations, Miami's Calle Ocho festival, or Cinco de Mayo fiestas. These news stories feature Latinos in folkloric costumes singing and dancing to the music of their homeland, and enjoying traditional foods. Judging from Anglo media news coverage, one would hardly know that the *problem people* are the same people who are singing, dancing, and happily celebrating Latino cultures in the *zoo stories*. Both types of stories deserve some news coverage, but so do many other underreported things Latinos are doing in the U.S. and beyond.

Latinos undoubtedly have a greater visibility and range of images in Anglo media today than in the era before concerted efforts to improve portrayals, coverage, and employment were launched in the 1960s. Major movies and television programs now feature Latino characters among the cast and some are built around Latino themes or stars.[22] Latinos have anchored national network newscasts and edited major daily newspapers. Yet, despite these gains, recent decades have seen a continuation of less accurate images and news coverage as debates over immigration, drug dealing, youth gangs, bilingual education, and other issues connected to Latinos have dominated Anglo media and the public mind.[23]

Latino Media

Latino media are print, broadcast, film, and digital media produced by, for, or about people in the Latino communities they are covering or portraying. Anglo media look through an outsider's (Anglo) eyes at Latinos and their lives. Latino media look through an insider's (Latino) eyes at Latinos and their lives. Both use the same print, broadcast, film, and digital technologies and journalistic techniques in covering a news event, writing a story, or making a movie. Latino media's audience, viewpoint, and insights, however, often result in different and deeper coverage than Anglo media. They have a different view of Latinos and a different role in Latino communities than Anglo media.

The most visible difference between Anglo and Latino media is language. Anglo media use one language: English. Latino media can come in more than one language: Spanish, English, or bilingual formats using both Spanish and English. The switch in languages is only the first step in understanding complex differences between Anglo and Latino media and their different ways of reporting what is news to their audiences. For instance, when President Barack Obama announced in 2012 that he was signing an Executive Order extending certain rights to young people who were brought to the U.S. as children without full documentation, it made news across the country. Anglo media covered the story as an outsider, focusing on possible political motivations and ramifications, quoting those who were for or against the order, and interviewing some who were affected. Latino media covered those angles and focused on the impact of the decision on their audience. Spanish-language Univision television network news co-anchors María Elena Salinas and Jorge Ramos hosted a special report covering the Anglo media angles, but also telling viewers how the action could affect them. The special closed with screen displays of places where people could get more information. Anglo media told their audience how the action was seen and how it might affect others. Latino media told their audience how it was seen, how it could affect them, and how to use it.

These different approaches have long characterized the distinct roles of Anglo and Latino media and are close to the historical roles of Latino news media in the U.S. since 1808 and the first Spanish-language newspaper, New Orleans' *El Misisipí*.[24] These roles have paralleled developments as Latino popular media moved from 19th-century print into film, broadcast, and digital media.[25]

Latino news media have played a variety of roles. For the most part, they have been operated as businesses or in association with political parties, religious groups, cultural organizations, and as voices for organizations. In addition, the owners and producers of media have often been more elite members of Latino communities committed to leading their audiences. Beyond sharing news and information that is both local and international, offering entertainment, and providing avenues for advertisers to reach consumers, Latino newspapers have served broader functions not always provided by Anglo media. Some described by University of California Santa Barbara Professor Luis Leal include "political and social activism; promotion of civic duties; the defense of the population against the abuse of the authorities and other organized groups; the sponsoring of national and religious holidays; the provision of an outlet for the public to express their ideas in the form of letters or to express their activity in the form of poems, short stories, essays, and an occasional serialized novels...Not less important has been the publication of community social news."[26]

"The local Spanish-language newspaper assumed an importance parallel to that of the Church and the mutualist society."

Nicolás Kanellos, A Brief History of Hispanic Periodicals in the United States

Equally important as understanding the broader roles played by Latino news media is recognizing that their development draws on Latin American press traditions with much deeper roots than do their Anglo counterparts. The first printing press in America was brought by Spain to Mexico City in 1535, more than a century before the first press in the English colonies. It came into a hemisphere whose indigenous people had well-developed systems of record keeping and communication.[27] By 1600, at least 174 books had been published in New Spain and another 60 books have been identified without dates or verification, all nearly 40 years before the English colonies first printing press.[28] The Spanish translated symbols used in the Mexica (Aztec) Codex into Spanish and published bilingual books using European and indigenous languages. A 1571 *Vocabulario* (Dictionary) translated words from the language of the Mexica into Spanish.

The Mexico City press issued the first print journalism in America, an eight-page news booklet reporting a devastating earthquake and storm that destroyed Guatemala City in 1541. Called *hojas volantes* (flying pages), these irregularly issued news reports were printed during the early colonial period to announce government proclamations, the death and coronation of royalty, European wars, and natural disasters.[29]

From these deep roots grew U.S. Latino media, which developed their own uses of the literary, political, artistic, and activist traditions of the Latin American press while acquainting their audience with the ways of the U.S. in the 19th and 20th centuries. One example was the use of leading literary figures as critics, columnists, and reporters in Latino newspapers, which offered readers both news and literature. In addition to serialized novels, poetry, and political tracts, some Latino newspaper owners also published and marketed books.[30] In some newspapers, *cronistas* wrote humorous weekly columns using jokes, folk tales, and everyday language to comment on current events, much like popular personalities on Spanish-language radio today.[31] Latino media built on their own traditions and are much more than Spanish-language translations of Anglo media.

Like the *cronistas*' ties to current radio personalities, some Latino media features, such as reporting on news from Latin America, and covering local community activities, can be found in Latino media across all times and regions.

Other features focus on the unique time, place, and nationality in which the media and their audiences found themselves, such as newsletters issued by Cubans and newspapers published by Central Americans as both groups came to the U.S. following violence and political upheaval in their homelands.

One common theme across all Latino media is coverage of an active, engaged, and ambitious people looking to make a better life for themselves and others in the U.S., first in print and later other media. Recognizing the fullness of Latino experiences in the U.S., these media show Latinos as participants, not bystanders, in events that shaped the nation and their communities. Such representation and documentation is important in countering prevailing images of Latinos as passive, unambitious, and uncultured additions to the nation. By documenting the literate tradition of Latinos and their use of new media technologies as they were developed, a more complete history of the nation and its communities can be told to a wider public.

The Continuing Stories of Latino Media

Over the years, a number of scholars have used Latino print and broadcast media as sources. These include historians citing Spanish-language newspapers in books and articles on many topics, regional histories of the Latino press,[32] and scholars who have examined the roles played by the Latino media at critical times in history.[33] Other examinations of Latino media as social, economic, and political institutions have been in studies of Latino newspapers, radio and television, and digital media.[34] Interestingly enough, the first history of Latino media in the U.S. came not from scholars or historical preservationists, but the Latino press itself. To commemorate its 25th birthday in 1938, San Antonio's *La Prensa* printed a list describing 451 Spanish-language periodicals published in the U.S. The two-page layout headlined "Mas de Cuatrocientos Periódicos en Español Se Han Editado en los Estados Unidos" (More than Four Hundred Newspapers in Spanish Have Been Edited in the United States) followed efforts that included asking readers "Que Periódico En Español en EE.UU. Ha Conocido Ud.?" (What Newspaper In Spanish in the U.S.A Have You Known?).[35]

One way to understand Latino media history is by identifying key issues covered in Latino newspapers since 1808, some of which continued as Latino media developed in all forms. The remainder of this essay identifies themes and discusses how Latino media has reflected views of Latinos not often seen in Anglo media.

Freedom: In the United States and Beyond

The U.S. has often portrayed itself as a bastion of freedom, both for those in the country and for others around the world. This attitude was reflected in news coverage promoting the nation's Manifest Destiny to expand its borders, the Spanish-American War in the 19th century, and U.S. military involvement in Latin America. Many Latinos have also seen the U.S. as a bastion of freedom, but with a different twist. Latinos coming to the U.S. during trouble in their home countries have long used U.S. First Amendment press freedom to establish voices for freedom for their own lands. This journalistic tradition began with the first Latino newspaper and continues today.[36] *El Misisipí*, the first Latino newspaper in the U.S., was a strident voice opposing Napoleon's takeover of Spain and claim on Latin America and the Caribbean.[37] Founded in New Orleans in 1808 and named for the river that runs by the city, the four-page newspaper was primarily in Spanish, with some editorial copy and all of the advertising translated to English. Using the U.S. freedom of the press, the paper reprinted anti-Napoleon news from other newspapers and circulated far beyond New Orleans. Newspapers as far away as New York and London, reprinted *El Misisipí's* outspoken opposition advocacy for freedom from Napoleon's rule. "We

do not think it worth while to publish the New Constitution of Spain, because it appears too ridiculous to hear scoundrels talking about equity, usurpers about justice, tyrants about clemency and liars about truth," declared *El Misisipí* in an article reprinted in New York's *American Citizen* on February 11, 1809. "We shall publish in lieu of the constitution, an account of the glorious battles which the patriots of Spain have fought and won, and should they continue to be successful....this celebrated constitution may be returned to the 'pigeon hole' from which it was probably taken, whilst regenerated Spain, with the religion and laws of her ancestors will again take her high rank among the independent nations of the world covered with fame and glory."

Ricardo Flores Magón (left) and his brother Enrique in the Los Angeles County Jail, California, 1917 (San Diego History Center)

The use of U.S. press freedom to launch newspapers calling for liberation from European rule over parts of Latin America continued throughout much of the 19th century, but for most of these the enemy was the Spanish crown. The newspapers were published in the U.S., but focused on readership in the homeland. Texas' first newspaper, *La Gaceta de Texas,* was written and typeset in Spanish-ruled Texas in 1813, then printed in Louisiana. It lasted one edition, as did its successor, *El Mexicano.* After México and South America won freedom from Spanish rule, exile editors focused on the Caribbean. Félix Varela's *El Habanero,* founded in Philadelphia in 1824, and José Martí's *Patria,* founded in New York City in 1892, were among the editors and newspapers that advocated freedom of Cuba from Spanish rule.[38] More recently, Cubans have established what has been called an "exile press" in the wake of a mass exodus from Cuba to the U.S. following the Cuban Revolution of 1959.[39]

Not all editors seeking press freedom in the U.S. found it when they advocated freedom for their homelands. After repeated arrests and suppression of his newspaper in México, Ricardo Flores Magón brought his revolutionary newspaper, *Regeneración,* to San Antonio in 1904 and continued its outspoken voice until 1918, when he was arrested by U.S. authorities on charges of violating restrictive World War I press laws that also targeted the publications *Cultura Obrera* and *Voluntad.*[40] He was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison and died in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in 1922, not having found in the U.S. the freedom of the press in the Bill of Rights.[41] Later in the 20th century Puerto Rican nationalist Juan Antonio Corretjer worked on newspapers in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and New York, where he edited *Pueblos Hispanos: Semanario Progresista* in 1943-1944, one of several newspapers that have advocated Puerto Rican independence from the U.S.[42] Corretjer was jailed in the U.S. for his political beliefs and journalistic advocacy in 1937 and 1947.

Other newspapers advocated voices for women. In Laredo, Texas, *La Cronica's* Jovita Idar used the newspaper to organize women in the U.S. and Mexico with a 1911 call "A La Mujer Mexicana de Ambos Lados" (To the Mexican Woman on both Sides.) Other newspapers included the Magonista newspaper *La Voz de la Mujer* (The Voice of the Woman) in the early 1900s and women's newspapers published during the fights for voting rights.[43]

Equality: Strangers in Their Own Land

Every news story has more than one side and nowhere is this true more than in covering wars. After the U.S. declared war on México in

1846, both countries reported it from their own perspectives. In the U.S., efforts to build support for the unpopular war included a booklet with a cover trumpeting "Mexican Treacheries and Cruelties." In México, a children's book featured a color cover of U.S. troops shooting down a soldier defending the Mexican flag with the headline "Los Horrores de la Guerra" (The Horrors of the War).

After the war, the U.S. took lands stretching from Arkansas to California and as far north as Wyoming, along with the people on them. Although promised equality by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, people on the conquered lands soon found themselves in a nation that did not respect them or their rights. Building on the journalistic traditions established in Texas and New México before the invasion of the *Yanquis,* Latinos operated newspapers to serve their needs, sometimes in partnership with Anglo newspapers or political parties.[44] In an era of sudden change, Latino newspapers often played a dual role: on one hand, reporting and explaining the ways of the Anglo newcomers to readers and on the other hand exposing *Yanqui* injustices while advocating the equality for people now treated as strangers in their own land.

In Los Angeles in 1855, Francisco Ramírez' *El Clamor Público* both urged its readers to learn the language and laws of the U.S. and exposed the many injustices to which his readers were being subjected by the newcomers.[45] The 17-year-old editor contrasted the ideals of equality expressed by the founding fathers of the U.S. with the abuses to which he and his readers were subjected. "The North Americans pretend to give us lessons in humanity and to bring to our people the doctrine of salvation so we can govern ourselves, to respect the laws and conserve order. Are these the ones who treat us worse than slaves?" he asked in a September 1855 article condemning lynchings. The next May he wrote, "California has fallen into the hands of the ambitious sons of North America, who will not stop until they have satisfied their passions, by driving the first occupants of the land out of the country, vilifying their religion, and disfiguring their customs."

Not limiting his attention to Latinos, Ramírez also advocated equal rights for Negroes and Chinese and promoted public education for all, including girls, at a time when such ideas were not widely accepted. Other newspapers played similar roles. In 1855, San Antonio's *El Bejareño* called for bilingual public schools where Méjico-Tejano youths could learn the language of their new nation "sin perder el idioma de Cervantes" (without losing the language of Cervantes) and also learn their civic responsibilities in the U.S. In New México, the Santa Fe Republican founded Santa Fe's *El Republicano* in 1847 as a political outreach voice of the political party.[46]

Americanos: Newcomers Building a New Life

The U.S. and its media have long projected the national story of a country built by immigrants who crossed continents and worked hard to earn better lives as adopted the Anglo ways of their new home. In addition to arriving from the same hemisphere, Latinos coming to the U.S. arrived under different circumstances. Starting in the early 20th century, new arrivals from Puerto Rico came not as immigrants, but as citizens from an island that is a part of the U.S. to a mainland that is also part of the U.S. Others came from México to cities and states with Spanish names that had once been in México. Still others came following U.S. involvement in their homeland and had already experienced daily contact with U.S. government or corporations. And some came hoping for a temporary stay until things settled down in their home country.[47] Although in some ways similar to European arrivals who spoke German, Italian, Yiddish, and other languages before adopting English, Latino newcomers did

not fit the traditional immigrant model. Neither did their media, whose staying power has surprised some observers.[48]

In his 1954 book, *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States,* John Burma predicted the Spanish-language press "will virtually die out" in 15 years as Latino media in English grew.[49] Although English-language Latino media did grow as predicted, the Spanish-language media did not "virtually die out." In fact, 16 years after Burma's prediction the newspaper trade journal *Editor & Publisher* reported "an expansion of publishing activity among Spanish-speaking Americans."[50] Two Spanish-language daily newspapers founded in the early 20th century, as Latinos were becoming Americanos, continued into the 21st century. One, New York City's *El Diario/La Prensa* began publishing in 1913. The other, Los Angeles' *La Opinión,* traces its roots to 1913 when a forerunner, San Antonio's *La Prensa,* was founded by Ignacio Lozano. His granddaughter, Mónica Lozano, became *La Opinión* publisher and CEO, as well as CEO of impreMedia, a national chain of Latino newspapers.[51] Both newspapers played the dual roles assumed by many newspapers and other media addressing immigrant populations. They delivered news of political, social, sports, and other events in the homeland and, at the same time, acquainted readers with the ways of their new homes through both their editorial and advertising content while maintaining strong ethnic and national loyalties. New York's *La Prensa,* having first promoted itself as the "Champion of the Puerto Ricans," now expanded to include all Latinos. Lozano and other Southwestern newspapers promoted maintaining a Mexican identity through the concept of *México de afuera* (Mexico outside of Mexico) by featuring Mexican writers, essayists, and popular culture coverage.[52]

A lector in cigar factory, Ybor City, Tampa, Florida, 1909 (Library of Congress)

One example of the impact and influence of Latino media on newcomers could be found in Tampa's Ybor City, center of cigar making during the early 20th century. Coming to Ybor City from Puerto Rico and Cuba, workers brought with them the tradition of a *lector,* someone chosen by the workers to read to them in Spanish as they rolled handmade cigars. The *lectores* dramatically read, from elevated platforms, newspapers in the morning and literary or political works chosen by the workers in the afternoon. Each worker contributed a quarter weekly to pay the *lector.* As a result, the cigar makers were well-informed and politically active workers. They organized labor unions, which some cigar factory owners blamed on the influence of the *lectores.* Following a 1920 strike, *lectores* were not allowed to return by some members of the Cigar Manufacturers Association, and in 1931, the *lectores* were banned from all cigar factories.[53] At least one unemployed Ybor City *lector* turned to newspaper publishing. *La Gaceta,* a trilingual newspaper launched in 1922 by former *lector* Victoriano Manteiga, continued reporting news in English, Spanish, and Italian into the 21st century under the leadership of his grandson, Patrick Manteiga.[54]

Though often misunderstood when seen through the lens of European immigrant newspapers that faded as their readers' families became more assimilated, the roles of Latino media in reinforcing Latino culture has grown stronger over the years. They have connected with evolving audiences as back and forth mi-

gration has continued and Latinos have maintained an identity within the U.S. population. Latinos have not followed, nor always been allowed to follow, European melting pot assimilation into the U.S. Differences in race and language have been used to exclude them from full participation in American society. Perhaps recognizing the difficulties facing his readers in the U.S., San Antonio *La Prensa* founder Ignacio Lozano announced the newspaper's mission in its first editorial in 1913, "Venimos a luchar" (We came to fight.)

New Leaders: Youth Voices of the 1930s and 1940s

The Great Depression was tough on all Americans, especially those on the margins of society. During those years government officials and public welfare agencies supported massive roundups of Mexicans and their families to forcibly "repatriate" them to México by train, regardless of their birthplace or citizenship status.[55] Anglo media largely supported these efforts and portrayed them as a homecoming. "TRAINS TO TAKE MEXICANS HOME," proclaimed a *Los Angeles Times* headline above a line predicting "Southern California Exodus Estimated at 75,000." Latino media, including *La Opinión* and radio personality Pedro J. González, were much more critical and vocal in opposing the efforts targeting Mexicans.[56]

Especially vulnerable were youths of Mexican descent born or raised in the U.S. Prohibited from using public swimming pools and parks on an equal basis with Anglos, segregated in schools, and not feeling completely at home in the U.S. or México, they formed clubs and began newspapers to organize and mobilize. The youths became involved in media to reinforce their Mexican roots in spite of Anglo media and society penalizing them for being seen as Mexicans. At the same time, they advocated being treated the same as Anglos in an era when some parents sometimes saw Anglo ways as ill mannered. In contrast to Anglo media, these "youth media" covered positive Mexican youth activities such as conferences and sporting events and also profiled *paisanos* who had succeeded in school, sports, community activities, and professionally. In contrast to Latino media of the era, almost all of the stories were in English. They expressed a pride in maintaining a Mexican identity while seeking ways to make progress in the U.S.

In 1939, youths involved in the *División Juvenil Progresista* (Progressive Juvenile Division) organized by Mesa, Arizona businessman Pedro W. Guerrero launched the newspaper *Juventud* (Youth). Using the slogan "Better Mexicans Make Better Americans," *Juventud* urged readers to "Fight for Economic Security and Social Equity Through Cultural Eminence" and carried stories on Mexican youth accomplishments in education, the military, and club activities, while also reporting the discrimination its readers faced.[57] A year earlier *The Mexican Voice* was founded in Monrovia, California as an "An Inspirational, Educational Youth Magazine" by Pasadena Junior College student Félix Gutiérrez. An outgrowth of the Mexican Youth Conference of the YMCA, the magazine circulated throughout the Southwestern U.S. to encourage a new generation of leaders.[58]

The *Mexican Voice* regularly reported on Mexican youth conferences and club activities in California and beyond, chose "All Mexican" (in contrast to All American) teams recognizing Latino athletes, and published letters from readers across the Southwest. It also ran conversational columns by "Manuel de la Raza" (a pen name used by Gutiérrez) describing how Mexican youths were dealing with barriers they faced. Other stories provided forums for issues facing Mexican-origin youths and their communities, such as discrimination in employment and public facilities. After World War II broke out, the magazine reported new opportunities for Mexican youths in defense industries. It also noted a "high rate of volunteers

of Americans of Mexican descent" at a local draft board and that they were classified as "white." "What this means we cannot venture to guess. But...it is heartening because they, relatively, have less to fight for than the fellows 'north of the tracks," wrote Gutiérrez under the pen name Manuel de la Raza." In the schools by attending 'their own', they couldn't feel American. In the municipal plunge, a day was reserved for 'Mexicans'. In the theater the right side was reserved for 'them.' Certain restaurants would not cater to 'Mexicans'. Yet....somehow, these fellows enlisted, joined the ranks and shouldered the responsibility as theirs."

A year later *The Mexican Voice* called on servicemen to fight against discrimination at home when they returned from the war. "Fighter for freedom, when you return, you will return another person and will return to a different world. You will say, 'Ah, I am glad we got that job over there done.' Yes, that job! But we have another job. One that will take a different sort of courage, not the courage of facing death, but the courage to face the future and to fight for your group, to fight for a better America at home." Indeed, Latino veterans became leaders attacking the discrimination many faced at home after fighting for freedom for others abroad.[59]

As Latino broadcasting has grown with the growth of the Latino population, Latino participation in films and network television has grown at a slower, but steady, pace.

The Growth of Film and Broadcasting

When radio developed in the first three decades of the 20th century, Anglo media made little room for Latinos on the public airwaves. In contrast, Latinos looked at new media technologies for ways to reach their community. They attempted to play out the same scenario when television grew in the 1950s and 1960s and, more recently, with new digital media.[60] Latinos sought broadcast radio licenses from the Federal Government in the early 1920s, but were denied as early licenses were granted to Anglos. Instead, they launched Latino radio by purchasing brokered blocks of airtime from stations during unattractive time slots in the early morning or late evening or on stations specializing in foreign language programming. Radio broker, musician, and community advocate Pedro J. González and his singing group *Los Madrugadores* (The Early Risers) were heard on radio stations in Southern California by agricultural workers and were a force opposing U.S. efforts to deport Mexicans during the Great Depression. In 1946, the first U.S. radio station licensed to a Latino was granted to Spanish-language radio broker Raoul Cortez. Later a radio license was issued to Denver broadcaster Paco Sánchez, although Anglos owned most stations with programming for Latinos. Latinos also sought television licenses when that technology expanded in the early 1950s. In 1954, Puerto Rico's *El Mundo* newspaper opened San Juan station WKAQ-TV, the first station in what is now the national Telemundo television network. The next year, San Antonio's Cortez also was granted the first UHF television license in the country. In 1961, Cortez sold the television station to a group of investors that included his son-in-law, Emilio Nicolás, Mexican broadcast mogul Emilio Azcárraga Viduarreta, and others to become KWEX-TV, the first station in the Spanish International Network (SIN), now known as Univision.

From the early years to the present, Spanish-language broadcast entertainment programming largely has depended on music, programs, and sports from Latin America or featuring Latin American stars, although talent and programs produced in the U.S. has grown in recent decades as the number of television, cable, and radio outlets has expanded. Early radio news consisted largely of the brokers

reading news from Latin American or local Latino newspapers, and later, "rip and read" newscasts from U.S. wire service Latin American news feeds in Spanish. In the 1960s and early 1970s, some radio and television stations developed local news staffs with their own crews. By the early 21st century, Spanish-language television news broadcasts had the highest viewership in many major cities, particularly among the 18-34 age group coveted by advertisers. According to the Nielsen Company's television audience ratings Univision, the number one Spanish Language network in the U.S., had an audience size that was often as high as some of the major Anglo television networks. In order to capture a share of this television audience, Anglo broadcast media such as Fox, NBC, and ABC have begun to develop outlets targeting Latinos.

Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization

PALANTE

(YOUNG LORDS PARTY)

25 cents

Thousands of Garment Workers Say:

STOP THE RUN-AWAY SHOPS!

Front page of "Palante," November-December, 1972 (Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism)

As Latino broadcasting has grown with the growth of the Latino population, Latino participation in films and network television has grown at a slower, but steady, pace from the late 1960s to the present. Latino entertainers today no longer need to anglicize their names or appearance to gain popular acceptance. Advocacy groups such as the National Hispanic Media Coalition and The Imagén Foundation have pushed to broaden the range of roles open to performers as Latino producers, directors, and writers have gained a foothold in Hollywood. Some of these got their start by producing documentaries or other public affairs programs raising awareness of Latino issues through theater, film, or television during the activism of the 1960s and 1970s.[61] Luís Valdez moved from leading *El Teatro Campesino* (The Farmworkers' Theater) in the 1960s, to writing and producing the play *Zoot Suit* in the 1970s and the movie *La Bamba* in the 1980s. Others, like singer and actress Jennifer López, have become involved in productions both in front of and behind the camera.

Advocates: Voices for Justice in an Unjust Society

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, as the Anglo media were learning to cover the "Minority Nobody Knows," new voices emerged in Latino media across the country. With offset printing, newspapers were easily produced that were different in appearance from traditional Latino media and that were able to express more authentic Latino voices than Anglo media.

Earlier Latino media portrayed Latinos as being able to adapt to fit into an Anglo-dominated society. The new alternative newspapers called on Anglo society to adapt to fit the needs of Latinos. Some were organizing tools for advocacy organizations sponsoring them, such as the United Farm Workers Union in Delano, California *(El Malcriado)*, Young Lords Party in New York City *(Palante)*, the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado *(El Gallo)*, and advocates for restoration of land grants in New Mexico and equal rights for all *(El Grito del Norte)*.[62]

These newspapers did not emulate the appearance of Anglo newspapers or the Latino press, but offered full-page illustrations or photographs on front pages, some using color. In addition to their appearance, their content was also different. Staffed by non-professionals and volunteers, they were outspoken in attacking establishment institutions and agitated in both Spanish and English for radical changes in an unjust society.

In 1970, recent San Francisco State College graduate Juan Gonzales launched the *El Tecolote* newspaper as a non-commercial bilingual newspaper for San Francisco's Mission District. In its first issue, *El Tecolote* described its mission "to inform and to create a community....to create a better understanding of one another and to bring us closer together." Over the years, the newspaper has advocated bilingual telephone and health services, sponsored community cultural events, and covered issues on both sides of the border in both English and Spanish.

One early alternative newspaper was East Los Angeles' *La Raza*, organized by Eliezer Risco in 1967, and transformed into a magazine by Raul Ruiz in the 1970s. [63] In 1968 the newspaper described itself as "a community newspaper of a new kind...put together by people in the Mexican-American community, all volunteers...reflecting....a new determination and a new spirit in the Mexican American community...will say it like it is. With malice to none, but without compromise."

La Raza attacked police brutality, exposed gerrymandering of political districts to deny Chicanos political representation, and advocated the massive 1968 student walkouts from East Los Angeles high schools on behalf of improved education. The same year, the Chicano Press Association began as news cooperative of 13 alternative newspapers from Los Angeles to Wautoma, Wisconsin. Member publications shared news stories, cartoons, and photos.[64] "The Chicano Press Association is bound to service and dedication to the Mexican American people and needs the help of La Raza since we must go against the tide of political power, against discrimination and all such injustice," wrote the editor of Houston's *Compass* shortly after the group organized. As the social movements grew, so did the range of media voices, including feminist publications, campus newspapers, organization newsletters, and journals commenting on the status of Latinos in the U.S.

La Fuerza: A Growing Force in American Society

Anglo media cite Latino population gains as translating to political impact. When Antonio Villaraigosa was elected Mayor of Los Angeles in 2005, he made the cover of *Newsweek* for a story on rising Latino political power. A 2012 *Time* cover featured a collage of Latino faces with the headline "*Yo Decido*" (I Decide) to promote a story on the potential influence of Latinos in the upcoming Presidential election. Today's Latino population numbers are higher than ever before and media often portray those numbers as translating to political influence. That may happen, but the most immediate impact of the Latino population growth has been on media themselves. Latino print, broadcast, and digital media are a major part of the nation's media offerings and are growing steadily. Fueled by Latino population growth, businesses seeking expanding consumer audiences, and expansion in media technologies, Latino media have greatly expanded their reach and influence over the past 40 years.

The most immediate impact of the Latino population growth has been on media themselves.

Much, but not all, of this growth has been fueled by fundamental changes in communication systems as media have moved from *mass communication*, where one media outlet attempts to attract a wide and varied audience, to *class communication*, where media divide messages into smaller outlets targeting key audience segments identified by demographic categories such as age, race, gender, language, etc.

An early indication of the changes came in 1976, when the *Miami Herald* began *El Miami*

Herald: Spanish-language translations of some its stories printed in a special section inserted into the general audience newspaper for those who requested it.[65] *El Miami Herald* was not a separate publication editorially and was available only upon purchase of the *Miami Herald.* Recognizing the interests of their Latino readers and the potential for advertising growth, the insert was relaunched as *El Nuevo Herald* in 1987 and became a stand-alone publication in 1998.

Today, other major newspaper chains have publications in Spanish or business arrangements with Spanish-language newspapers. Several English-language magazines, such as *People,* publish Spanish-language editions targeting Latinos in the U.S. and Latin America. Others, including *Latina* magazine, are focused on U.S. readers most comfortable in English. Broadcasting networks NBC, Fox, ESPN, and others also own Spanish-language networks. Many Latino print and broadcast operations also have digital sites available on the World Wide Web, mobile phones, and other new technologies. The interest in starting such ventures is often more economic than editorial in that advertisers increasingly seek to place messages in media reaching targeted audience segments.[66] The increased advertising dollars have spurred growth of Latino media in all technologies and also has deeper editorial implications. As Latinos have more media choices, each media outlet must also fight for its audience share. Latino media are no longer media of *chance* found by people who happen to prefer Spanish and have only a few media to choose from, but media of *choice* offering a wide variety of content and technologies seeking to attract different segments within the growing Latino population.

In this market-driven environment, Latino media often describe audiences not as people who are a community, but as consumers who are a desirable market. They tailor content to attract segments of the Latino communities that are especially desired by advertisers, i.e. young Latinas, and provide content that cultivates interests consistent with the advertising messages paying for publications, broadcasts, or digital sites.[67] All of this adds up to the continued growth of Latino media in the U.S. targeting increasingly diverse communities through an array of increasingly diverse media technologies. As the U.S. continues to develop as a multicultural/multimedia nation, so will media focused on the nation's Latinos.

As Latinos have more media choices, each media outlet must also fight for its audience share. Latino media are no longer media of chance, but media of choice.

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[34] Examples include Nicolás Kanellos with Helvetia Martell; América Rodríguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999); Félix F. Gutiérrez and Jorge Reina Schement, "Spanish-Language Radio in the Southwestern United States," *Monograph* 5 (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1979); Maggie Rivas-Rodríguez, *Brown Eyes on the Web: Unique Perspectives of an Alternative U.S. Latino Online Newspaper* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[35] For a photograph of the double-truck layout, published on February 13, 1938, see Spanish Language Media Issue, *Journalism History* 4, no. 2, (Summer 1977): 52-53. For an example of the request to readers see "Que Periódico En Español en EE.UU. Ha Conocido Ud.?" *La Prensa*, March 8, 1937, 1.

[36] Nicolás Kanellos, "The Press in Exile," in Kanellos with Martell, 8-28.

[37] Description and quotes from *El Misisipí* 1, no. 10 (October 12, 1808) and *El Misisipí* 1, no. 27 (December 10, 1808); and Wilson, Gutiérrez, Chao, 269-272.

[38] Kanellos with Martell, 10-11 for Varela, and 17-20 for Martí.

[39] Chabrán and Chabrán, 374.

[40] For references to World War I restrictions on Latino media, see Kanellos with Martell, 22-23 and endnote 35. For a description and analysis of World War I laws restricting free expression, see Geoffrey R. Stone, "World War I: 'Clear and Present Danger'?" chap. 3 in *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 135-233.

[41] For a descriptive analysis of Ricardo Flores Magón's political and journalism activities, see Juan Gomez-Quiñones, *Sembradores: Ricardo Flores Magón y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy and Critique,* Chicano Studies Center, *Monograph* 5, (Los Angeles: UCLA Aztlán Publications, 1973). For reprints of articles in *Regeneración,* see Armando Bartra, *Regeneración 1900-1918: La Corriente Más Radical de la Revolucion Mexicana de 1910 a Través de Su Periódico de Combate,* (México City, DF: Ediciones Era, 1977). For an overview of Ricardo Flores Magón and *Regneración's* experiences in the U.S., see Kanellos with Martell, 20-23.

[42] Kanellos with Martell, 106-114.

[43] Chabrán and Chabrán, 368.

[44] Kanellos with Martell, 78-106; Chabrán and Chabrán, 363-368; Meléndez, 11-62; and Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves: Neomexicano Cultural Identity and the*

Spanish-Language Press, 1880-1920 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

[45] For articles on *El Clamor Público* see Félix F. Gutiérrez, William Deverell and José Luís Benavides, eds., El Clamor Público Special Edition, *California History: The Magazine of the California Historical Society* 84, no. 2 (Winter 2006-2007).

[46] For an overview of roles of Spanish-language newspapers in the Southwestern United States from 1848 to 1900, see Félix Gutiérrez, "Spanish-Language Media in America: Background, Resources, History," Spanish Language Media Issue, *Journalism History* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1977): 34-41, 65-67.

[47] For a historical overview of Latinos coming to the mainland U.S. and their impact, see Juan González, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York: Viking, 2000).

[48] Kanellos with Martell, 28-73.

[49] John Burma, *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1954), 98-99.

[50] Spyridon Granitsas, "Ethnic Press Alive and Well, 440 Published in the U.S," *Editor & Publisher,* November 28, 1970, 12.

[51] For articles on the history of the Lozano family and on *La Prensa* in San Antonio, see articles in "*La Prensa* Hispanic Journalism," *The Americas Review* 17, no. 3-4 (Winter 1989): 121-184.

[52] For a more complete description of newspapers directed to specific groups, see Chabrán and Chabrán, 369-371; and Kanellos and Martell.

[53] Frank Trebín Lastra, *Ybor City: The Making of a Landmark Town* (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2006), 5, 41, 78, 92, 102, 106, 111, 121, 147, 160, 196 and 240; Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 4, 11, 97-98, 102-103, 131, 155, 247 and 297.

[54] "Three Generations, 85 Years, One Great Newspaper," *La Gaceta* (Tampa, Florida), June 29, 2007, Section B, 1-16.

[55] Balderrama and Rodríguez.

[56] Chavira; and Espinosa.

[57] Smith.

[58] Kanellos with Martell, 93-95; and Carlos Muñoz, *Youth, Identity and Power: The Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, 1989), 19-46.

[59] Maggie Rivas-Rodríguez and Emilio Zamora, eds., *Beyond the Latino World War II Hero: The Social and Political Legacy of a Generation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

[60] For a history of Latinos and other people of color to gain early access to broadcast and digital media, see Juan González and Joseph Torres, "The Age Broadcasting," Part IV, and "The Age of the Internet," Part V in *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (London and New York: Verso 2011), 185-376. For information on early development of

Latino radio, see Schement and Flores; Gutierrez and Schement,1-17; América Rodriguez, 26-45, and Valenzuela, 103-192.

[61] See sources cited in endnote 6 and Jesús Treviño, *Eyewitness: A Filmmaker's Memoir of the Chicano Movement* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2001).

[62] For a description of Chicano Movement newspapers, see Frank Del Olmo, "Voices for the Chicano Movement," *The Quill*, October 1971, 9-11.

[63] Rocío Zamora, *A Cleansing Fire: The Rise of the Chicano Movement and the Church of the Epiphany* (Los Angeles: Church of the Epiphany, 2005), 23-33.

[64] For more on Latino alternative publications, see Chabrán and Chabrán, 374-379.

[65] For a description of the development of *El Miami Herald* to *El Nuevo Herald,* see América Rodríguez, 122-127.

[66] For annual reports on corporate marketing and advertising expenditures directed toward reaching the Latino audience and their impact on Latino media, see December issues of *Hispanic Business* magazine, the annual *AdAge Hispanic Fact Pack*, and annual *State of the News Media* reports on Latino media from the Project for Excellence in Journalism at Harvard University.

[67] Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Mayer.

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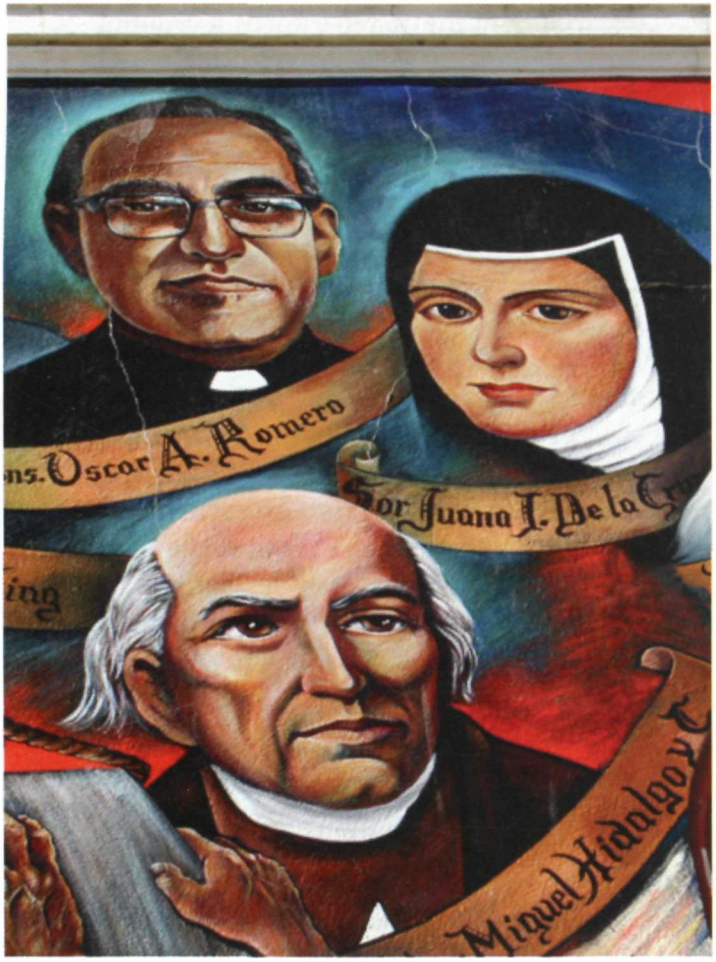

Clockwise from top left:
Mexican church at the smelter, 1907, El Paso, Texas (Library of Congress); Pentecostal church, New York, New York (Creative Commons by TMatt, 2011); Parade float in the Our Lady of Guadalupe festival, Lubbock, Texas (Creative Commons by John Howe, 2009); The Chapel of Our Lady of La Leche, St. Augustine, Florida (Creative Commons by Cliff, 2010); "500 Years of Resistance" mural by Isaias Mata, Mission District, San Francisco, California (Creative Commons by Jamie Morgan, 2001)

Endurance and Transformation: Horizons of Latino Faith

Timothy Matovina

Spanish-speaking Catholics have lived in what is now the United States for twice as long as the nation has existed. Latinos first embraced the Protestant faith in the first half of the 19th century. Although initially their numbers were comparatively small, the famous Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles lit the Pentecostal spark among Latinos and other racial and ethnic groups beginning in 1906. Subsequently the growth of Pentecostalism and evangelicalism became a major trend in Latino religion. Today Latinos lead and participate in a wide array of religious and spiritual groups, movements, practices, and faith-based struggles for justice. Understanding Latino religion and spirituality requires an appreciation of both its colonial Catholic roots and its increasingly diverse expressions from the 19th century to the present.

Today Latino religion and spirituality are increasingly conspicuous in the public spaces of U.S. society.

Colonial Origins

Hispanic Catholics established a number of "firsts" vis-à-vis Christian institutional and ministerial presence in North America. The first diocese in the New World was established in 1511 at San Juan, Puerto Rico, now a commonwealth associated with the U.S. Subjects of the Spanish crown founded the first permanent European settlement within the current borders of the 50 states at St. Augustine, Florida in 1565, four decades before the establishment of Jamestown, the first lasting British colony. St. Augustine settlers quickly formed a congregation for regular communal worship and around 1620 established the first Marian shrine in what is now the continental U.S., *Nuestra Señora de la Leche y Buen Parto* (Our Nursing Mother of Happy Delivery). Before the end of the 16th century, Spanish Jesuits and Franciscans initiated missionary activities in present-day Georgia and even as far north as Virginia. In 1598 Spanish subjects traversed present-day El Paso, Texas and proceeded north to establish the permanent foundation of Catholicism in what is now the Southwest. Contemporary El Paso residents proudly assert that the "first Thanksgiving" in the U.S. was not that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, but the celebration of Catholic Mass and a festive meal that members of the Juan de Oñate expedition organized with natives of the El Paso region on April 30, 1598, to thank God for surviving their trek across the Chihuahuan Desert.

Catholics in the thirteen British colonies were a repressed minority in a Protestant land, eventually even losing the elective franchise in Maryland, the only British colony that Catholics founded. Thus from the standpoints of original settlement, societal influence, and institutional presence, the origins of Catholicism in what is now the U.S. were decidedly Hispanic. Yet overall, popular perceptions have frequently relegated the historical significance of Hispanic Catholicism in the colonial period to a romanticized and bygone day of the Spanish missions. Writer Helen Hunt Jackson promoted such a view in a series of 1883 *Century Magazine* articles on Fray Junípero Serra, the founder of the California missions. Though the daughter of a strict Massachusetts Congregationalist family, Jackson found spiritual inspiration in her hagiographic perception of Serra and his fellow Franciscans, even deeming their labors superior to those of the Puritans, whom she claimed "drove the Indians farther and farther into the wilderness every year, fighting and killing them," while the Spanish friars "were gathering the Indians by thousands into communities and feeding and teaching them." Jackson's bestsel-

ling novel *Ramona*, first published in 1884, solidified this idealized view of the missions in the popular mindset. A love story set against her presentation of the social upheaval after the passing of the missions, Jackson's literary success cast a long shadow of "Ramonamania": rail tours of the California misions, a 1919 D.W. Griffin film starring Mary Pickford as Ramona, an annual Ramona theatrical pageant that continues to this day, initiatives to restore Spanish missions, and, most conspicuously, the development of Mission and Spanish Revival architectural styles that mark the landscape of towns and cities across the Southwest and beyond.[1]

Scholars and other commentators have noted that many restored missions and writings about them fail to account for indigenous perspectives on the mission system, including the cultural shock, brutal treatment, and death from European diseases that many Native Americans endured in mission communities. While initially the prospect of entering the missions to stave off enemies, starvation, and harsh winters seemed attractive to some Native Americans, a number of them eventually found mission life too alien and coercive. Not only were they not accustomed to the Spanish work routines and religious lifestyles, they also found unacceptable the friars' demands that they shed their traditional ways. Many became resentful and left the missions. In some cases outright rebellion ensued, most famously in 1680 when New Mexico's Pueblo Indians exploded into open violence under the leadership of a shaman or spiritual leader named Popé, driving the Spaniards and their loyal indigenous subjects from the region and purging their communities of Catholic symbols and everything Spanish.[2]

Yet some Native Americans remained within the world of the missions, accepted Christianity, and took on Hispanic and Catholic identities. In various locales, the native peoples revered missionaries for their faith, dedication, and willingness to advocate for them within the Spanish colonial system. Julio César, who identified himself as a "pure-blooded Indian" of California, recalled with fondness that as a resident of Mission San Luís Rey (near San Diego) during his youth a Padre Francisco was the priest in charge of the mission and "the Indians called him 'Tequedeuma,' an Indian word which signified that the padre was very sympathetic and considerate toward the Indians; in fact, he was very loving and good."[3] For the missionaries, Hispanicizing the natives entailed creating living spaces around impressive churches that became the center of everyday life. The missionaries worked diligently inculcating Catholicism, defining work regimes, establishing predictable daily life routines, teaching the Spanish language, overseeing social interactions, enforcing Christian-appropriate gender relations, and striving to modify native cultural practices they deemed contrary to Christianity.

Even as some natives were incorporated into Catholicism and Hispanic society, to varying degrees they exerted their own cultural influence on the Hispanic newcomers. For example, archeological research reveals the presence of Coahuiltecan artifacts such as pottery, tools, and blankets in San Antonio's Hispanic households during the colonial period. Coahuiltecans and other native peoples also brought to Catholic rituals some of the spirit and elements of their *mitote* celebrations, which included singing, dancing, and feasting to mark occasions like the summer harvest, hunting or fishing expeditions, or the return of the full moon.[4]

Male friars produced the vast majority of extant mission records, which consequently tend to accentuate their perspectives, accomplishments, and struggles. Nonetheless, the missions reveal a longstanding, significant element of Latino religion: the faith and leadership of women like Eulalia Pérez, who became a prom-

inent figure at Mission San Gabriel (near Los Angeles). A native of Loreto, Baja California, Pérez moved to the mission in the early 19th century with her husband, who was assigned there as a guard. After her husband's death, Pérez lived at the mission with her son and five daughters, where she became the head housekeeper, a leadership position in the mission community that grew increasingly significant as the number of friars decreased. Her duties included managing supplies and their distribution, as well as supervising Native American workers. As the elderly Eulalia noted modestly in a memoir she dictated to an interviewer, as the *llavera* (mistress of the keys) at the mission she "was responsible for a variety of duties." In fact, she was the lay overseer of the mission community's daily life.[5]

Royal Presidio Chapel, Monterey, California (Creative Commons by Christina Cherie Allen, 2011)

Historic preservationists and even professional historians often fall into the false presumptions that the missions were the only Catholic religious institutions in the Spanish colonies and Mexican territories and that *all* the missions underwent a period of abandonment and decline. In fact, parishes, military chapels, and some missions have been the homes of active Catholic faith communities from colonial times until the present day. Unlike the numerically predominant missions in which the population consisted exclusively of Native Americans save for a few friars and Hispanic military personnel, these other religious foundations provided for the spiritual welfare of Hispanic civilian and military settlers and their descendants, as well as for some natives who eventually joined their communities. Parishes first appeared with the establishment of formal towns and grew in number as some missions were secularized and became ordinary parishes. Local residents built the churches and sought to obtain the services of clergy, either religious order priests like the Franciscans or diocesan priests, who were primarily trained to serve existing Spanish-speaking Catholic communities rather than to work for the conversion of Native Americans. In Spanish colonial times, Hispanic Catholics established parishes in places like St. Augustine, San Antonio, Laredo, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Los Angeles, along with military chapels in other locales, such as Santa Barbara and Monterey, California, where the current Catholic cathedral has its origins in a colonial military chapel.[6]

Private chapels and pilgrimage sites also reveal local initiative and the origins of contemporary Hispanic Catholicism in the colonial past, such as San Antonio's *Capilla de Nuestro Señor de los Milagros* (Chapel of the Lord of Miracles) and, most famously, *El Santuario de Chimayó* (Sanctuary of Chimayo) in New Mexico. Tewa Indians acclaimed the healing properties of Chimayó's sacred earth long before Catholic settlers arrived at this locale on the western side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Spanish subjects completed the first chapel at the site in 1816 and dedicated the Santuario de Chimayó to *El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas* (the Black Christ of Esquipulas), a Guatemalan representation of the crucifixion associated with a Mayan sacred place of healing earth. During the 1850s, however, devotees of the Santuario de Chimayó added a statue of the *Santo Niño de Atocha* (Holy Child of Atocha) in response to a new local shrine dedicated to the Santo Niño. Subsequently the Santo Niño and the miraculous dirt became the focal

points for most Santuario devotees. They remain so today for thousands of pilgrims who visit Chimayó annually.[7]

Conquest and Communities of Faith

Latino Catholic establishments that originated in places from St. Augustine, Florida to Sonoma, California during the 16th through the 19th centuries underwent substantial transformation during U.S. territorial expansion first into Florida in 1821 and then westward. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo brought an official end to war between Mexico and the U.S.; established new international borders; and purportedly guaranteed the citizenship, property, and religious rights of Mexican citizens who chose to remain in the conquered territories. Nevertheless, military defeat merely initiated the process of U.S. conquest and expansion, as law enforcement personnel, judicial officials, and occupying troops imposed U.S. rule. Mexican Catholics incorporated into the U.S. underwent the disestablishment of their religion along with widespread loss of their lands, economic wellbeing, political clout, and cultural hegemony. Thus, unlike the saga of their 19th-century European coreligionists who as émigrés sought haven in a new land, the story of the first large group of Hispanic Catholics in the U.S. is primarily a tale of faith, struggle, and endurance in places where their Spanish and Mexican forebears had already created a homeland. In one often-repeated phrase, they were "foreigners in our native land" who survived the U.S. takeover of northern Mexico.[8]

The story of the first large group of Hispanic Catholics in the U.S. is primarily a tale of faith, struggle, and endurance.

Proponents of U.S. expansion attributed it to divine providence and adopted a view of religious "manifest destiny." One minister wrote that the Anglo-American takeover of Texas was "an indication of Providence in relation to the propagation of divine truth in other parts of the Mexican dominions[,]. . .Guatemala and all South America" as well as "the beginning of the downfall of [the] Antichrist, and the spread of the Savior's power of the gospel." Subsequently the presumed superiority of civilization and Christianity in the U.S. became the most consistent justification for the nation's history of expansionism. Willa Cather's bestselling 1927 novel *Death Comes for the Archbishop* played a large part in popularizing this justification. Set in 19th-century New Mexico, the novel sharply contrasts the life of Jean Baptiste Lamy, a French priest who became the first bishop (and later archbishop) of Santa Fe, with the native New Mexican priest Antonio José Martínez. Fictionalized as Bishop Latour, Lamy is idealized as a saintly and civilizing force whose heroic efforts rescued deluded New Mexican Catholics from his antagonist, the allegedly decadent and despotic Martínez. Even Cather's physical description of Martínez – "his mouth was the very assertion of violent, uncurbed passions and tyrannical self-will; the full lips thrust out and taut, like the flesh of animals distended by fear or desire" – evokes disdain and repulsion. Her plot line leaves no doubt that the imposition of U.S. rule and new religious leadership in New Mexico and the greater Southwest was both a sacred duty and a moral imperative.[9]

Latinos have contested such deprecating and racist portrayals, particularly the contention that U.S. westward expansion redeemed Mexican backwardness and corruption. In the renowned case of Padre Martínez, for example, contemporary biographers Juan Romero and Angélico Chávez have forcefully contested Cather's depiction of Martínez as "a lecherous ogre," as well as one-sided historical portrayals that caused "Padre Martínez, along with his people, [to] suffer the death of their good name." These biographers note Martínez's nu-

merous accomplishments, including a distinguished academic career as a seminarian in Durango, the establishment of a primary school and seminary preparatory school in his hometown of Taos (from which some 30 local youth went on to be ordained for the priesthood), the operation of the first printing press in what is now the western U.S., authorship of numerous books and pamphlets, formal certification as an attorney, and extensive service as an elected representative in legislative bodies under the Mexican and later the U.S. governments. The works of Romero and Chávez exemplify those of a growing number of scholars, activists, and community leaders who scrutinize forgotten or distorted views of Latino history, as well as object to the tendency of historic preservationists to privilege the Spanish colonial missions rather than the struggles and faith of 19th-century Latinos during the imposition of U.S. rule.[10]

Our Lady of Guadalupe parade float, Caliifornia (UCLA Library, 1958)

A number of local communities in the former Mexican territories asserted their heritage and pride in the public spaces of civic life through their long-standing rituals and devotions. From Texas to California, various communities continued to enthusiastically celebrate established local traditions such as pilgrimages, *los pastores* (a festive proclamation of the shepherds who worshiped the newborn infant Jesus), Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and established patronal feast days like that of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The persistence of religious traditions is particularly striking in light of the efforts of newly arrived European Catholic priests and U.S. Protestant ministers to ban, replace, and condemn them. In the face of such initiatives, as well as military conquest and occupation, violence and lawlessness, political and economic displacement, rapid demographic change, and the erosion of their cultural hegemony, Hispanic Catholic feasts and devotions had a heightened significance. These religious traditions provided an ongoing means of public communal expression, affirmation, faith, and resistance to newcomers who criticized or attempted to suppress Mexican-descent residents' heritage. As Tucson bishop Henry Granjon avowed after years of service in the 19th-century Southwest, these traditions served to "maintain the unity of the Mexican population and permit them to resist, to a certain extent, the invasions of the Anglo-Saxon race."[11] Undoubtedly, fear and anger at their subjugation intensified religious fervor among many devotees.

The most renowned lay group that served as the protectors of treasured local traditions was *Los Hermanos de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno* (Brothers of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene), or *Penitentes*, in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Penitente brotherhoods evolved in towns and villages well before the U.S. takeover of the area. Their most noticeable function was to commemorate Christ's passion and death, although they also provided community leadership and fostered social integration. Organized as separate local entities, Penitente brotherhoods had a leader named the *Hermano Mayor* (literally "older brother") and a *morada* (literally "habitation") or chapter house where they held meetings and religious devotions. Despite the sharp criticism they often received from outsiders, the Penitentes continued providing leadership for prayer and social life in numerous local communities.[12]

Curanderos, faith healers who blended indigenous and Catholic practices, also served among many Hispanics in the Southwest, especially those who were too poor to afford doctors or health care. The two most famous during the 19th century were Don Pedro Jaramillo and Teresa Urrea, *La Santa de Cabora*. Both were Mexican émigrés, in Urrea's case a forced exile after the Mexican government of Porfirio Díaz accused her of inciting rebellion. Subsequently she sojourned for various periods of time at places in Arizona, Texas, and California, always practicing her healing art and attracting a steady stream of those afflicted with various maladies. Like her counterpart Don Pedrito, she was known for her compassion, humility, and willingness to help her own Mexican people as well as those from other backgrounds who sought her aid and counsel. To this day, both her image and that of Jaramillo adorn numerous homes and are imprinted on candles available at religious and retail stores throughout the region. Jaramillo's home at Falfurrias in south Texas, where he ministered the last 25 years of his life, remains a popular pilgrimage site.[13]

Primera Iglesia Metodista Unida, Ponce, Puerto Rico (Creative Commons by Roca Ruiz, 2010)

Émigrés from various backgrounds increased the presence and diversity of Latinos in the 19th-century U.S. They encountered a majority-culture Catholicism steeped in European – especially Irish – roots and often faced ethnic prejudice from their coreligionists. Many Hispanics were even barred from entering existing churches and segregated into their own parishes. Yet Hispanics themselves also advocated for national or ethnic parishes as a means to retain their language, cultural practices, sense of group identity, and Catholic faith. Catholics at San Francisco began their successful campaign to establish Our Lady of Guadalupe parish to serve the Spanish-speaking population in 1871. Although most Spanish-speaking residents were of Mexican descent, representatives from the consulates of Chile, Peru, Nicaragua, Colombia, Bolivia, Costa Rica, and Spain were among the leaders in this effort, making it one of if not the first pan-Hispanic Catholic initiative in the U.S. In 1879, Cuban lay Catholics in Key West, Florida worked with church officials to establish a chapel named after their patroness *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre* (Our Lady of Charity of El Cobre). Worshipers at the chapel organized the Caridad del Cobre feast, other Marian devotions, Christmas pageants, and even a celebrated pastoral visit from the archbishop of Santiago, Cuba.[14]

Latino participation and leadership in Protestant religions also began in the 19th century. Intermittent struggles for independence in both Puerto Rico and Cuba led some political activists into U.S. exile. Many political exiles were skeptical if not antagonistic toward the Catholic Church and its leaders, who in their native lands consisted largely of Spaniards and others who supported Spanish colonial rule. A number of them embraced various alternatives to Catholicism such as freemasonry, Protestantism, and socialism. In the Southwest, generally short-lived outreach efforts to Mexicans during the antebellum period subsequently evolved into the more enduring establishment of Hispanic Baptist, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Methodist, and Presbyterian foundations by 1900. According to the thorough research of Juan Francsico Martínez, in that year a reported 5,632 adult church

members formed 150 Spanish-language congregations in the Southwest, nearly 90 percent of them in Texas or New Mexico.

Various factors hindered Protestant outreach to Mexican residents, most frequently a lack of personnel and finances, as well as manifestations of negative, paternalistic, or even racist attitudes toward people of Mexican descent. For many Latinos who embraced Protestant religious affiliation, their double minority status vis-à-vis Anglo-American Protestants and Mexican American Catholics was an acute challenge. Nonetheless, Latinos were attracted due to the availability of the Bible, their enthusiasm for evangelizing, the conviction that their alienation from Catholic neighbors and family members was worthy suffering for the sake of faith in Jesus Christ, and their desire for the education offered in Protestant schools. Congregations and churches that date from the 19th century are a living legacy to early Latino Protestants, such as El Rito Presbyterian in Chacón, New Mexico; La Trinidad United Methodist in San Antonio; and the Primera Iglesia Presbiteriana in Rosemead, California.[15]

Azusa Street Mission, Los Angeles, California, 1928 (Vanderbilt Divinity Library)

New Immigrants, Religious Pluralism, and Struggles for Justice

Nascent 19th-century Hispanic immigration to the U.S. quickened over the course of the 20th century, further expanding the diversification of national origin and religious groups among Latinos in the U.S. The increase of Latino faith expressions is a visible sign of this expanding diversity, such as the Puerto Rican devotion to their patron San Juan, the veneration of Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre to whom Cuban exiles dedicated a Miami shrine in 1973, Guatemalan faith in El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas, and El Salvadoran dedication to Oscar Romero, the slain archbishop of San Salvador who is popularly acclaimed as a martyr and saint.

Catholic ministries to Hispanic newcomers increased with the rising tide of immigration. Émigré clergy, women religious, and lay leaders ministered among their compatriots. During the Mexican Revolution, Mexico's Cristero Rebellion, and their aftermath, Mexican Catholics collaborated with U.S. church officials to establish new parishes in such diverse places as Los Angeles, Houston, Dallas, Kansas City, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Toledo. Twelve Mexican parishes opened in Los Angeles alone between 1923 and 1928, with the total number of predominantly Mexican parishes in the archdiocese increasing to 64 by 1947. In other instances, U.S. Catholics engaged in outreach to the newcomers. The visionary lay apostolic endeavors of Mary Julia Workman in settlement house ministry in Los Angeles and Veronica Miriam Spellmire in establishing and fostering the phenomenal growth of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in San Antonio exemplify such efforts. So does the response of the New York archdiocese to Puerto Rican migration under the leadership of Cardinal Francis Spellman and priests like Joseph Fitzpatrick, S.J., Robert Fox, Ivan Illich, and Robert Stern. U.S.-born Hispanics also engaged in dedicated ecclesial service to their own communities, such as the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence (MCDPs), the first and only religious order of Mexican American women founded in the U.S., who have provided leadership in evangelization and catechesis in the Southwest and beyond for more than 80 years.[16]

Protestant outreach to Latinos also rose concurrently with the expanding population. Despite barriers to women's and Latinos' leadership parallel to those in Catholicism, Latinas were instrumental to Protestant growth through their service as evangelists, church animators, and in some cases ordained ministers. From the outset of the Pentecostal movement, for instance, women played key roles in its development. Susie Villa Valdez was among the first wave of participants to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street. She immediately converted her family to Pentecostalism and for the rest of her life reached out to immigrants, alcoholics, prostitutes, and other marginalized persons with a preaching ministry across southern California. Beginning in 1929, Elodia Guerra conducted evangelistic revivals and services throughout Texas during four years as the designated conference evangelist for the Rio Grande Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. Beatrice Fernández became Director of Religious Education for the Texas-Mexican Presbytery in 1946 and was highly regarded for her efforts to educate and form Hispanics for leadership within the Presbyterian Church. Bishop Minerva Carcaño was the first Hispanic woman appointed a United Methodist district superintendent, directed the Mexican American Program at the Perkins School of Theology in Dallas, and in 2004 became the first Latina elected to the episcopacy of the United Methodist Church. Women of Baptist, Methodist, and other Protestant groups have also compiled works that testify to the considerable contributions of otherwise forgotten women in their respective Christian denominations.[17]

Approximately three or four percent of Latinos adhere to other religions, the majority of them to "alternative Christian" religions.

Latino Protestantism was initially centered in denominations like the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. After the Azusa Street Revival, Pentecostal growth ensued and, along with the increase of evangelicalism, became the mainstay of Latino Protestant affiliation over the course of the 20th century. Francisco Olazábal, one of the earliest and most effective Latino Pentecostal evangelists, exemplifies the zeal of many Latinos for Pentecostalism. Born into a traditional Catholic family, the conversion of Olazábal's pious Catholic mother to Methodism shaped his own calling to the Methodist ministry. He studied at the famous Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and then offered energetic pastoral leadership at various locales in California. To the chagrin of Methodist leadership, however, in 1917 two Azusa Street participants, George and Carrie Montgomery, converted Olazábal to Pentecostalism. Ordained to the Pentecostal ministry in the Assemblies of God, within a few years Olazábal objected to the paternalism of Pentecostal leaders like H.C. Ball and Alice Luce, whose unwillingness to promote Latino leadership within the church's Latin District Council led Olazábal to form his own denomination. His untimely death from an automobile accident in 1937 cut short his ministry. Yet across the U.S., Puerto Rico, and Mexico, in his three decades of leadership, Olazábal contributed to the genesis of at least ten Protestant denominations, led tens of thousands of Latinos to profess Pentecostal faith, and attracted over a quarter million attendees to his healing and evangelistic crusades. At the time of his death, the Latin American Council of Christian Churches that he led numbered 150 churches and 50,000 adherents throughout North America and Puerto Rico, and was the fourth largest of all U.S. Pentecostal denominations.[18]

Currently the historical trend of growing diversification in Latino religious affiliation is expanding more than ever. Since 1990 the estimated number of Latinos who identify as Catholics has decreased roughly 6 or 8 per-

centage points to somewhere between 60 to 70 percent and the percentage of Latino Protestants remained roughly the same at about 20 to 23 percent. The most significant and largely unreported trend since 1990 is that Latinos who claim "no religion" nearly doubled to somewhere between 8 and 13 percent, reaching a figure that is approaching the percentage of similar respondents in the general population. Approximately three or four percent of Latinos adhere to other religions, the majority of them to "alternative Christian" religions like the Jehovah Witnesses and the Mormons, with about one percent affiliated with a world religion other than Christianity. Latinas and Latinos, however, do not limit their religious practice to the defined boundaries of established world religions. Many engage in practices partly rooted in African religions like Santería or in indigenous religions like the healing practices of *curanderismo*. Some Latinos maintain dual or even multiple religious attachments. Thus, they may attend a Pentecostal congregation regularly for Sunday worship but celebrate baptisms, funerals, and other events in a Catholic parish. Other Latinos follow the path of numerous religious seekers in the U.S.: once they have abandoned the religious affiliation of their childhood, their propensity for changing congregations or denominations again increases.[19]

Muslim Latinas at a dawah event, Puerto Rico (Creatice Commons by Khadijah, 2008)

Today Latino religion and spirituality are increasingly conspicuous in the public spaces of U.S. society. In numerous cities and towns, *botánicas* offer an array of religious goods such as herbs, powders, incense, candles, prepared waters, and images of saints, gods, goddesses, and other spiritual entities. In a number of *botánicas* the services of a *curandera*, *santera*, or other healer or spiritual guide are also available. The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe adorns numerous sacred sites beyond the bounds of Catholic parishes, including a Sikh temple near Española, New Mexico, as well as the shrine room at the Kagyu Shenpen Kunchab, a Tibetan Buddhist center in Santa Fe. Latinos who profess Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Mormon, Jehovah Witness, and other faiths have attracted the attention of both scholars and the media. One of the most widespread traditions among Latino Catholics is the devotion to the crucified Jesus and his suffering mother on Good Friday, which often spills out of churches into the streets. Alyshia Gálvez's study of Mexican immigrants in New York examines one such public ritual, *El Viacrucis del Inmigrante* (the Way of the Cross of the Immigrant), conducted through the financial district of Manhattan. The links between Jesus' suffering and that of undocumented immigrants are repeatedly underscored: the procession begins at the offices of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, Roman soldiers order Jesus to carry his cross with the command "¡Camina, camina ilegal!" (Walk, walk illegal!), and the prayer booklet for the event states it is dedicated "in memory of those migrants who have fallen in the struggle to survive with greater dignity, outside of their land, far from their families." Reverend Luis Cortés, Jr. is President and CEO of Esperanza, the largest Hispanic evangelical network in the U.S., as well as the leading figure in Nueva Esperanza, a vibrant faith-based community development organization in Philadelphia. Since 2001, Cortés and his Esperanza collaborators have convened the annual National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast and Confer-

ence, an event that has attracted the participation of numerous prominent leaders, including presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.[20]

Many Latino civil rights leaders have perceived the churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, as institutions that did little or nothing to alleviate the suffering of their people, or were even complicit in their oppression. On the other hand, César Chávez, arguably the most renowned figure in Chicano and Latino history, conspicuously engaged prayer, fasting, nonviolent resistance, devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the principles of Catholic social teaching in his organizing efforts on behalf of farm workers. Overall, the increased activism of the Chicano movement and other Latino initiatives for civil rights, along with the reforms of Vatican II in the Roman Catholic Church, the growth of Latino Protestant communities, and the inspiration of Latin American liberation theology, influenced many U.S. Latino Protestant and Catholic leaders who consequently initiated efforts for ecclesial and social reform. Latina and Latino Catholics founded organizations like the priests' association PADRES (*Padres Asociados por los Derechos Religiosos, Educativos, y Sociales*, or Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights) and Las Hermanas, the only national Catholic organization of Hispanic women. They built faith-based community organizations such as the highly effective Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), which organizer Ernie Cortés established in 1973 with leaders from ethnic Mexican Catholic parishes in the working-class neighborhoods of San Antonio's west side. Protestant Latinos also originated various initiatives, such as the Latin American Methodist Action Group (LAMAG) and the largely evangelical and Pentecostal Latino Pastoral Action Center. Together Protestant and Catholic leaders have collaborated in a number of ecumenical ventures, including faith-based community organizations, the Sanctuary Movement, immigration reform advocacy, and the labor struggles of farm workers and more recently other Latino workers such as janitors and hotel and restaurant employees.[21] Shaping both church and society, such activist efforts are an important element of the ongoing evolution of Latino religion and spirituality in the U.S.

"We must identify with the poor and oppressed. By pooling experience, information and research we can arrive at informed and effective action. The solution lies in unity."

Las Hermanas

Endnotes

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Clockwise from top left: MaestraPeace mural, the Women's Building, San Francisco, California (Creative Commons by Wally Go-betz, 2009); Nuyorican Poets Café, New York, New York (Creative Commons by Mikamote, 1998); Section of glazed porcelain mosaic "Life Force" by Dora De Larios, Laguna Beach, California (City of Laguna Beach, 2003); Ballet Folklorico Alegria dancers, Scottsdale, Arizona, (Creative Commons by Al_HikesAZ, 2009); Cuban Conga de Comparsa band members Hector Borroso (R) and Buddy Chaver, 1991, Key West, Florida (Florida Memory, Florida Department of State)

A Panorama of Latino Arts

Tomás Ybarra-Frausto

Latino artistic expressions, including literature and the visual and performing arts, have made fundamental contributions to North American culture. Yet the artistic traditions of the U.S. Latino imagination remain largely unrecognized and conspicuously absent in most Americans' consciousness. To tell one variant of Latino arts in the United States, if only partially, is an act against historical amnesia and cultural erasure. In writing this evolving story, three *puntos de partida* (points of departure) serve as a preamble:

1. *A Historical Continuum*: Latino cultural production is not the result of "a new consciousness." From the imposed European imaginaries during the Spanish exploration and colonization in the 16th century to the cultural assets brought by newly arrived Latino immigrants, North American society and institutions must affirm and integrate the Latino arts as constituent components of U.S. history and culture.

The evolving Latino arts are intrinsic components of Latino heritage acknowledged as a vital national asset.

2. *Heterogeneity and Complexity*: Latino communities in the U.S. have never been monolithic. Latinos are not a homogeneous ethnicity. They include native-born citizens and immigrants from more than 20 countries in the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. Across the centuries, immigrants have continued to renew continuities with the Spanish language and the cultures of the ancestral homelands. Latinos in the U.S. can be white, including a range of European extractions, or *mestizo* (people of Spanish and indigenous or Spanish and African or Asian heritage). How long one has lived in the U.S. affects one's process of self-identification. There is immersive diversification and variation in racial, class, and political persuasion among and between Latino groups. Each national origin group represents a "totality of culture" with diversified social structures composed of a small group of elites, a growing middle class, and a preponderant working class. This complex heterogeneity marks cultural/artistic production and reception.

3. *Latino Art and Culture Are Dynamic, Fluid, and Mutable*: Latino cultural and artistic expressions are dynamic and fluid. Expressive forms migrate and intersect across multiple styles and sensibilities. In form and content, Latino literature and visual arts are rooted in the cultures of the ancestral homelands and the U.S. Latino social imagination is converted from cultural practices and shaped into artistic expressions where heritage is simultaneously affirmed, transformed, and reinvented. Latino Arts have been mainly created and disseminated apart from official cultural patronage and institutions. An urgent task is to locate, map, and interpret the community-centered locales where Latino arts have been nurtured and sustained across time.

Settlement and Colonization

The Spanish presence in the U.S. is inscribed in the landscape itself. The names of rivers (Nueces), mountains (Sangre de Cristo), valleys (San Joaquin), cities (San Antonio), states (Nevada), and many other national features testify to America's Spanish origins.

In the Southwest, the Spanish colonial past is evident in the built environment of towns, missions, and *presidios* (garrisons), as well as in *ranchos* and *haciendas* (ranches and es-

tates). Communities continue rich artistic and literary traditions with taproots in sixteenth-century settlement and colonization. The Hispanic heritage of what is now the U.S. begins in 1513 with the exploration of the Florida coast, nearly a century before the 1607 establishment of Jamestown and the 1620 landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

The grand epic of exploration begins a literary tradition with eyewitness accounts of the geography, flora, and fauna, and descriptions of Indian societies and customs. Explorers, missionaries, and colonists wrote diaries, *memoriales* (memoirs), and *relaciones* (chronicles). *La Relación* by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *(*translated in English as *A Chronicle of the Narvaez Expedition)* was published in Madrid in 1542 and is a gripping travel narrative about Cabeza de Vaca, two other Spaniards, and an African slave named Estevanico and their sojourns from Florida to the Pacific slope and down to central Mexico. *La Relación* narrates their nightmarish struggles for survival and their fantastic adventures in hostile human and natural environments.

Tomas de Suria, "A Plebian", 1791 (University of Alaska)

Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá's *Historia de la Nueva México* (History of New Mexico, 1610) is an epic poem written in blank verse. Villagrá, a captain in Juan de Oñate's expedition to colonize New Mexico, was well versed in classical literature, having graduated from the University of Salamanca. His poem is a paean to Oñate's valorous efforts to conquer, colonize, and populate New Mexico.

In their expeditions north from Mexico, Spanish explorers, soldiers, and missionaries wrote *relaciones*, *memoriales*, *derroteros* (itineraries), and *cartas* (letters) describing the natural wonders of the New World, encounters with Indian tribes, and prodigious efforts to Christianize the Indians and populate the northern borderlands. These narratives are the origins of the U.S. Latino literary tradition.[1] Visual art by Mexican-descended people also goes back to the earliest Spanish explorations. For example, Alessandro Malaspina, an Italian nobleman who spent most of his life as a Spanish naval officer and explorer, hired Mexican artists on his 1791–92 exploration of the Pacific Northwest. These artists recorded the terrain and typography, the native populations, and the flora and fauna with brilliant exactitude. One of these artists, Tomás de Suría, had trained at La Esmeralda in Mexico City and as part of the expedition produced some of the earliest drawings of Alaskan Natives and the Nootka Sound.[2]

The cartographic visions of Spanish draftsmen seen in landscape paintings and drawings together with a vivid ethnographic gaze capturing local social life and customs in realistic styles prefigure later contours of U.S. Latino art. As Spanish pueblos, missions, and presidios grew in the borderlands, especially in places with a large Indian presence, the interaction (both peaceful and antagonistic) of Hispanic and Indian civilizations transformed both cultures. Expressive forms in architecture, drama, and music, as well as religious and ritual practices, exemplify these intercultural Indo-Hispano fusions.

By 1692 the *Caminos Reales* (Royal Roads), a network of arterial highways, stretched from Mexico City to the borderlands. The Caminos Reales functioned as trading networks and cultural corridors for the reciprocal move-

ment of people and ideas and the exchange of cultural goods.[3] The slow flow of religious artworks to the borderlands prompted folk artisans in northern New Mexico to create their own Christian images based on Mexican prototypes and circumscribed by local materials and their own skills. Thus was born the santero folk art tradition with the creation of *retablos* (flat painted images of holy personages), *bultos* (freestanding sculptures of saints), and *reredos* (painted altar screens). Santero art was an original interpretation of Catholic iconography reflecting the society's distinctive religious and cultural beliefs. Although many santeros remain anonymous, some, like Pedro Antonio Fresquís, Antonio Molleno, and José Rafael Aragón, are recognized as originators of the tradition.[4]

Decía Gregorio Cortez,
Les gritaba en alta voz,
"Mis armas no las entrego
hasta estar en calaboz"....

El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez

1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

After the U.S.-Mexican War in 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded half of Mexico's territory to the U.S. (present-day Arizona, California, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming). Mexicanos living in their ancestral lands became Americans by conquest yet continued to affirm a Mexican heritage that was woven into the Southwest's social fabric. While the American flag flew from official institutions and English became the language of incorporation, borderland communities began the arduous task of reassessing their relationships to both Mexico and the U.S. The violent economic, social, and cultural dispossession resulted in survival strategies of both resistance and accommodation toward Anglo-American institutions and society. From this time forward, Mexican Americans would negotiate identity and cultural allegiance between two cultures and two languages. Cultural production would respond to Mexican-Anglo contact, clashes, adaptations, and active opposition.

Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft collected an extensive group of *testimonios* (oral histories) of *Californios* between 1884 and 1890. Mainly dictated in Spanish, the responses of Mexican Spanish settlers to being marginalized in their own land are diverse and contradictory. The nearly 100 narratives in the *Bancroft Dictations (Bancroft Testimonios)* include María Inocente Pico de Avila, *Cosas de California* (Things about California); Rafael González, *Experiencias de un soldado* (Experiences of a Soldier); José del Carmen Lugo, *Vida de un ranchero* (A Rancher's Life); Eulalia Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos* (Remembrances of an Old Woman); and Felipa Osuna de Marron, *Recuerdos del pasado* (Memories of the Past).[5] The women tell of a way of life before and during the transformative process of Americanization. Fully conscious of their society's patriarchal constraints, they disclose discrete strategies of self-empowerment. Their testimonies are not heroic narratives of resistance but subtle apertures toward becoming autonomous and self-sufficient in a male-dominated society. The *Bancroft Dictations* reveal the California elite's multiple class and ideological perspectives on confronting Anglo-American subordination. Resentment and dispossession remain evident even in viewpoints toward accommodation.

The systematic depredation of lands, disenfranchisement, and culture loss in the borderlands gave rise to cultural resistance. In South Texas, along the Rio Grande Valley, the *corrido*, a narrative poem set to music, crossed the border from Mexico. Composed anonymously and sung in Spanish, specific corridos of border conflict celebrate the heroic deeds of Mexican Americans who confronted Anglo aggression "*con su pistola en la mano*" (with a pistol in his hand).[6] The classic corrido "Gregorio Cortez" tells about a *vaque-*

ro (cowboy) who kills a Texas sheriff for shooting his brother, and the community's subsequent reaction. Other corridos celebrate legendary rebels and rebellions. Despite periods of decline, composing and singing corridos to commemorate significant personalities and events in working class communities endures as a major Mexican American cultural expression.

After 1848 cultural production revealed diverse and contradictory responses to the psychic and social rupture of American annexation and the incursion of Anglo-American culture and values. In 1872 María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, a member of the ruling ranchero class in California, published *Who Would Have Thought It?* The work is recognized as the first novel written in English by a Mexican American. Ruiz de Burton's captivity narrative, set in Boston against the backdrop of the Civil War and Reconstruction, is an acerbic critique of New England mores, Manifest Destiny, American exceptionalism, and imperialism. In 1885 Ruiz de Burton's second novel, *The Squatter and the Don*, offered a compelling story about the loss of land and decline of an aristocratic family with the rise of capitalist modernity in California. While maintaining the contradictions of colonial identity, Ruiz de Burton's novels granted voice and agency to women and explored the changing constructs of gender, race, and class as the U.S. entered modernity.[7]

Xavier Martínez "The Waterhole" c. 1925 (Artnet)

Alongside literary productions in 19th-century California, artists like Fortunato Arriola (1827–1872) and Xavier (Tizoc) Martínez (1869–1948) are precursors of Mexican American visual culture. Martínez was born and raised in Guadalupe, Mexico, eventually moving to San Francisco to attend the California School of Design (Mark Hopkins Institute of Art). From 1891 to 1901 he studied in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts. He became friends with Diego Rivera, the prominent Mexican painter, and sat through the Alfred Dreyfus trial, making sketches of all the figures at the trial including Émile Zola. By 1905 Martínez was back in San Francisco as a successful painter of Parisian and Mexican scenes. Later in his life, during the 1920s, Martínez began affirming his Spanish and Tarascan Indian heritage. He changed his first name to Tizoc and began publishing *Notas de un Chichimeca* in San Francisco's *Hispano American* newspaper. *Notas* contains the poetic musings, political concerns, and moral convictions, especially about working class causes, that link Martínez to later generations of socially committed Mexican American artists.

After the 1898 Spanish American War, the U.S. established a sphere of influence in the Caribbean. Puerto Rico came under U.S. rule, and in 1917 the Jones Act made Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens. This colonial relationship continues to define Puerto Rican culture. The island and the mainland remain co-dependent, yet Puerto Ricans in the U.S. have formed a distinct identity and cultural expressions.

From the 19th century on, migration from the island to the Northeast and later to other regions of the country has been a defining experience of the Puerto Rican diaspora. Early journalistic writing details the migration, set-

tlement, and adjustment to life in the metropolis. Puerto Ricans have maintained and transformed oral traditions and performative expressions especially in music. Songs of migration, African-based *bomba y plena*, urban *boleros*, and rural *jibaro* peasant music all contribute to a collective pride and identity.[8]

Matachine dancers, 2009 (Creative Commons by Jorge Paez)

Bernardo Vega, a *tabaquero* (tobacco worker) and socialist labor activist, arrived in New York in 1916. His *Memorias de Bernardo Vega* charts the growth and consolidation of the New York immigrant community and its struggles against prejudice and exclusion. Jesús Colón, also a *tabaquero* and socialist activist, arrived in New York in 1918 and became a community activist, labor organizer, and regular columnist for *Gráfico*, Bernardo Vega's newspaper. Colón's journalistic writings are acerbic critiques of U.S. society that especially denounce the racial and cultural prejudices he encountered as a black Puerto Rican. A compilation of his newspaper stories, *A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches*, describes the Puerto Rican working class's struggle to consolidate permanent settlements in metropolitan New York. Vega and Colón anticipate the themes, perspectives, and aesthetics of later Nuyorican literature.

Nineteenth-century Spanish-language newspapers were key conduits for disseminating intellectual and political ideas among a community of readers that included natives, immigrants, and exiles. Literary scholar Nicolás Kanellos reminds us that "some 2,500 periodicals were issued between 1808 and 1960, to carry news of commerce, politics, as well as poetry, serialized novels, stories, essays and commentary both from the pens of local writers as well as reprints of the works of the most highly regarded writers and intellectuals of the entire Hispanic world, from Spain to Argentina. The newspapers became forums for discussion of rights, both cultural and civil; they became the libraries and *memorias* of the small towns in New Mexico and the *defensores de la raza* (defenders of Hispanics) in the large cities."[9]

Ideals of revolution, independence, and emancipation, key concerns of thinkers like Cuban José Martí and Puerto Rican Eugenio María de Hostos, were published in the network of U.S. Latino periodicals. The utopian ideas of continental *pensadores* (intellectual thinkers) became the grist for discussion and debate in salons, cafés, and *tertulias* (literary/artistic salons) frequented by Latino politicians and public intellectuals. Newspaper editorials affirmed ethnic pride and urged participation in local social and political causes.

The Mexican Revolution

During and after the tumultuous Mexican Revolution (1910–20), hundreds of thousands of Mexicanos migrated to the U.S. The new arrivals mostly settled in established Mexicano enclaves in urban centers like San Antonio, Chicago, Detroit, and Kansas City. The immigrants worked in agriculture, mining, railroads, steel mills, and packinghouses and retained a working class consciousness. Immigrant artists and photographers, as well as weavers, ironworkers, furniture makers, and other artisans, reinforced Mexican folk practices such as creating altars, *nacimientos* (crèches), costumes and masks for *pastorelas* (nativity mystery plays), and traditional clothing ensembles for ritual dances like

Conchero and Matachines. Other aspects of Mexican popular arts were similarly adapted to the *colonias* and *barrios* (communities and neighborhoods) of the Southwest. A number of illustrators and caricaturists found employment with Spanish-language newspapers like San Antonio's *La Prensa* and Los Angeles's *La Opinion*. Artists also decorated restaurants and cantinas using motifs reflecting the early 20th-century murals found on the walls of Mexico's *pulquerías* (pulque bars).

The advent of Spanish-language radio in the 1920s, together with the rise of a recording industry eager to capture a growing market for ethnic music, contributed to the sustainability of Mexican American music. Columbia, Victor, Decca, and Bluebird RCA sought out Spanish-language singers and musical groups throughout the Southwest.

"Aben Hamed al partir de Granada
Su corazón destrozado sintió
Y alla en la Vega al perderia de vista
Con débil voz so lamento expresó."

"La Golondrina" by Narciso Serrade, 1862

In Texas, the corrido, *conjunto norteño* (folk ensemble), and big band *orquestra* catered to dance halls, bars, and family celebrations. Lydia Mendoza, Chelo Silva, Rita Vidaurri, and other vocalists made recordings, appeared in clubs, and were featured in *tandas de variedad* (vaudeville reviews) in luxury theaters like San Antonio's Teatro Nacional and Teatro Zaragoza.

Los Angeles became a mecca for local and immigrant musicians. Downtown restaurants, clubs, and performance spaces nurtured performers, composers, and impresarios, and stardom came to pioneer performers like vocalists Adelina García, Las Hermanas Padilla, Pedro G. Gonzalez, and Lalo Guerrero.

Mariachi, a form of Mexican folk music, had entered the musical repertoire by the 1930s. The standard mariachi ensemble of trumpets, violins, *requinto* (six-stringed guitar), and *guítarron* (bass guitar), with the guitarists also singing, were favored entertainment at restaurants, clubs, and family celebrations like baptisms, birthdays, and weddings. Lively instrumental tunes like "La Negra" and the rousing "Guadalajara" as well as the traditional birthday song "Las Mañanitas" and the farewell song "La Golondrina" became wildly popular. Even today the audience often sings along with the music.

The post-revolutionary wave of immigrants and exiles included businessmen, middle class entrepreneurs, academics, and intellectuals. Mexican elites disseminated their nationalist ideology through the Spanish-language newspapers and dramatic, literary, and cultural organizations they established, fostering ethnic pride. For native, working class Mexican Americans, a strengthened emotional and cultural sense of being Mexicano served as a powerful counterweight and resistance to the Anglo cultural hegemony.

Maneuvering *Mestizaje*

Mestizaje is a central aspect of American Latino life.[10] Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos introduced the concept in his essay *La Raza Cósmica* (the Cosmic Race), published in Mexico in 1925. The transcendent and utopian ideal of mestizaje is one of dynamic syncreticism between the diverse racial groups of the New World. According to Vasconcelos, the various races' best material and spiritual qualities would be integrated into a cosmic race fortified by aesthetics and Christian love.

Critics see mestizaje as a strategy of assimilation in which the black and indigenous populations of America are Europeanized and incorporated into the traditions of the Enligh-

tenment. Proponents see mestizaje as a way to nurture intracultural contact across ethnic and sociocultural divides. The concept is an operant paradigm in the cultural productions of many Latino writers, scholars, and visual artists. They recuperate, dislocate, and recombine forms and meanings both old and new from Europe and the Americas. Their "mestizo consciousness" is radically non-Eurocentric and implies an intercultural and spiritual coexistence.

Jose Moya del Pino, study for post office mural, Redwood City, CA (Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1936)

The Legacy of *Los Tres Grandes*

The so-called *tres grandes* (three greats) of the Mexican mural movement—Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros—worked on major U.S. mural commissions in the 1930s. American Latino artists read about their exploits in newspapers and saw the muralists in action and in movie newsreels. The muralists' passionate defense of political art and their formal explorations with diverse forms of public art directly influenced many Latino artists and seeded the ground for muralism as a major Latino genre during the Civil Rights era.

In the New Deal projects of the 1930s and 40s, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought to enhance the country's social resources and physical infrastructure. Looking south to Mexican models of public art, especially the 1920s muralism movement, his administration created regional programs in visual art, music, and literature. Under the Work Projects Administration (WPA), whose mission statement was "Art for the People, By the People," artists were employed to research and maintain regional artistic traditions. Latino WPA artists painted murals in schools, banks, and post offices. Others documented the revival of southwestern arts and crafts like furniture making, textiles, and pottery. Musical, oral, and performative traditions in drama, dance, and ritual were archived and published.[11]

New Mexico, with its abundant artistic heritage, developed significant WPA projects. Hispana/o artists revitalized traditional art forms and created original expressions in painting, sculpture, and mixed medias. Patrocinio Barela, Pedro López Cervántez, Carlos Cervántez, Edward Arcenio Chávez, Margaret Herrera Chávez, Esquipula Romero de Romero, and Eliseo José Rodriguez, and many other WPA artists helped redefine American art as a composite of regional aesthetic traditions. Repudiating external criteria for making traditional colonial arts and crafts, they created powerful art from an internal understanding of their heritage. Their validation of an aesthetic credo linked to a mutable living culture would become a basic tenant in the evolution of Mexican American art.

In 1948 Luis Muñoz Marín became Puerto Rico's first native-born governor. His administration sponsored massive industrialization and modernization projects that displaced rural populations into urban areas, causing concern that the Puerto Rican identity was being eroded, especially by U.S. culture. In response, the Muñoz Marín administration created the Division of Community Education (DIVEDCO), to support Puerto Rican cultural values and traditions. Prominent artists, authors, composers, and filmmakers came together to produce films, posters, and books to educate people about health, public safety, democracy, literacy, and civic participation.[12]

Rafael Tufiño, Lorenzo Homar, Carlos Raquel Rivera, Antonio Maldonado, and other artists in the DIVEDCO printing workshop created silkscreen posters to promote DIVEDCO films and cultural projects, sometimes in editions of more than 5,000 copies. The posters set high standards for graphic art with powerful images, precise design elements, and unity of text and image. Some of the artists would later become activist educators in New York, serving as direct links in the evolution of Nuyorican art.

World War II

Mexican American soldiers were among the most decorated ethnic groups in World War II, yet upon returning to the Southwest they encountered continual racial discrimination and civic exclusion. With a new empowered sense of participation in mainstream society, ex-servicemen and women joined organizations demanding full citizenship and civil rights. The Mexican American Political Association in California, the Alianza Hispano-Americana in Arizona, and the League of United Latin American Citizens in Texas were organized to sustain struggles for Mexican Americans' inclusion in every aspect of American life. Many GIs took advantage of the educational and housing programs established under the GI Bill to attend college and joined the business and entrepreneurial middle class.

"From the center of downtown Tucson the ground slopes gently away to Main Street, drops a few feet, and then rolls to the banks of the Santa Cruz River. Here lies the section of the city known as El Hoyo."

Mario Suárez, El Hoyo

Private art schools and universities prepared the first cohort of academically trained artists. While artists and culture keepers of vernacular arts and crafts have always been integral to Mexican American communities, the postwar generation was the first to be part of the mainstream studios, galleries, museums, and art world discourse.

In Los Angeles, pre– and post–World War II painters Hernando Gonzallo Villa, Alberto Valdés, Domingo Ulloa, Roberto Chavez, and Eduardo Carillo and ceramicist-sculptor Dora de Larios did not constitute a movement, but their individual work is inscribed with prevailing modernist movements like abstraction, surrealism, and expressionism.[13] Some were inspired by the socially conscious graphic and mural art in Mexico and others by the exhibitions of major Mexican artists who lived and worked in California.

Although filtered through an individualized consciousness, there was a persistent attempt by Mexican American artists to generate images responding to a bicultural lived reality. Aspects of *lo Mexicano* (Mexican heritage) were integrated with *lo Americano* (the experience of living and working in the U.S.) to represent a Mexican American sensibility. This small cadre of professional and academically trained Mexican American artists became the first educators, role models, and mentors—the *veteranos* that inspired the self-determined Chicano (Mexican American) artists of the Chicano Civil Rights Movements (*El Movimiento*).

The 1950s

After World War II, Mexican Americans had heightened aspirations for participation in American civic, political, and cultural life. By the 1950s they mainly resided in urban barrios in cities like Chicago, Los Angeles, Albuquerque, and San Antonio. The barrio functioned as a spiritual refuge where inhabitants could form bonds of ethnic solidarity and a sense of cultural belonging. A unifying consciousness developed that saw the barrio as a source of literary and cultural expression.

Mario Suárez's short story cycle about the barrio's strengths and tribulations appeared in the *Arizona Quarterly* beginning in 1947. His characters, in the fictional barrio El Hoyo, are barbers, local politicians, GIs, shop girls, and Mexican immigrants. Suárez's realistic sketches capture daily life in the barrio, affirming the language, values, and aspirations of several generations and showing how inhabitants mobilize against injustice and live with rapidly changing social conditions.

José Antonio Villarreal's novel *Pocho*, which became a national best seller in 1959, is a saga tracing the Rubio family from the Mexican Revolution to their settlement in California and their painful assimilation into American society. "Pocho" is a pejorative term for an assimilated or Americanized Mexican American. The book's protagonist, Richard Rubio, a precocious adolescent struggling to define his identity and sexuality, is caught between the demands of a conservative, patriarchal culture and an oppressive, intolerant Anglo society that promises redemption only at the price of total assimilation. This quest to create an individual identity from two antithetical cultures would become a paradigmatic theme in later Chicano novels.

Play poster for Fefu and Her Friends (University of Texas)

The Cuban Revolution

Beginning in 1959, refugees from the Cuban Revolution settled in Florida, New Jersey, and other parts of the country. A Cuban exile presence in the U.S. goes back to the turn of the century. New York, Philadelphia, and Tampa were centers for expatriated Cuban intellectuals and politicians active in Cuban struggles for independence and the insurrection against Spain in 1898. Precursors include the philosopher-priest Félix Varela, who founded the newspaper *El Habanero* in Philadelphia in 1824 and wrote a historical novel, *Jicoténcal*, about Spanish abuses of Indians in Mexico. The patriot-intellectual José Martí is a major transnational literary figure who lived and published in New York from 1880 to 1895. Among his works are poetry collections *Ismaelillo* (1882) and *Versos sencillos* (Simple Verses, 1891) and the essay collection *Cuba y los Estados Unidos* (1889).[14]

In the 20th century, with the relocation of Cuban cigar manufacturers, Florida became a hub of theatrical activity. Spanish and Cuban cigar workers in Tampa and Ybor City established mutual aid societies whose missions included maintaining theaters to serve as meeting halls and spaces for dramatic productions.[15]

The most popular dramas included *zarzuelas* (operettas), melodramas, and the classical Spanish repertoire. Ever present *bufos cubanos* (Cuban humorous farces) featuring a picaresque Afro-Cuban *Negrito* and a dimwitted Spanish *Gallego* (white Spanish immigrant) enjoyed great popularity. From the 1950s on, playwright María Irene Fornés captivated New York audiences with off-Broadway productions. Her 1977 play *Fefu and Her Friends* concerns a weekend retreat where eight women gather to celebrate and share their aspirations. The play is a complex examination of women's subjectivity and consciousness. Fornés illuminates the human condition from ethnic and gender-specific perspectives.

Ana Mendietta's artistic activity from the mid-1960s to her death in 1985 encompasses hybrid forms of expression in sculpture, film,

photography, and performance. The power of the female form is evident in her work, along with a thematic preoccupation with feminism, gender, and identity. Like many later Cuban artists, Mendietta affirms a global identity with themes and iconography that draw on European, American, and Cuban cultural sources.[16]

Starting in the mid-1960s, immigrant visual artists like Juan Boza, Luis Cruz Azaceta, María Brito-Avellana, and Paul Sierra exhibited together with Chicano and Puerto Rican artists and joined the discourse of *Latinidad* (pan-Latino/a solidarity) with artworks that unite Cuban heritage and the U.S. experience. Roberto G. Fernández's *Raining Backward*, Oscar Hijuelos's *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*, and Christian García's *Dreaming in Cuba* address themes of hybrid sensibilities and cosmopolitan identities.

From 1959 on, as exile immigrant and native-born Cubans coalesced as a Cuban American community, they became part of the larger U.S. Latino constituency seeking to re-envision American society and culture.

The 1960s: Re-envisioning America

America itself functions as a central character in the stories of the 1960s. In many communities the late 1960s marked a historical juncture of deep introspection and collective action. Decolonizing struggles in the Third World, an international student movement, Black Power's domestic surge, the emergence of a hippie counterculture, and massive mobilization against the war in Vietnam all had ideological and cultural resonance in the rise of a Latino civil rights movement that reaffirmed centuries-long struggles for human and cultural rights. Resistance and affirmation were guiding principles for regional constellations of writers and visual and performing artists banding together in a cultural reclamation project. New art forms aimed to rearticulate cultural traditions with content derived from a bicultural lived reality.

The sociopolitical upheavals of the period—the sit-ins, picket lines, and massive mobilizations for equality and social justice—were core anchors of creative energy. Thousands of Latinos mobilized for better housing, health, and educational opportunities. Farmworker strikes and urban battles against police harassment were among the fronts of political and cultural action.

Artists wrote and voiced the poems, danced the ancient rituals, painted the images, and composed the slogans of solidarity that the marching multitudes chanted: "Viva la Raza!" "Despierta Boricua!" "Sí se puede!" and "P'alante!" Self-determination was buttressed with a transformative sense of progress.

The artists and activists of the civil rights generation self-identified as Chicanos in the Southwest, signaling a new cultural identity apart from Mexican nationals and the previous generation of Mexican Americans. On the East Coast, Puerto Ricans chose the term Nuyorican to signal life rooted in New York as distinct from the Island. Chicano and Nuyorican artists created alternative spaces to create, nurture, and disseminate their cultural production. *Centros*, *talleres*, and *espacios* (centers, workshops, and spaces) flourished in the Chicano barrios of the Southwest, the Nuyorican urban enclaves in Manhattan and Philadelphia, and the Cuban American immigrant communities in Miami and Tampa.

Artists working with community-based activists in *centros culturales* (cultural centers) stressed a holistic view of culture as inseparable from education, economic development, personal growth, and social and political equity. Among the U.S. Latino arts and cultural organizations founded in the 1970s are

Galería de la Raza in San Francisco (1970), Ballet Hispanico in Manhattan (1970), the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center in San Antonio (1973), and the GALA Hispanic Theatre in Washington, D.C. (1976). All helped to extend the robust strand of Latino activism that envisions art and culture as crucial aspects of social transformation.

Poetry

Chicanos and Nuyoricans found confidence and affirmed pride in their working class bicultural identities. Their poetry, novels, songs, and dramas expressed new worldviews in *Spanglish* (blended speech of Spanish and English). Other writers chose to write only in Spanish or only in English. Literature in all genres flourished as a primary expressive form, voicing real and fictional experiences and the aspirations of long-repressed imaginations.

" when Raza?
when...
yesterday's gone
and
mañana
mañana doesn't
come
for he who waits
no morrow..."

Alurista, When Raza? (1971)
Floricanto en Aztlán: Poem 1

Apart from a noble tradition of elite poetry, working class Latino communities also possess a rich and varied repertoire of spoken word. Neighborhoods often claim an individual *con el don de la palabra* (the gift of being well spoken). *Declamadores* can move groups to action by their improvised verbal eloquence. It is a badge of honor to be recognized as a skilled storyteller, orator, or recitor of poetry.

Drawing from these traditions, poets voiced the anger, anguish, and hopes of a militant social movement. The rhetorical poetry of Abelardo "Lalo" Delgado, Ricardo Sanchez, and Raúl Salinas, written in Spanglish, echoes traditions of civic oratory, inspires cultural pride, and celebrates ordinary folks' agency to resist and survive. The work of Alurista (Alberto Urista), a major innovator of bilingual poetry, exalts the Chicano's Amerindian past, juxtaposing pre-Columbian themes with contemporary barrio realities. His collections *Floricanto en Aztlan* and *Nationchild Pluma Roja* are foundational texts of Chicano poetry.

Writers of the Chicano generation drew historic and mythic themes from pre-Hispanic indigenous cultures and the saga of the Mexican Revolution. Rodolfo "Corky" Gónzalez, founder of the Crusade for Justice in Denver, pulls from these resources in his epic poem *I Am Joaquín*, published as a chapbook in 1967. The Joaquín of the poem is a Chicano everyman, a collective symbol of mestizaje, Indian and Spaniard, tyrant and slave, the victor and the vanquished. Fortified by the villains and the heroes of his dual ancestry, Joaquín must forge strategies of resistance and survival from past defeats and triumphs. As both a social document and a heroic epic, *I Am Joaquín* remains a major poetic statement from the militant phase of the Chicano cultural project.

Theater

The heroic struggles to unionize California migrant farmworkers led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta were the genesis of El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworkers Theatre), founded by Luís Valdez in Delano, California, in 1965. In the beginning farmworkers improvised short dramatic pieces documenting their lives and aspirations and presented them in union halls and in the fields around Delano. The dramatic vignettes, called *actos*, were an earthy fusion of colloquial Spanish and English. With only a few props, like masks or signs, to identify characters, the performance style was broad and rambunctious and had a poignant sincerity. *Las Dos Caras del Patroncito* (The Two-Faced Boss,

1965) and *La Quinta Temporada* (The Fifth Season, 1966) deal with farmworkers' struggles to form a union.

While *actos* dramatize political and social concerns, Valdez also created *mitos* to explore Chicano archetypes, myths, legends, and spirituality. Touring the country to popular and critical acclaim, the Teatro Campesino catalyzed the emergence of a grassroots Chicano teatro movement. Student groups at colleges and universities and activists in community cultural centers formed teatros following the style and approach of the Teatro Campesino. Today a small cadre of teatros continues to provoke and inspire working class audiences.

Teatro Pregones, an internationally known Nuyorican company based in the Bronx, New York, is a leader in redefining and expanding the meanings of socially committed drama. Now thirty-three years old, Teatro Pregones represents the Nuyorican experience in a repertoire that includes collective creation, musicals, docudramas, avant-garde performances, and full-length plays by emerging Puerto Rican playwrights.

Theater marquees in Latino enclaves from Tampa, Florida to Washington, D.C., announce full seasons of productions ranging from the classical to the experimental by playwrights from Spain and Latin America and the younger generation of U.S. Latino playwrights. Long-standing companies include the Bilingual Theatre Foundation, founded by Carmen Zapata and Margarita Galban, in Los Angeles; Repertorio Español and Miriam Colón's Puerto Rican Traveling Theatre, both in New York City; the GALA Hispanic Theatre in Washington, D.C.; and the Spanish Lyric Theatre in Tampa.

Murals

Murals are one of the most powerful and enduring legacies of the Latino cultural reclamation project. This monumental public art form links aesthetics to advocacy and education. Although murals were painted on the walls of Puerto Rican and Cuban communities, they appeared most extensively in the South-west as part of the Chicano movement.

Section of the Great Wall of Los Angeles mural (California State Library, 2011)

In Mexico Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros worked under official patronage for the embellishment of government buildings. In contrast, Chicano murals were painted on the walls of stores, housing projects, cultural centers, and other community sites. While the Mexican muralists employed few women as helpers and assistants, the Chicano movement included many women muralists. Juana Alicia painted and directed projects in the Bay Area, and Judith Baca founded the Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in Los Angeles, a major center for innovative, socially conscious art. Baca directed the Great Wall of Los Angeles mural, a massive project begun in 1976 that narrates the city's multicultural history in the context of U.S. history. The Mujeres Muralistas, organized in the early 1970s to collaborate on mural programs in San Francisco's Mission District and the Bay Area, aimed to link Latina sociocultural concerns with those of Latin American women.

Muralism engaged a national network of regionally based artists like Leo Tanguma in Houston, Raymond "Ray" Patlán and Mario

Castillo in Chicago, and Willie Herrón in Los Angeles. A multitude of other recognized collectives developed community-centered public art. Social issues were illuminated through a localized sensibility that incorporated design elements, color, and visual iconographies from local and regional artistic traditions.

> ***"Weave us a song for our bodies to sing a song of many threads that will dance with the colors of our people and cover us with the warmth of peace."***
>
> *Sandra Maria Esteves, Blanket Weaver (1971)*
> *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Words and Feeling*

Murals are a symbolic representation of collective values and beliefs expressed in visual language accessible to ordinary people. Their pictorial iconography included indigenous heritage (especially Aztec and Mayan), the Mexican Revolution, and mythic warriors like Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata, historical and contemporary social struggles, and barrio life. A major aim was to infuse cultural icons and symbols with new social meaning. Epic in scope and rhetorical in context, Chicano murals were especially potent forces creating historical consciousness. Their dramatic visual narratives linking past and present struggles for self-determination helped viewers remember the past and envision the future.

Literary Arts

During the militant phase of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, scholars Octavio I. Romano and Nick C. Vaca began publishing *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* (1967-1974) at the University of California in Berkeley. *El Grito* (The Shout) was a journal of Mexican American literature, culture, and the arts. Each issue contained poetry, short stories, and essays focused on the Chicano experience, and some issues featured visual art by early Chicano/a artists. Its affiliate publishing enterprise, *Quinto Sol* (the Fifth Sun), whose name alluded to pre-Columbian mythical antecedents, aimed to define the canon of Chicano literature by publishing and promoting writers early in their careers as the field of Chicano studies began to develop.

Quinto Sol introduced three exemplary prose writers—Tomás Rivera, Rolando Hinojosa-Smith, and Rudolfo Anaya—who vividly capture the language, emotional depth, and complex cultural worlds of the Chicano experience. Rivera's ...y *no se lo tragó la tierra* (And the Earth Did Not Devour Him, 1971) explores the migratory experience. Written in a spare, colloquial Spanish, the novel captures the bleak lives and indomitable spirit of poor agrarian workers.

Rolando Hinojosa-Smith, in *Estampas del valle y otras obras* (Sketches of the Valley and Other Works, 1973), masterfully captures the milieu, human foibles, and historical antagonisms between Anglos and Mexicans in the South Texas borderlands. Rudolfo Anaya's novel *Bless Me, Ultima* (1972), written in English and set in rural New Mexico, narrates the young boy Antonio Mares' encounters with Ultima, a wise, elderly *curandera* (healer) who inducts him into the mysteries of nature and the cultural values of his heritage. All three novels are foundational texts of Chicano literature.

The *Revista Chicano-Riqueña* literary review, founded in 1973 by Nicolás Kanellos at The University of Indiana, introduced a varied cohort of Chicana writers like Ana Castillo, Lorna Dee Cervantes, Denise Chávez, Sandra Cisneros, Pat Mora, Helena María Viramontes, and Evangelina Vigil. The journal, which later became the *American Review*, has been a significant cultural incubator publishing Latina/o writers' work at diverse stages of their development.

At the Nuyorican Poets Café, founded by poet and playwright Miguel Algarín in Loisaida (Manhattan's Lower East Side) in 1975, self-identified Nuyorican writers could meet, perform their poetry, and cohere as a literary community. Nuyorican poetry is urban, streetwise, music-inflected, and written in combinations of Spanish and English. It explores the stark realities of urban ghetto life. Pedro Pietri, Sandra María Esteves, José Angel Figueroa, Tato Laviera, and others have created the complex human dimensions of the Nuyorican experience. *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Words and Feeling* (1975), edited by Miguel Algarín and Miguel Piñero, is a vital overview of Nuyorican writing.

In 1979 Arte Público Press at the University of Houston, became the first U.S. venue to publish literature from every Latino ethnic group in the country. Its singular project, Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, is an unprecedented effort "to locate, rescue, evaluate and publish collections of primary literary sources written by Hispanics in the geographic area that is now the U.S. from the Colonial Period to 1960."[17]

Ballet Hispanico, Bryant Park, New York (Creative Commons by Gareth Ferrari, 2011)

By the 1980s, with the rise of multiculturalism, Chicana/o writers like Gloria Anzaldúa, Sandra Cisneros and Richard Rodriguez; Cuban writers Oscar Hijuelos and Roberto Fernández; Dominican writer Julia Alvarez; and Puerto Rican writer Judith Ortiz Cofer had achieved a mainstream reading public. Selective historical, modern, and contemporary Latino literary texts were incorporated into school and college curricula, and a new generation of scholars and critics began to integrate Latino authors into a more inclusive American literary canon.

Dance

Among the forms of embodied knowledge conserved in Latino communities, dance retains ancient ties to ritual and spiritual practices. Throughout the Southwest, Matachines dance stories of cultural contact and the persistence of the indigenous core of mestizo culture. This primordial strand of native continuity was further strengthened during the Civil Rights era by the revival of *danza de la tradición azteca-mexica*. Master teachers like Andres Segura traveled from Mexico to form dance groups that perpetuated the spiritual cosmologies and ancestral Indian heritage.

African and indigenous elements were commingled with European sources in vernacular *danza folklórica*. Folklórica dance troupes are popular components of many cultural organizations. Through the exuberant music, brilliant costumes, and emotional themes, Latino audiences are reminded of a cultural repertoire extending from Spanish flamenco to the hip-hop of the urban barrio.

Ballet Hispánico, founded by Tina Ramirez in 1970 and located in New York City, is one example of how Latino dance expressions negotiate cultural systems to signal that tradition can be simultaneously affirmed and transformed.
Here are two program notes from the repertory:

Idol Obsession
The trajectory of the life, singing career, and death of pop star Selena is the basis for this work by Mexican choreographer George Faison. Religious iconography and the images of Mexican folklore are juxtaposed with the lively, upbeat Tejano mu-

sic, which has come to represent a whole border culture unique to the American Southwest.

¡Si Señor! ¡Es Mi Son!
"Yes, Sir! That's My Son!" is a paean to Cuban culture. A music form popular in Cuba during the 1920s and 30s, the *son* is the ancestor of salsa and epitomizes the Cuban amalgam of Spanish and African roots. In a series of black and white snapshots, this work depicts five dances, each evoking a particular period of 20th-century Cuban history.

The choreographers and dancers of Ballet Hispánico are recognized for a repertoire that fuses classical ballet and modern dance forms, drawing inspiration from the folkloric and musical idioms of Latino mestizo cultures.

Graphic Arts

Latino image-makers assumed major status as visual educators and memory keepers. The graphic arts, especially posters, were significant for mobilization and indoctrination of the goals of cultural reclamation.

Similar to the mural collectives, Latino graphic artists organized themselves into *talleres* (workshops) to expand graphic traditions from ancestral cultures. Two examples are the Taller Boricua in Manhattan and Self Help Graphics & Art, Inc. in Los Angeles. The Taller Boricua (taking its name from *Borinquen*, the indigenous Taíno name for Puerto Rico) was established in 1972. Nitza Tufiño, Fernando Salicrup, Jorge Soto Sánchez, Marcos Dimas, and other members explore social topics, including Taíno and African heritage, the Puerto Rican immigrant experience in the U.S., and themes related to cultural maintenance. The collective holds exhibitions and sponsors community dialogues and workshops to develop printmakers, helping them move from from novices to master teachers and technicians. A core goal is to use graphic art's educational possibilities to construct a positive Nuyorican identity that synthesizes historical and cultural assets from both Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland.

Self Help Graphics & Art, Inc. was organized by Sister Karen Boccalero, a noted printmaker, and the artist activists Carlos Bueno, Antonio Ibañez, and Frank Hernandez. Emerging in a period of intense militant activism, the organizers understood art as a social practice intimately related to community well-being. One focus was printmaking ateliers, cooperative workshops in which master printers work with artists to explore diverse processes to create print editions for exhibition and marketing.

Since 1972, Self Help Graphics & Art, Inc. has been a catalyst in the resurgence of Day of the Dead celebrations. This ancient celebration of the inseparable duality of life and death has been reenvisioned by artists with new symbols and rituals that speak to contemporary social realities. Artists who produced iconic graphic images in honor of Day of the Dead celebrations include Rupert Garcia, Ester Hernandez, Juan Fuentes, Xavier Viramontes, Malaquias Montoya, Patssi Valdez, and Carlos Cortez.

Visual Arts

An overview of Latino visual art of the 1960s and 1970s reveals an interweaving of art and social context.[18] Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban artists operated in separate and regionally defined artistic spheres. Nascent efforts toward intergroup filiations and cooperation were begun. Two prevalent dispositions in the art production were community-based and politically grounded art and studio-based art of a personal introspective character. While some Latino artists were self-taught and maintained vernacular expressions, most

were professional, academically trained artists. They created complex representations of the Latina/o experience with thematic and formal concerns that were eclectic and hybrid and in constant dialogue with modernist and avant-garde procedures derived from expressionism, surrealism, pop, and conceptual art. Western art sources were fused with nonwestern and ethnically specific vernacular and fine art traditions.

In their paintings, sculptures, mixed media, and performative expressions, Latina/os explored "shifting inventories" that moved beyond the standard binary oppositions (us/them, Europe/America, popular/elite). In its incandescent complexity, Latina/o art reflected and codified the lived social scenarios of cultural negotiation, a dynamic process of analysis and exchange between cultures.

Moving between multiple aesthetic repertoires from international and domestic sources, artists questioned and subverted totalizing notions of cultural coherence, wholeness, and stability. Their revisions of identity and culture affirmed that both concepts are open and in process, offering the possibility of making and remaking oneself within a living and evolving tradition.

Today Latina/o culture is nurtured within trans-local spaces and is vibrant in the formation of mobile identities.

Artists of the Latino civil rights generation sustained an "oppositional consciousness" rooted in longstanding political and cultural struggles against total assimilation into mainstream cultural categories and aesthetic norms. Living between two powerful cultures became a source for creative appropriation and re-elaboration of aesthetic repertoire and values derived both from ancestral cultures and historical lived experience in the U.S. Self-invention and self-determination were intertwined principles of artistic production.

The arts in Latino communities, like the communities themselves, have always been heterogeneous. The philosophical basis of western "fine art"—that art is autonomous and separate from ideological, political, and moral concerns—and the equally powerful principle that art is shaped by social values are both evident in the evolution of U.S. Latino art. Individual artists across time have aligned themselves with either tendency or have adroitly negotiated between them at different stages of their careers. Alongside the "fine arts," Latino communities have sustained rich and multifaceted vernacular and folk art traditions.

Major accomplishments and continuing goals of the civil rights generation of artists include the creation and maintenance of a bank of symbols and images representing the deep structures of Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban ancestral aesthetic traditions; the creation and support of alternative community-based art spaces and Latino-specific art museums; and continual efforts to make art accessible to multiple audiences. A vital scholarly and curatorial task is to center Latino art as a constituent in the historical evolution of American art.

The U.S. Latino Cultural Project

In the global present, a nascent cultural project is being enunciated in Spanish-speaking enclaves throughout the U.S. The new subject is Latino, the new space is transnational, and the new social reality is a country where, according to the 2012 census, the Latino population exceeds 50 million. Due to unbroken immigrant flows from throughout

the Americas, Latinos are now the largest ethnic minority in the U.S. and are expected to compose one fourth of the nation's population within two decades.

Yet the politics sustaining relations of inequality and social exclusion remain. Latinos are still shadowy, indistinct ciphers to many non-Latino Americans. The Latino imagination that has made fundamental contributions to American literary, visual, and musical traditions is largely unrecognized and conspicuously absent in the nation's cultural and educational institutions.

Migratory flows and constant movement of people and ideas across hemispheric borders position the contemporary Latina/o experience and cultural expression as part of an incipient transnational imaginary. Today Latina/o culture is nurtured within trans-local spaces and is vibrant in the formation of mobile identities, incipient coalitions and solidarities, and possible social formations of connection, communication, and conciliation within national groups and across borders.

El Tiradito, a wishing shrine frequented by Tucson's artistic community, Old Barrio, Tucson, Arizona (Creative Commons by Ammodramus 2012)

Scholar Mary Louise Pratt calls this continental space a "contact zone." She explains, "Contact Zones are not geographic places with stable significations . . . but are simultaneously sites of multi-vocality, of negotiation, borrowing, and exchange."[19] She adds that these are social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.

Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America form dynamic "contact zones" with intellectual goods flowing along multiple cultural corridors. Artists simultaneously go back and forth between different landscapes of symbols, values, traditions, and styles and/or operate within a landscape that encompasses many.

Among the tasks for articulating a new "pan-Latino cultural project" is to search for an embracing collective ethos. Latinos belong to a recognizable U.S. community; however, the very concept of *comunidad* is relative to each national group's perspectives and positions. Scholar Juan Flores articulates the point:

> "*Comunidad*: the Spanish word, even more clearly than the English, calls to mind two of the key terms—*común* and *unidad*—in the conceptualization of this notoriously elusive idea. What do we have in "common," and what "unites" us, what are our commonalities and what makes for our unity? It is important to note that though the two terms point in the same semantic direction they are not synonymous, and their apparent coupling in the same word, *comunidad*, is not a redundancy. For while *común* refers to sharing—that is, those aspects in the cultures of the various constitutive groups that overlap—the sense of *unidad* is that which bonds the groups above and beyond the diverse particular commonalities."[20]

Puertorriqueños, Chicanos, Domincanos, Cubanos, and each distinct national group in the Latino *comunidad* have specific histories of oppression and colonialism with competing class and generational interests. This varia-

tion is marked and mitigated by the length of time lived in the U.S. Despite marked differences, Latina/o creators in all artistic genres continue the quest for an ensemble of shared values and aesthetic concerns expressive of inter-Latino subjectivities.

A new generation of creators is reopening the social context and cultural assumptions of the Latino cultural project. Two guiding principles are the framework of continuity and change and the inclusion of a pan-Latino constituency. Building intellectual platforms of shared cultural histories among artists from diverse Latino national groups calls for establishing networks of support and knowledge. Research and publication projects, conferences, and exhibitions will deepen a shared pan-Latino intellectual agenda. Candor and sincerity are essential for bonds of communication. The remarkable diversity among Latinos must be cherished concurrently with a quest for points of connection and solidarity—not the unity of political expediency but the deeper filiations and bonding of Latino cultural producers who began to feel a sense of shared aspirations and a collective cultural destiny.

A necessary task is to survey, map, and interpret diverse locales fomenting Latino arts and culture. The range of sites include civic spaces (plazas and parks), religious locales (sanctuaries and pilgrimage sites), sacred spaces (*moradas*, ceremonial and ritual environments), presenting venues (theatres, recital halls, cultural centers, museums), meeting halls (mutual aid societies, patriotic and historical societies), and regional centers of craft and artisanal production.

In addition, a concerted effort is needed to register, evaluate, and interpret community-enabling spaces that have nurtured working class ethos and esthetics. Such places include *tienditas* (small grocery stores), historic restaurants, cafes, and *panaderías* (bakeries). Also places of recreation and diversion such as dance halls, movie theatres, and taverns. A pan-Latino focus will integrate heritage sites that nurture collective well-being and a positive sense of cultural belonging.

Convivencia

Reinforcing pan-Latino artistic networks begins with understanding commonalities of historical experience in the U.S. Whether Salvadoreños, Domincanos, Colombianos, or any other national group trying to make a life in this country, all share colonization, immigration, racialization, and a historical continuum of erasure and oppression. Unique stories are yet to be woven into the meta-narrative of a Latinized 21st century U.S. Pan-Latino interaction must delicately balance the desire for mutuality with the reality of intergroup differences.

The U.S is being reconfigured as a multicultural society in the 21st century. The evolving Latino arts are intrinsic components of Latino heritage acknowledged as a vital national asset. A paramount challenge is to encourage mainstream cultural and educational institutions to recognize Latino cultural production as integral in redefiing the future of American art and culture.

Endnotes

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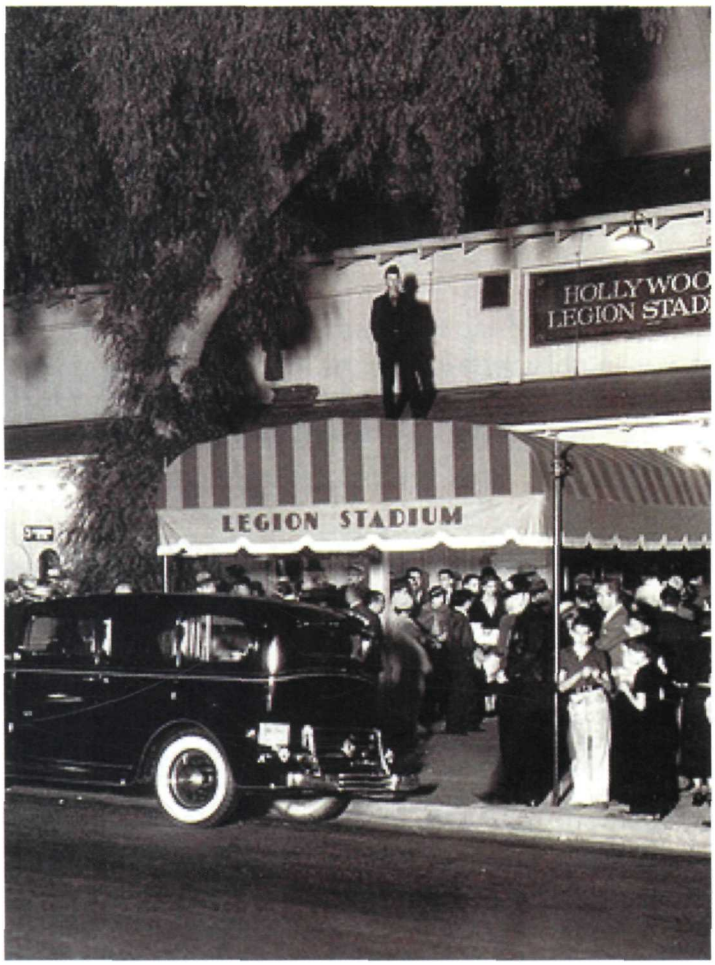
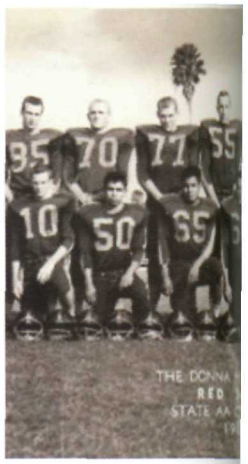


Clockwise from top left:
The Cuban Stars, 1909 (Kansas State University); Charrerías performing at the Haggin Museum Family Day, Stockton, California (Charros Federation USA, 2012); Donna High School football team, State Champions, 1961, Donna, Texas (Portal of Texas History); Marta Vieira da Silva at the 2009 Women's Professional Soccer All-Star Game (Creative Commons by Johnmaxmena, 2009); Hollywood Legion Stadium, c. 1940s, Hollywood, California (Creative Commons by Ric)



Beyond the Latino Sports Hero: The Role of Sports in Creating Communities, Networks, and Identities

José M. Alamillo

La Colonia neighborhood in the city of Oxnard, California, is notorious for its crime and street gangs, but it is also known for producing some of the toughest Latino prizefighters in the sport of boxing. In 1978, the Community Service Organization chapter led a city-wide effort to form La Colonia Youth Boxing Club to help steer youth away from gang life and towards sports. Longtime community leader and boxing trainer Louie "Tiny" Patino started the youth program in his backyard and later received financial support from the city to open a boxing gym in La Colonia. City officials saw the potential of helping troubled youth and creating a positive image of the neighborhood. Patino enlisted the help of Eduardo Garcia, a former strawberry farmworker turned boxing trainer, to run the boxing club and keep kids out of trouble.

Given the obvious importance of athletics in American life..it is important to understand the historical and contemporary role of Latino and Latina athletes in U.S. sports.

La Colonia Boxing Gym became a safe refuge for many troubled Latino youth who later became top professional boxers. One of these was 16-year-old Fernando Vargas. An angry kid with no father figure, Vargas was suspended from school and was headed to the mean streets until he stumbled upon the boxing gym. Under the guidance of Garcia, Vargas compiled an extraordinary amateur record of 100 wins and 5 losses and when he turned professional, he became the youngest fighter to win the world light middleweight title. Eduardo Garcia also trained other boxers such as Victor Ortiz, Brandon Ríos, Miguel Angel García, Danny Pérez, and his son Robert García. Because of the training and mentorship of Patino and García, La Colonia Boxing Gym became known as "La Casa de Campeones" (The House of Champions) in boxing circles for producing top-notch fighters with championship belts.[1]

I begin with the story of La Colonia Boxing Gym to show that Latino athletes do not become sports heroes through individual achievement alone. Rather they are supported along the way by a network of community leaders, coaches, family, friends, and fans. Mainstream journalists and scholars have tended to focus more on the professional and individual sports stars overcoming barriers to become ultimately great champions. However, to reduce or simplify the history of Latino sports around individual champions only obscures the historical communities and social networks that helped produce them.[2] I use the term "Latino" when discussing persons, both male and female, who were born and/or raised in the U.S. but originated from Latin America and the Caribbean. Sometimes I will use the term "Latina" to refer specifically to female persons of Latin American descent. I will use "Latin American" to refer to those athletes who migrated from Latin America to the United States to play professional or college sports. Like other cultural practices, sport has involved Latinos who can trace their roots to several generations within the U.S. and those who arrived recently as migrant athletes.[3]

This essay will focus on the Latino sporting experiences in the U.S. from the 19th century up to the present, with emphasis on professional, school-based, and amateur sports. I will highlight specific sports in which Latinos have participated including rodeo, baseball, boxing, football, basketball, soccer, and other sports.

Because Latinos encompass considerable diversity across and within different subgroups, it is important to pay attention to the national origins of the players and their communities that provided a supportive network and fan base. The first section will examine the major barriers that kept Latinos from participating in American sports. The second section focuses on Latino participation in rodeo, baseball, boxing, basketball, football, soccer, tennis, golf, and hockey. The final section will explore the history of Latina athletes. While not a new phenomenon, most scholars have overlooked the athletic history of Latinas.

Latinos have made a large impact on American sports since the early 19th century. Like other immigrant groups, sports facilitated the adjustment of Latino immigrants to urban society, introducing them and their children to mainstream American culture while at the same time allowing them to maintain their ethnic identity. Within the context of limited economic opportunities and racial discrimination, sport offered Latinos a refuge and escape from the grim social realities encountered at work and in the community. Thus, the playing field became a key site for Latino and Latina athletes to (re)negotiate issues of race relations, nationalism, and citizenship in order to gain a sense of belonging in a foreign land. Sports has also been a key part of youth culture from little league to high school, teaching young boys and girls how to play and how to behave according to societal gender norms. For young males sports participation became a way to express their masculine identity and for female athletes, because of a long history of exclusion, sports took on greater importance—to be taken seriously and to achieve gender equity.

Major Barriers for Latino Athletes

Latino participation in sports has been shaped by their racial, class, and gender status in the U.S. One major obstacle has been the high financial cost to participate in sports. For many Latino families struggling to makes ends meet, work was the priority for family members, not playing sports. The costs associated with equipment, transportation, training, and miscellaneous fees often discouraged parents from enrolling their kids in organized sports. During the first half of the 20th century, children of Puerto Rican and Mexican parents confronted a segregated public school system with poorly trained teachers, prohibition on speaking Spanish, emphasis on vocational curriculum, and limited opportunities for physical education.[4] Those few individuals who attended high school had more opportunities to play sports, but they still had to overcome negative stereotypes about their academic and physical abilities.

Scholars have shown that intelligence testing of Mexican, African American, and other nonwhite students during the 1920s resulted in vocational tracking classes and school segregation.[5] Less well known was the athletic ability testing conducted during the same period that enabled teachers and coaches to racialize minority groups as physically inferior and incapable of playing sports.[6] Former basketball coach at University of Michigan, Elmer D. Mitchell, published a series of articles in 1922 entitled "Racial Traits in Athletics" in the *American Physical Education Review*. Mitchell made "scientific observations" of 15 "races" to rank their athletic ability. The top tier included American, English, Irish, and German athletes that displayed superior physical ability. The middle tier included Scandinavian, "Latin," Dutch, Polish, and "Negro" athletes who showed some potential for athletic competition. The bottom tier included Jewish, Indian, Greek, Asian, and South American athletes that showed inferior athletic traits. Under the "Latin" category, Mitchell concluded, "The Spaniard tends to an indolent disposition. He has less self-control than either the Frenchman or Italian... [and he] is cruel, as is shown in bull fights

of Mexico and Spain." [7] The "South American" athlete according to Mitchell "has not the physique, environment, or disposition which makes for the champion athlete.....His climate does not induce to vigorous exercise, so that the average Latin American, while a sport lover, prefers the role of a spectator to that of player."[8] Despite their interest in sports, researchers claimed that the "Latin" races possessed inferior physical traits that were supposedly intrinsic to their biological makeup. These articles demonstrated how race science and physical education became intertwined in the nation's educational system with far reaching consequences for Latino participation in sports.

"Settlement houses, the Y.M.C.A., and like organizations are furthering wholesome recreation attitudes among Mexican young people."

Emory S. Bogardus, "Attitudes and the Mexican Immigrant"

By the 1930s and 1940s, cultural factors came to replace biological factors as the central explanation for poor athletic performance among Latinos. Social reformers during the Progressive era began targeting Latino immigrants and their children to teach them English and change their cultural values through "Americanization" programs.[9] Physical educators, playground supervisors, city recreation officials, and Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) directors viewed Latinos as culturally deficient requiring athletic training and coaching to learn "good citizenship"[10] These reformers reasoned that with athletic opportunities Mexican youth might potentially develop them into disciplined, healthy, and loyal American citizens. Sociologist Emory Bogardus promoted more "wholesome recreation" for Mexican immigrants to keep them away from saloons, pool halls, and gambling establishments.[11] In the public schools, physical education teachers were encouraged to form sports clubs to teach teamwork and good sportsmanship. One "Mexican school" principal described plans for a "baseball team" because "these young fellows need wholesome activity and are really hungry, with the same hunger of their elders, for the better things in life."[12] While Americanization programs encouraged Latino participation in American sports, they were less successful in their assimilation objectives. Latinos instead used sports to challenge negative stereotypes about their athletic ability and express cultural and national identities of their own choosing.[13] Some athletes used sports to forge transnational ties with their country of origin and maintain their national identity, while some adopted a hyphenated identity that connected them to both worlds, and others chose to assimilate towards an American identity.[14]

Despite their achievements on the playing field, the English-language sports media has continued to misunderstand and misrepresent Latino/a athletes. American sports journalists have relied on racial and gender stereotypes when depicting Latino athletes.[15] The language and cultural barriers between Latino athletes and Anglo sportswriters and sportscasters have contributed to negative feelings on both sides. For example, the Puerto Rican baseball player, Roberto Clemente, who struggled with the English language, disliked sportswriters because they repeatedly quoted him phonetically in print, making him look poorly educated and illiterate. Other Latin American baseball players frowned upon sportswriters who "Americanized" their Spanish names.[16] A few Latino athletes complained about the lack of commercial endorsements and television speaking engagements because of a perceived language handicap.[17] Another common stereotype attributed to Latin American baseball players was the "good field, no hit" descriptor that praised their defensive skills but devalued their batting ability.[18] These negative stereotypes in the sports media did not go unchallenged. Some athletes chose to speak only to Spanish lan-

guage sportswriters. Others used their English language skills to construct their own public image. For example, Mexican American tennis player, Richard "Pancho" Gonzalez used his "bad boy image" to intimidate opponents on the courts and threatened to renounce his U.S. citizenship and play for Mexico if he did not receive better treatment from the print media.[19]

Latino Sport Participation

Rodeo

Latinos have been involved in sports since the arrival of the Spanish explorers to Florida's east coast in 1513. Spanish and Mexican settlers were involved in gambling such as the card game of Monte and cockfighting. As the ranching economy grew in importance so did horse-related sports such as riding and roping contests, and horseracing. Another popular sport was bear and bull fighting until it was banned by the California legislature in 1855 because it was declared a "bloody sport." In latter decades of the 19th century, Anglo newcomers built racetracks for horse races and other equestrian contests.[20]

Jose Barrera ["Mexican Joe"] (Creative Commons by Tintle)

The one equestrian sport that influenced the North American rodeo was the *charrería.* The origins of *charrería* can be traced to the 16th century when Spaniards introduced horses to the New World.[21] Horses were originally intended to work running cattle and managing ranches. Over time, Spanish *vaqueros* (herdsman) developed an elaborate set of horsemanship skills that grew into organized riding and roping contests. Mexican horsemen, also known as *charros,* adapted these equestrian contests to develop a unique sport of *charrería*. The festive style of *charro* dress combined with a highly ritualized march, coronation of the queen, Mariachi music, and skillful contests made *Charrería* into Mexico's national sport. Today, *Charrería* is still practiced on both sides of the border and is considered the forerunner to the North American rodeo.[22]

By the 18th century, the ranching industry developed in the American Southwest and Mexican *charros* were hired to work in the big ranches alongside Anglo cowboys. Rodeos were held at least once a year on different ranches after the roundup of cattle and counting of the herds. In California, strict laws were passed to govern the operations of rodeos.[23] After the U.S. annexed almost one-half of Mexico's territory in 1848, the Anglo cattle ranching culture expanded to include Mexican *charros.* They became a significant portion of the work force as well as the main headliners in "rodeo shows" and "cowboy tournaments" throughout the southwest.[24] At the age of 15, San Antonio native Jose Barrera (also known as "Mexican Joe") was already a trick roping star who toured throughout the United State and Europe as part of Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show.[25] The Wild West shows of the 1890s also featured the most famous trick rider and roping artist, Vicente Oropeza, still considered a *charro* legend in his hometown of Puebla, Mexico. Oropeza won numerous roping contests and, as part of Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows, inspired audiences to take up the sport of rodeo. He continued competing on both sides of the border until his death in 1923. In 1975, he was inducted into the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City.[26] During the 1920s some differences between rodeo and *charrería* began to emerge. One of the main difference is that rodeo is an

individual sport that places greater emphasis on speed and endurance, while *charrería* is a team sport with a focus on style, tradition, and ritual.

Baseball

The one sport that Latinos have developed a long tradition of participation and athletic achievement is baseball. Latinos make up the largest minority group in baseball. Although many consider their presence a recent phenomenon, they have been part of baseball since the game's 19th century origins. As Cuban students in the United States traveled back to Cuba they introduced the game to their friends and family. Also, when the U.S. extended its military and commercial presence on the island in the later 19th century, baseball was adopted by Cubans as a way to become modern and to seek independence from Spain.[27] Baseball soon spread to other Latin American countries as U.S. sailors, miners, railroad workers, and missionaries staged exhibition games with local teams.

Team members, New York Cubans (Smithsonian Institute)

Baseball developed in the U.S. in part because of the important contributions of both U.S.-born Latinos and Latin American players. One of the first Latin Americans to play major league baseball in the U.S. was Esteban Bellán. In 1863, Bellán left his hometown of Havana, Cuba to study at Fordham University in New York City where he learned to play baseball and later joined the Troy Haymakers playing third base until 1872. The Haymakers joined the National Association, which later became the National League and the Haymakers later became the New York Giants. Another early pioneer in major league baseball was Vincent Irwin "Sandy" Nava, who was born in San Francisco in 1850 to Mexican parents. He often hid his ethnic heritage by using the name of "Irwin Sandy" or "Vincent Irwin" but did not hide his great catching ability. After joining the Providence Grays in 1882, he began to promote his "Spanish" heritage for marketing purposes.[28]

Like the influx of immigrants from Latin America into the general population over the past two decades, there has been an increase of Latino players into the major leagues. The percentage of Latino players in the major leagues grew from 13 percent in 1990 to nearly 30 percent in 2006.[29] Now virtually every major league roster includes one player of Latin American descent. Despite the remarkable stories of Latino players escaping poverty to achieve success in the big leagues, they still face challenges learning a new culture and language, as well as learning how to navigate the color line.

Professional baseball has long proclaimed itself the "national pastime" and symbol of the American "melting pot." However, the melting-pot metaphor applied only to children of European immigrants who were encouraged to shed their ethnicity and become American. Baseball reflected American society's racial segregation practices by excluding African Americans from the national pastime until Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. Latinos occupy a unique place in baseball's racial history, not fully excluded like African Americans and not fully accepted like Euro-Americans; rather they were racially in-between. Before the integration of baseball, there were over fifty light-skinned Latin American players who joined the Major Leagues, mostly from Cuba. Samuel Regalado's *Viva Baseball* recounts their motives for leaving

their country, their encounters with racism and the language barrier, their difficulties with the press, and their "special hunger" to prove their worth on and off the diamond field. [30]

After 1947, the numbers of Latino players more than doubled with the influx of Afro-Latinos during the 1950s and 1960s. Excluded from the white Major Leagues, Afro-Latinos joined the Negro Leagues and Latin American Leagues in large numbers where they were treated with respect and judged according to their athletic skills. As Afro-Latinos entered the Major Leagues, they experienced a double stigma. As Adrian Burgos Jr. shows in *Playing America's Game*, they became racial pioneers in major league baseball team rosters and, like Jackie Robinson, should be accorded the same recognition for their integration work.[31] While most Americans can identify Roberto Clemente as the first Latino superstar, for his remarkable baseball skills and acts of humanitarianism, very few recall the story of Orestes "Minnie" Miñoso.[32] Considered the "Latino Jackie Robinson," Miñoso became the first Afro-Latino in the major leagues in 1949 and the first to integrate the Chicago White Sox team in 1951 and the first Afro-Latino to appear in an All-Star game. To this day the National Baseball Hall of Fame continues to deny Miñoso the recognition he deserves for paving the way for Latino players to enter the major leagues.

The Dyckman Oval, New York (New York Public Library)

Latino participation in sports was not limited to ballplayers. It also included a network of coaches, managers, owners, and fans. A key figure who encompassed all these roles was Alejandro (Alex) Pompez, an Afro-Cuban who grew up in Havana, Cuba, and Tampa, Florida and later moved to Harlem where he founded the New York Cubans. As the owner of this Negro League team from 1916 to 1950, Pompez used his bilingual/bicultural skills and transnational connections to recruit talented players from the Caribbean and Latin America into the Negro Leagues. In search of a home field, Pompez leased the Dyckman Oval ballpark from the city in 1935 and later installed lights, making it the first professional ballpark in New York with lights. This historic site deserves recognition for being the home of the New York Cubans. After the team folded in 1950 because of declining fan support and the integration of baseball, Pompez became the top Latin American scout for the New York Giants, working tirelessly behind the scenes to ensure that African Americans and Latinos got a fair chance to play for the big leagues.[33] Thirty-four years after his death in 1974, Pompez was finally recognized by Cooperstown when he was inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame.

Unable to choose their teams and destinations, Latino professional baseball players were often separated from their communities. Their loneliness was lessened when they joined minor league teams located near Latino neighborhoods where they could find strong fan support and a common language and culture.[34] At the neighborhood level, amateur and semi-pro baseball teams functioned as important community institutions that served multiple purposes. Baseball games on Sunday became a popular form of family entertainment and a means to build a sense of community.[35] For young boys of Mexican immigrants, baseball clubs became a vehicle to express new forms of cultural and masculine identities.[36] Mexican

American coaches and players also developed leadership skills and teamwork that became instrumental in political battles for labor and civil rights.[37] The story of Carmelita *Chorizeros* from East Los Angeles illustrates the strong community ties between baseball, small businesses, sportswriters, and fans. In 1946, the Carmelita Company, which sells pork sausages to local markets, formed a baseball team named "*Chorizeros*" (Sausage Makers) with local Mexican American residents. The team made their home field at Belvedere Park in East Los Angeles, where they won numerous league championships. Led by its longtime manager Manuel "Shorty" Perez, the *Chorizeros* became known as the "New York Yankees of East Los Angeles." In 2009, the Latino Baseball History Project and Baseball Reliquary spearheaded a campaign to recognize the *Chorizeros* and Shorty Perez by dedicating a memorial plaque on the right-field line of the baseball diamond at Belvedere Park.[38]

Donna High School football team, 1961 (Portal of Texas History)

Football

It is a common assumption that because football demands large and strong bodies, few Latinos have entered the sport. However, since 1929 approximately 96 Latinos have been part of professional football.[39] In the early years of the sport, Latinos were recruited primarily as punters and kickers, but since the 1970s they have played a wide variety of positions. As more Latinos attended colleges and universities with a football scholarship, they began to receive more attention from the National Football League (NFL). The most popular Latino professional football players have included Manny Fernández, Joe Kapp, Tom Flores, Ted Hendricks, Efren Herrera, Anthony Muñoz, Jim Plunkett, Jeff Garcia, Victor Cruz, and Mark Sanchez.

Danny Villanueva was one of the earliest field-goal kickers of Mexican descent in the NFL. Growing up in Tucumcari, New Mexico in a family of twelve, he learned how to kick from playing soccer with his father and the American Youth Soccer Organization. With the support of his family, he played high school football and earned a scholarship to New Mexico State University. After graduation in 1960, he taught high school journalism until he received a phone call to a tryout with the Los Angeles Rams. He earned the top field kicker spot and spent five years with Los Angeles Rams. He broke the single season record for punt average of 45.5 and later helped the Dallas Cowboys reach their first playoffs. After establishing team and league kicking records, Villanueva retired from football at the age of 29 to become a television executive. As the founder of Telemundo and Univision Spanish-language television networks, Villanueva used his NFL experience as a platform to become a successful businessman and a multi-millionaire. According to Villanueva, being in high-pressure situations when kicking field goals helped him maintain focus and calm that allowed him to do bigger things outside of football.[40] In 1991, he established a scholarship for Latino students at his alma mater.

The history of Latino football is not limited to individual NFL stars, but includes the collective efforts of teammates, coaches, and fans. The case of the Donna High School football team that won the Texas championship exemplifies the importance of sports to the local community. Located in the Rio Grande valley of south Texas, Donna was a racially divided town, but Mexican Americans and whites came together to support their high school football team.

Coached by Earl Scott and Benny La Prade, the squad was comprised of ten Mexican Americans and eight white players. They were considered the underdogs against a top-ranked team from north central Texas. They pulled an upset by winning the 1961 state title. For the Mexican American players who worked as migrant workers alongside their parents, this victory showed "what [Mexicans] could do, if given an opportunity."[41] Mexican Americans took great pride in their victory that they made a religious pilgrimage to a Catholic shrine in their honor. Historian Jorge Iber found that football helped Donna players develop a strong self-confidence that allowed them to graduate and pursue a college degree and ultimately become middle class professionals.[42] The 1961 victory is still remembered during annual reunions held at the Donna High School stadium, which was named after Coach La Prade.

Soccer

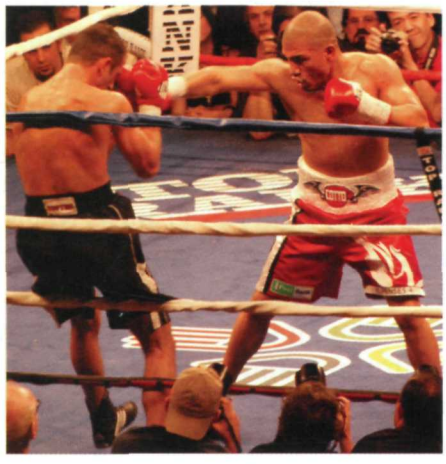
In a recent survey, Major League Soccer (MLS) surpassed the National Hockey League and National Basketball Association as the third most attended professional sport in the U.S. on a per-game basis. In 2012, MLS entered its 17th season with 78 players who were born in Latin American on its 19-team roster.[43] The influx of Latin American players means that more Latino fans will likely pack soccer stadiums. The world's most popular sport, also known as *fútbol* to Spanish speakers, has established a foothold in the U.S. in part because of a growing Latino population and MLS marketing efforts. Hoping to boost attendance among Los Angeles's Mexican American population, for example, MLS added a new franchise team in 2005 called "Club Deportivo Chivas USA." Like its parent team in Guadalajara, Mexico, Chivas USA is owned by Mexican millionaire Jorge Vergara who founded this team because MLS was missing the "passion" of *fútbol.* MLS's attempt to market Chivas USA to Latino fans was limited, however, due to the league's restriction on the numbers of international players per team.[44]

Before MLS, Latino soccer players were part of the North American Soccer League (NASL) from the 1970s until the early 1980s. The NASL team rosters were dominated by foreign players including Pelé. This great Brazilian forward played for the New York Cosmos from 1975 to 1977and is considered the best soccer player in the history of the sport. There were 30 Latin American players in the NASL in the early 1970s, but that number declined by half in the late 1970s. The Los Angeles Aztecs (1974-1981) used their Pre-Columbian name to appeal to the Mexican population in the Los Angeles area. This strategy failed because there were no Latino players in their team roster. Public perception of soccer as a foreign sport haunted NASL team owners who worried about declining gate receipts, so they began to "Americanize" the sport by instituting a new rule requiring teams to have native-born players on the soccer field at all times. In response, soccer coach and sportswriter, Horacio "Ric" Fonseca accused the NASL of discriminating against Latinos, both U.S. born and foreign players. He cited examples of three Latino players on the "old" Aztecs who were either traded or released because "they would not sufficiently 'Americanize' soccer—as if U.S. Latinos were not American." [45]

For U.S. Latino communities, fútbol has constituted a source of cultural pride and a way to stay connected to their homeland.

For U.S. Latino communities, *fútbol* has constituted a source of cultural pride and a way to stay connected to their homeland.[46] With cable or satellite television channels broadcasting soccer matches around the world, fans can cheer for their favorite league or national team. Others can remain connected to their homel-

and by joining an adult soccer league. More than weekend diversions, soccer leagues resemble multi-purpose social clubs that have helped Latino immigrants adjust to American society, serving as a forum for communication for employment and housing information.[47] These soccer networks have strengthened family and kinship ties and integrated new immigrants into the local community. As immigrants have settled in the U.S., they have organized competitive soccer leagues in order to secure playing fields and find sponsors for team jerseys. Latino soccer clubs in the Washington D.C. area have offered companionship and hometown nostalgia for immigrants who have made the soccer fields into "cultural spaces."[48] The Latino soccer leagues of Chicago and Detroit have also organized and maintained community organizations providing language classes, entertainment, and other social services to its members.[49]



Miguel Cotto (in red) fighting Oktay Urkal (Creative Commons by JavaBeans)

Unlike other sports that rely on a high school and college pipeline, soccer has relied primarily on a youth club system for its growth and development. Youth club soccer has long been the domain of suburban white middle and upper-middle class communities in which poor minority groups have been left outside the soccer pipeline.[50] A majority of working class Latino players cannot afford the high costs of club soccer with its coaches' salaries and travel costs. Instead many Latinos remain playing for local community leagues and high schools.

In her study of Richmond High School's soccer team, Ilann Messeri found that playing soccer was more affordable for Latino students because schools, local businesses, and others in the community supported the team financially. Latino parents also supported teams with fundraisers, cleaning the field, and working security during games.[51] Messeri argued that unlike exclusive elite club soccer teams, Richmond High School's soccer team became an important cultural space for Richmond's Latino community.

Not all high schools have been willing to fund a soccer program, however. In *A Home on the Field,* Paul Caudros wrote about his efforts to help Latino students, many of whom were undocumented, form a high school soccer team. He encountered resistance from school officials and football coaches at the North Carolina high school. One main obstacle was that Latino parents lacked medical health insurance and often worked for low wages in poultry-processing plants, leaving them with few resources to support their kids' athletics. But they managed nonetheless. The team endured racist incidents and hostile fans for three seasons. After the team won the state championship title, they gained more respect from school officials and community residents.[52]

Boxing

Boxing is one of the most popular sports among U.S. born and foreign Latinos. One of the first Latino superstar of the prize ring was Aurelio Herrera. Despite encounters with law enforcement and being denied entry inside San Francisco's rings, Herrera was a hard-hitting puncher from 1898 to 1909, he fought 94 professional bouts winning 64 (57 were knockouts) and losing 14. Herrera was arrested several times for vagrancy, spent time in jail and died as a homeless alcoholic.[53] After Herrera, a long list of Mexican-descent prizefighters emerged in southern California prize rings throughout the 20th century.[54]

Before Oscar De La Hoya was coined "Golden Boy" there was another prizefighter who owned that nickname. Art Aragon was a popular boxer during the 1950s, which not only had superior boxing skills but also was a charismatic movie star who earned a reputation as a ladies' man. Born in New Mexico and raised in East Los Angeles, Aragon began boxing in 1944 as a lightweight winning a draw at the Olympic Auditorium. In 1950, Aragon gained the respect of the boxing world when he knocked out Enrique Bolanos, a top-rated Mexican lightweight fighter. According to boxing historian Gregory Rodriguez, Aragon was part of the Mexican American generation who sought inclusion in America's public institutions and was a favorite among Hollywood celebrities and English language sports writers. [55]

Since the 1950s, the sport has been a "black-and-brown affair," with Latinos generally controlling the lighter weight categories and African American boxers wining the middleweight and heavy weight divisions. However, with the decline of African American heavyweights in the U.S., attention has shifted toward the West Coast region and lightweight divisions where Latino boxers dominate. Another reason for the "Latinization of boxing" phenomenon is the rise of boxing promoters, like Oscar de la Hoya, who now runs the business and marketing side of boxing.[56]

Hollywood Legion Stadium, California, c. 1926 (Creative Commons by Ric)

Latinos have turned to boxing as a way to fight their way out of poverty. They cheered their favorite prizefighter as a way to remember their homeland. Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, and many other Latin American countries have produced the largest number of the world's boxing champions, each one expressing national pride and a distinct fighting style. Puerto Rico has produced over 40 world championship boxers in different weight divisions and 6 Olympic medals. Puerto Rico's first boxing champion was Sixto Escobar who won the bantamweight division title in 1934. Since then, Puerto Rico has produced top champion boxers such as Wilfredo Benitez, Wilfredo Gomez, Hector Camacho, Felix Trinidad, John Ruiz, and Miguel Cotto. Puerto Rican boxing, according to Frances Negrón-Muntaner, "takes on a special value in the fight for the nation's worth and offers both popular and elite sectors a way to narrate, enjoy, and perform nationhood."[57] Puerto Ricans are drawn to the sport of boxing as means to express their nationalistic pride in a world stage.

Puerto Ricans raised in the mainland U.S. have also embraced the Puerto Rican flag inside and outside the ring. Two examples include Carlos Ortíz and Jose "Chegui" Torres. Ortíz was a three-time world champion, twice in the lightweight division, and one in the junior welterweight division. Torres won numerous amateur matches and the light heavyweight champion title in 1965. After retiring Torres became the New York Boxing Commissioner as well as a journalist and political activist in New York City.[58]

Since the early 1920s, boxing has been one of the most popular sports in Mexico. Highly publicized visits by Jack Johnson and Jack Dempsey to Mexico City helped stir more interest in boxing with sold out attendances at boxing rings. Mexican fighters have developed a reputation as rugged, aggressive, passionate, and hard-

hitting punchers who fight until the end. Some exceptional fighters include Marco Antonio Barrera, Rubén Olivares, Salvador Sánchez, Vicente Saldivar, and Julio César Chávez.[59] As Mexicans emigrated northward and settled in U.S. cities, communities developed their own prizefighters in backyard arenas and neighborhood boxing gyms. Since many originated from different states of Mexico where regional ties remained strong, it was in the boxing arenas in the U.S. where some felt closer to a Mexican national identity.[60]

Since Mexican migrants faced racial discrimination at work and school they became more conscious of "being Mexican." The arena provided a space for them to achieve a dignity denied to many low-wage Latinos. According to Gregory Rodriguez, boxing was not associated with Americanization, but "came to be identified with 'Mexicanness', with Mexican guts, Mexican spirit, and with Mexican victories."[61] Some of the most famous Mexican American boxers in Los Angeles included Solly Smith, Aurelio Herrera, Joe Rivers, Joe Salas, Bert Colima, Manuel Ortiz, Art Aragon, Juan Zurita, and Mando Ramos.[62]

Beyond individual prizefighters, boxing includes a network of boxing gyms, trainers, promoters, and fans. Latino boxers transformed vacant lots, backyards, garages, abandoned buildings, and small halls into arenas where they staged fights. The best prizefighters were recruited by promoters to fight in the bigger venues for more prize money. The most popular boxing arenas in Los Angeles included the Ocean Park Arena, Main Street Athletic Club, Hollywood Legion Stadium, and the Olympic Auditorium.[63] Built for the 1932 Olympic Games, the Olympic Auditorium staged fights that featured the biggest names in the sport's history. The success of the Olympic, according to longtime owner Aileen Eaton, "has been largely on attracting the Mexican-American fight fan...which makes up about 60 percent of our audience."[64] Boxing promoters understood that to attract bigger audiences they needed to use a fighter's national identity to stir up emotions. Former boxers have also founded gyms in poor ethnic neighborhoods to provide more recreational opportunities for kids and spur economic development. A recent example is Oscar de La Hoya, who returned to his working class neighborhood in East Los Angeles to renovate the gym where he trained as a child and renamed it the Oscar De La Hoya Youth Boxing Center. He also formed Golden Boy Partners in 2005 with a $100 million investment to revitalize his Latino neighborhood.[65]

Basketball

Although Latinos have been playing basketball since the early 1900s, it was only in the 1970s that they entered in the National Basketball Association (NBA). By the 2009-2010 season, there were six U.S- born Latinos players in the NBA and nineteen players from Spain and Latin America. These included Mark Aguirre, Rolando Blackman, Eduardo Nájera, Emmanuel "Manu" Ginobili, Paul Gasol, Carmelo Anthony, and Carlos Arroyo. Ginobili, who grew up in Argentina, and Gasol, who is from Spain, represent two basketball stars who have had remarkable success in European and American basketball leagues. In recent years, 15 percent of NBA fans identified as Latino, thus the NBA has begun to recognize the Latino fan presence and the potential to market the sport to Latino audiences.[66]

Puerto Rico has produced the majority of Latino players in the NBA, including Alfred "Butch" Lee, considered the first Latino to join the NBA. Puerto Rico's national basketball team has also enjoyed success in the Olympic Games. Puerto Rico's victory over the U.S. Olympic basketball team in the first round of the 2004 Olympics surprised many and stirred national pride on and off the island. Puerto Ricans competed successfully against the U.S. Olympic basketball

team in part because of their highly competitive professional basketball league.[67] One of the best players in the island's basketball league during the 1950s and 1960s was Juan "Pachín" Vicéns. Born in 1934 in Ciales, Puerto Rico, Vicéns was only 16 years of age when he joined the Ponce Lions of the National Superior Basketball League. His excellent point guard skills helped the Lions win their first championship. Two years later, he won another championship and was declared the Most Valuable Player. In 1954, he was recruited by coach Tex Winter (mentor of Lakers coach Phil Jackson) to Marquette University and later to Kansas State University where he became the second-leading scorer in 1956 (averaging 12.3 points) and led the team to the NCAA Sweet Sixteen. Recruited to play professional basketball in the U.S., he decided to play for the Ponce Lions and the Puerto Rican basketball team. After he retired in 1966, Vicéns became a bank manager and sports radio commentator. In 1972, a statue was dedicated in his honor in front of the Juan Pachín Vicéns Auditorium.[68] This well-known sports venue is located between Victoria 7845 and 68 de Humacao in the city of Ponce, Puerto Rico.

Richard "Pancho" Gonzales, 1962 (Library of Congress)

Basketball in Mexican American communities shaped a sense of community and provided a means of interaction with other ethnic communities. In South Chicago, Mexican youth traveled with their basketball teams to compete around the city in the 1930s and 1940s, becoming more aware of how their ethnic identities were perceived by other neighborhood players.[69] In the mining town of Miami, Arizona, Mexican American high school basketball players surprised everyone when they won the 1951 Arizona basketball championship. [70] Led by a Finnish American coach, Mexican American players achieved more than "court success," they helped to develop a sense of ethnic pride, helped to bridge racial divisions in the mining community, and earn a chance to attend college on a scholarship.

In El Paso's Segundo Barrio, basketball was the favorite sport among Mexican Americans. The 2008 documentary *Basketball in the Barrio* chronicles the remarkable athletic career of Rocky Galarza, a local sports star who founded a unique basketball camp for Latino youth in El Segundo Barrio.[71] El Segundo Barrio is one of the oldest Mexican American neighborhoods in El Paso and according to Gil Miranda it was also the main place where "Hispanic kids grew up playing basketball." Galarza grew up during the 1940s becoming a star athlete at El Paso High School in baseball, football, and basketball. He was also a Texas Golden Gloves champion boxer. He later built a boxing gym behind his sports bar restaurant, becoming a prominent youth sports advocate, boxer trainer, and businessman.[72]

Other Sports

Latinos have also made their mark on other sports such as golf, tennis, horseracing, hockey, and Olympic Games. Both golf and tennis have being associated with rich white country clubs, but this did not stop Latinos from playing and making an impact on these elite sports. The only way that Latinos gained entry into the sport of golf was to become a caddy. This is how the two most well-known Latino golfers got their start. Mexican American golfer Lee Trevino and Puerto Rican golfer Juan "Chi Chi" Rodriguez learned the game by caddying and jumping fences to play golf. [73] In 1978, Nancy Lopez was

the first Latina to become a professional golfer. Lopez went on to a remarkable career in the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) tour, becoming one of the best all-time women golfers and inspiring young Latinas to play the sport.[74] Mexico native Lorena Ochoa and Mexican American Lizette Salas represent a new generation of Latina golfers who are making an impact on the LPGA tour.

Less well known is the story of five Mexican American golfers from San Felipe High School who won the 1957 Texas State High School Golf Championship.[75] These kids learned the game as caddies at a South Texas country club that barred them from playing, so they built their own makeshift golf course in an empty sandlot. Once they formed an official high school team, they found a practice area, better equipment, and good coaching. These young kids began to compete and win against other high school golf teams across the state. They encountered problems entering golf tournaments but it was their strong determination and excellent swings on the green that made them state champions.

Nancy Lopez at the Centel Classic, Tallahassee, Florida, 1991 (State Archives of Florida, Florida *Memory)*

As more tennis courts became accessible through public parks and high schools during the 1940s, Latinos began playing and winning tennis tournaments. The first Latino tennis star Richard "Pancho" González grew up playing in the public tennis courts of Exposition Park in south Los Angeles. Growing up in a working-class Mexican American family, González had no formal tennis lessons but he was a natural athlete, winning several junior tournament titles and back-to-back U.S singles titles at Forest Hills in 1948 and 1949. Gonzalez dominated the field of professional tennis when he won 91 singles titles, earning the world' number one ranking for eight years during the 1950s.[76] U.S. and foreign-born Latinas have also made their mark on the tennis world beginning with Brazilian tennis player, Maria Bueno who won 19 Grand Slam titles between 1954 and 1968. Another Latina tennis star was Rosemary "Rosie" Casal, who was born in El Salvador, but grew up in San Francisco where her uncle taught her to play. Despite her short size (5'2"), she dominated women's doubles play with her aggressive and inventive playing style. Puerto Rican Beatriz "Gigi" Fernández was another great women's doubles player during the 1990s. She teamed up with Dominican born Mary Joe Fernandez to win two gold medals for the U.S. at the 1992 and 1996 Olympic Games.[77]

Although there are many tennis stars from Spain and Latin America there are currently no U.S. born Latino players in the men's and women's professional tours. One way to address this problem is to organize Latino tennis tournaments. The first annual La Raza Tennis Tournament was held on June 19, 1976 in San Diego, California. Organized by the La Raza Tennis Association (LRTA) whose purpose was to "foster and develop the game of tennis in San Diego County, to encourage development and participation of promising young players of the Spanish-Speaking community."[78] LRTA was formed to "expand the interest and enjoyment in the game of tennis among the Chicano community and help develop the young tennis talent." One young Chicano who caught the attention of local tennis officials was Angel Lopez, who won the first La Raza Tennis Tournament. As the head tennis instructor at the San Diego Tennis and Racquet Club, Lopez still carries out the mission of the LRTA by donating racquets and

teaching tennis to Latino youth in San Diego public schools.

Compared to other mainstream American sports, there have been fewer Latinos in the history of the National Hockey League. Each hockey player comes from vastly different places, teams, and experiences that reflect the diversity of the Latino population. The first was Bill Guerin, who is of Nicaraguan and Irish descent, who joined the Edmonton Oilers in 1998. A year later Scott Gomez, born in Alaska to a Mexican father and Colombian mother, arrived in the league joining the New Jersey Devils and because of his appearance and last name was marked as the "first Latino in hockey," even though he could not speak Spanish. Then there is Raffi Torres, born in Canada of Mexican and Peruvian parents, who joined the New York Islanders but because of his red hair and light eyes few did not consider him Latino.[79]

"My [4½ year old] daughter walked in the room and looked at the TV and said... 'Are those boys playing [basketball]?' And I said, 'yes.' And my daughter said, 'I didn't know boys played basketball.'"

Rebecca Lobo, Women's Basketball Hall of Fame Speech, 2010

In horse racing there was a relative advantage for Latino jockeys who were short and lightweight. Puerto Rican Angel Cordero Jr. is considered the leading thoroughbred horse racing jockeys of all time, winning six Triple Crown races during the 1960s and 1970s and ranking third in all-time career wins in racing history. In 1988, he was inducted into the National Museum of Racing's Hall of Fame.[80]

Latina Athletes Breaking Borders

Unlike their male counterparts who look up to Latino sports heroes, Latinas have had few athletic role models and have encountered gender barriers in American sports. Latinas have faced reluctant parents who expected them to help with childcare after school whereas their brothers enjoyed more freedom playing sports. In addition, the concept of "after-school sports" has been a new concept to many immigrant parents arriving from poor Latin American countries. When school officials and coaches made the effort to teach parents about the long-term academic and health benefits of after-school sports for girls, families have often accommodated to their daughters' athletic interests. These benefits were confirmed by a 1989 Women's Sports Foundation research study that found that Latina athletes were more likely to enroll and stay in college.[81]

Even though colleges and universities began to comply with Title IX in 1978 to create gender equity in sport, Latinas have remained underrepresented in collegiate sports.[82] Collegiate softball has been one sport in which Latinas have been more visible.[83] In her study, Kathy Jamieson found that by crossing familial, educational, and athletic borders Latina softball athletes occupied a "middle space" that allowed them to resist easy classification of their multiple identities.[84] The sport's popularity among Latinas can be attributed to the remarkable achievements of Lisa Fernandez, who is considered one of the greatest players in softball history. Born in 1971 in New York City to a Cuban father and Puerto Rican mother, Fernandez began playing softball at an early age and during high school in Lakewood, California. After graduation, she enrolled at University of California Los Angeles where she led the Bruins softball team to two national championships. She also led the USA softball team to win three gold medals in the 1996, 2000, and 2004 Olympic Games. Her stellar pitching and hitting at the Olympic Games helped promote women's softball around the world. In 2001, the Lakewood City Council recognized Fernan-

dez's athletic achievements by naming the softball field at Mayfair Park in her honor.[85]

Beyond softball, Latina athletes have also participated in baseball, basketball, tennis, golf, soccer and boxing. Latina participation in baseball dates back to the 1930s and 1940s when the All American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL) began recruiting Latinas, especially from the Cuban women's league.[86] One of these players was Isabel Alvarez, who began playing with the *Estrellas Cubanas* until she joined the AAGPBL in 1948 at age 15. Alvarez was the youngest player and one of seven Cuban women who joined the AAGPBL. After pitching for the Chicago Colleens, she moved around with several teams until settling with the Fort Wayne Daises. Isabel had difficulty learning the English language, but the presence and companionship of other Cuban teammates eased her loneliness and homesickness.[87]

Marta Vieira da Silva at the 2009 Women's Professional Soccer All-Star Game, St. Louis, Missouri (Creative Commons by Johnmaxmena)

Latinas have been playing basketball since the 1930s. However it was not until 1997 that Rebecca Lobo became the first Latina basketball star. Lobo played for the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA)until 2003 when she became a television basketball analyst. During the early 1930s, San Antonio's *Liga Femenino Hispano-Americana de Basketball* was made up entirely of Mexican American women who played on teams with names like "What Next," "Modern Maids," "Orquídea," "LULAC," and "Tuesday Night."[88] These teams were sponsored by mutual-aid societies, fraternal lodges, and voluntary associations from San Antonio's Mexican community. To raise funds for uniforms and travel expenses, basketball teams held dances at the Westside Recreation Center or at Sidney Lanier High School. Playing for the Modern Maids team, Emma Tenayuca was a brilliant student at Main High School and a "sensational" athlete who was selected to San Antonio's All-City girls' basketball team in San Antonio. [89] After her high school graduation, Tenayuca became a labor organizer during the peak of the Great Depression leading the Pecan Sheller workers to major strike in 1938.[90] Basketball taught her invaluable leadership and teamwork skills that were crucial for organizing workers and battling employers and city officials.

Latinas have also been part of the growth of women's soccer in the U.S. When Mexico was unable to produce enough players for their national team they recruited Mexican American players from the U.S.[91] One of these players was Monica Gerardo, daughter of a Mexican father and Spanish mother, who joined the Mexico's 1999 World Cup Team and helped Mexico qualify for its first-ever women's World Cup. Gerardo is one of many U.S. born Latinas who overcame gender barriers in their family and community to play collegiate soccer.[92] When Brazilian soccer star Marta Vieira da Silva, considered the best female players in world, decided to play for the Los Angeles Sol team, young Latinas were lining up to watch her play in the new Women's Professional Soccer league.[93]

While boxing has long been considered a "manly" sport, women have recently entered the sport due in part to the popularity of Hollywood films like the Oscar-winning *Million Dollar Baby (2004)* and *Girlfight (2000).* Several working-class Latina boxers photographed and

profiled in *Women Boxers: The New Warriors* revealed the different racial, class, and gender barriers they faced entering the boxing ring. Some photographs show these women in extreme physical training and others show them as loving mothers embracing their children. These photos reveal how these women are constructing new notions of femininity. A few Latinas testified about how they were introduced to boxing by their fathers and brothers. This shows how boxing has long been a Latino family tradition. The question remains whether female boxing will be more than a sexualized spectacle for male spectators and be taken more seriously by those who control the sport, mainly male boxing promoters and media officials.[94]

Athletic success for Latinos has led to more educational opportunities and ultimately to successful professional careers in business, education, and politics.

After the International Olympic Committee allowed women's boxing for the 2012 Olympic Games in London, CNN anchor Soledad O'Brien profiled Mexican American fighter Marlen Esparza as she trained for a spot on the U.S. Olympic team. With the support of her father and coach, Esparza earned a spot on the Olympic team. Outside of boxing Esparza is a premed college student at Rice University in Houston, Texas. She has made great sacrifices to train for a sport with little financial backing. Her strong determination and dedication paid off recently when she won a bronze medal in the 2012 Olympic Games in London.

Conclusion

In 2003, Latinos surpassed African Americans as the largest minority group in the U.S. Given the obvious importance of athletics in American life and the increasing Latino population in the U.S., it is important to understand the historical and contemporary role of Latinos and Latina athletes in U.S. sports. For teams, leagues, and networks, this means a marketing opportunity to expand their fan base and tap into a growing consumer market. For the various reasons discussed above, Latino and Latina athletes have taken non-traditional routes towards participation in professional and non-professional sports in the U.S. For Latinos and Latinas who did not complete high school or college, the world of sport became a vehicle for social advancement. A great majority began playing sports in the streets, sandlots, public courts, or municipal recreation centers, or while working as caddies in country club golf courses. These "back doors" of entry have shaped the nature of Latino and Latina sporting experience in the U.S. Furthermore, sport participation is a central component of Latino and Latina experiences in the U.S. and cannot be reduced to a marginal form of physical activity or a mere distraction from more serious issues of politics and economics. Sport participation has not always been easy; it has depended on a number of factors including social location, economic constraints, educational level, and scientific discourses about physical ability, as well as gender ideologies and the underlying racial structure of U.S. society.

Despite these multiple barriers, Latino and Latina athletes have made significant achievements in American sports, but these have not been individual accomplishments. Sport is too often centered on the "greatest moments," "star athletes," and spectacular feats performed in "big stadiums," and as a result individual achievements are divorced from the collective support of coaches, fans, promoters, community organizations, and neighborhoods. In addition, Latino participation in sports should move beyond the professional level to examine the relationship between athletes/teams and their communities of support, changing identities, and social networks. Un-

like professional sporting events driven by big money franchises and television broadcast deals, amateur-level sports are more "unscripted" and can be more easily appropriated for social and political causes that benefit the larger community. Athletic success for Latinos has led to more educational opportunities and ultimately to successful professional careers in business, education, and politics. Latino and Latina athletes have also acted on their social conscience to defend and advance the interests of their communities.

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Clockwise from top left:
La Nortenita Restaurant, part of historic Luna Lodge, Albuquerque, New Mexico; (Library of Congress, HABS/HAER/HALS Collection); Ingredients for *sofrito*, a combination of aromatic foods used as a base in Puerto Rican dishes (Creative Commons by Portorricensis, 2008); Dried chili *ristras*, a popular item at markets in the Southwest (Creative Commons by Kolin Toney, 2009); A Cuban market on Calle Ocho in Little Havana, Miami, Florida (Library of Congress, Carol M. Highsmith); Latino Foods street festival, Boyle Heights, California (Creative Commons by Ray, 2009)

Coming Home to Salsa: Latino Roots of American Food

Jeffrey M. Pilcher

Latino foods are the historical product of encounters between peoples from many lands. Some of these meetings took place in the distant past; for example, Spanish settlers and missionaries were exchanging foodstuffs and recipes with Indian women in New Mexico and Florida decades before the first Pilgrim Thanksgiving at Plymouth. Other encounters have been more recent, as with the arrival of Afro-Caribbean and Chinese-Cuban migrants to New York City, who imparted Latino influences to the "soul food" of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s and 1930s. Latino foods thus grew out of the migrations of diverse people from the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Their history has been shaped by the common experience of Iberian culture that spread widely in the centuries after Columbus. But despite these global trajectories, Latino foods have taken root in particular places and nourished communities of people in the territory that is now the U.S. This nation and its foods are products of the fusion between the global and the local, and Latinos form a significant chapter in that history.

If we are what we eat, then the United States is becoming an increasingly Latino nation.

Economic imperatives have been a central driving force in the emergence of new cuisines. Columbus first landed in the Americas while searching for spices, and many Latino foods took shape during a regional economic boom of the late eighteenth century. In a similar fashion, Mexican American cooking was influenced by the availability of new ingredients from the U.S. food processing industry. Moreover, many of the leading agricultural industries in the U.S. have Latino origins. Spaniards planted citrus and nut orchards in Florida and throughout the Southwest, founded cattle ranches in Texas, and built wineries in California. The "three sisters" – maize, beans, and squash – staples of the American Indian diet, were domesticated in what is now Mexico. Markets and restaurants are important centers of culinary innovation, particularly as tourists seek out new dining experiences. By the 1990s, Mexican food became one of the top three varieties of ethnic restaurants and *salsa* (a spicy tomato-based sauce) famously surpassed catsup as the bestselling condiment in the United States.

Changing fashions for Latino food also reflect shifting ethnic and national identities. Despite their long history and contemporary popularity, Latino foods were seen as foreign and dangerous by earlier generations, many of whom defined "American" food narrowly as the product of New England kitchens. The strong flavors of chile peppers, garlic, spices, and olive oil came as a shock to prim palates accustomed to boiled meat and potatoes with white sauce. Encounters of the 19th century, framed by the U.S.-Mexican War and subsequent conflicts over land, left enduring stereotypes of Latina women as eroticized and dangerous, just as their cooking became associated with "Montezuma's revenge." Attitudes toward spicy foods therefore became associated with patterns of racial thinking that worked to exclude Latinos from full citizenship. Nevertheless, businessmen sought to profit from widespread interest in these foods by selling chili powder, canned tamales, and other ersatz products, which advertisers claimed were more wholesome than the originals. After decades of canned chili, many people did not even recognize the Mexican roots of *chili con carne* (chili with meat). The arrival of fast food restaurants took Latino foods even further from their ethnic roots. Only

the spread of migrant family restaurants across the U.S. in the final decades of the 20th century has started to reclaim Latin American cooking from these stereotypes.

The encounters that have shaped ethnic foods, while centered largely in the marketplace, took place at many levels. Often times cross-ethnic eating also crosses lines of class; whereas early 20th century Bohemian diners went slumming in Spanish restaurants, today they are more likely to patronize taco trucks. Yet historically, culinary cosmopolitanism has been just as likely to emerge from within the lower classes. Single, male migrant workers have long sought out tasty and economical meals with little regard for ethnic origins. Cooks likewise are constantly exchanging recipes with their neighbors, whether they were born across the street or across the world. Successive waves of migration have given the U.S. a diverse and innovative food culture.

Yet narrow views of Latino foods as being only Mexican or Tex-Mex are a pervasive misunderstanding. Although the term Tex-Mex has been used commonly as a marker of inauthentic foods, it more properly refers to the regional cooking of Mexicans living in Texas. Such borderland specialties as *carne asada* (grilled beef) and wheat flour tortillas established the initial images of Mexican food in the U.S. More recent migration has introduced a much wider range of recipes from throughout Latin America. Restaurant goers with a taste for carne asada can also sample the diverse cuts of grilled meat that are called *parrilla* in Argentina and Uruguay or *churrasco* in Brazil. Connoisseurs likewise have learned to distinguish the regional tamales of Mexico and the Caribbean basin, not to mention Bolivian, Ecuadoran, and Peruvian *humintas* (baked corn tamales), Salvadoran *pupusas* (stuffed tortillas), Venezuelan and Colombian *arepas* (maize griddlecakes), and countless other dishes that are now available in the U.S.

Because of its emotional bonds, food has been a metaphor for citizenship. The melting pot formerly symbolized the process of immigrant acculturation to the national culture. More recently, the image of a salad bowl in which ingredients are combined without losing their character has gained favor to indicate the acceptance of cultural diversity within a pluralistic democracy. Nor are these culinary metaphors exclusive to the U.S.; in Latin America, as well, foods have provided ethnic and racial markers. In Cuba, for example, the combination of black beans and rice is referred to as *moros y cristianos* (Moors and Christians). Cultural contact inevitably results in blending, as cooks incorporate the foods of their neighbors into their own culinary repertoires and thereby transform those dishes. Whatever the preferred metaphor, food has an important role in achieving the ideal of cultural citizenship, the belief that all people have the right to determine their own cultural practices.

Origins

Latino foods reflect the enormous social diversity resulting from Latin America's history of settlement and intermarriage. The indigenous inhabitants of the Americas domesticated three highly productive and nutritious staples: corn, potatoes, and manioc, which are now eaten widely around the world. Iberian conquistadors introduced to the region the Mediterranean cuisine of wheat, wine, and olives, along with livestock. Subsequent histories of migration further enriched these cuisines, as African slaves, Asian indentured servants, and Middle Eastern arrivals brought new flavors and culinary techniques. The regional cuisines of Latin America demonstrate the everyday genius of cooks in transforming often-limited ingredients into tasty and nutritious meals.

Maize, a sturdy grain that grows prolifically in diverse climates and terrains, was the dietary staple of Mesoamerica, the densely populated cultural region extending from the central

highlands of Mexico through Central America. Because maize is deficient in niacin, cooks discovered an alkaline treatment process to make *nixtamal*, which could be eaten as a stew called *pozole* or ground into dough to make tortillas and tamales. Pueblo Indians of the Southwest made a thin *nixtamal* batter and cooked it into thin blue wafers of *piki* bread on a heated stone. Yet another version of nixtamal, called hominy, was invented independently near Cahokia in Illinois, and allowed the Woodland Indians to spread across eastern North America. Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean and South America also ate corn, but because it was less central to their diet, they had no need to prepare nixtamal. They simply popped the corn, grilled it on the cob, or, in the Andes Mountains, brewed it into an alcoholic beverage called *chicha*.

Centeotl, the Aztec deity of maize (Codex Rios, 16th century)

Potatoes and related root crops are grown in thousands of varieties in the Andes, in contrast to the meager selection found in U.S. supermarkets. They generally come in two varieties, sweet and bitter, and both are well-rounded nutritionally, with protein, carbohydrates, vitamins, and minerals. The indigenous people learned to freeze-dry potatoes, taking advantage of night frosts and sunny days, a process that also made bitter potatoes more edible. Other tubers added variety to the diet or were cultivated in extreme mountain environments where ordinary potatoes would not grow. The sweet *oca*, for example, could be dried into a fig-like substance to sweeten dishes. Andean Indians ate the greens as well as the roots of many species.

Manioc, also known as cassava and yucca, was the staple food of the Caribbean and South American lowlands. Like other root crops, there were sweet and bitter varieties. Sweet manioc grows quickly and can be eaten without elaborate preparation, but it is susceptible to rotting. The bitter variety, which can be stored underground for lengthy periods, contains prussic acid that must be removed before consuming. The Indians learned to grate the root, soak away the toxic chemicals, and then bake the resulting pulp into flat breads on a griddle. Alternately, the processed manioc could be dried into a coarse meal called *farofa*, which is used widely in Brazil to thicken stews and to add a tasty crust to meats and vegetables.

Indigenous peoples domesticated a wide range of other plants in addition to these basic staples. *Frijoles* (beans) added protein to native diets, especially when eaten with maize; the complementary amino acids within the two foods magnified their nutritional value. Native fruits and vegetables included tomatoes, squash, avocados, cactus paddles and fruit, pineapple, papaya, guava, and mamay. Chile peppers and achiote seeds added flavoring to an otherwise starchy diet, as did chocolate and vanilla which were also domesticated in the Americas. Although their diets were largely vegetarian, Native Americans also consumed many different kinds of fish and game.[1]

If the indigenous cultures gave local variety to Latino foods, Iberian traditions provided a measure of continuity across the region. Wheat, wine, and olive oil, staples of the Mediterranean diet since antiquity, were eagerly planted by settlers and missionaries wherever possible. This desire to reproduce European foods was driven not only by a desire for famil-

iar tastes, but also by social and religious imperatives. Food was an important status marker in the hierarchical society of early modern Europe and conquistadors were determined to eat like nobles back home. When particular environments were not conducive to growing foods, for example, wheat in the Caribbean, the settlers paid great sums to import the grain from elsewhere. Moreover, the Mediterranean culinary trinity was essential for religious sacraments; according to medieval Catholic doctrine, only wheat could be used to prepare the Eucharist.[2]

Vegetable escabeche (Creative Commons by Rudi Giron)

European settlers also transplanted livestock to the Americas to ensure access to meat and cheese. Sheep was the most highly valued livestock in the Iberian peninsula, a reflection of Jewish and Muslim dietary influences during the Middle Ages. While wealthy Spaniards ate mutton, the lower classes consumed beef from the vast cattle herds of Castille and La Mancha. Horse-mounted cattle ranching skills were carried from Spain to the *gauchos* of Argentina and Uruguay as well as the *vaqueros* of northern Mexico. European livestock reproduced at a tremendous rate in the plains of the Americas, since there were few predators and little competition from humans or other herbivores. Because the animals roamed with little supervision, except during annual roundups, they had a tendency to overgraze the landscape, causing widespread erosion, and in many places they converted fertile grasslands to scrubby deserts.[3]

The role of Franciscan missionaries in establishing California's wine and olive industry is well known thanks to the efforts of historic preservationists, who sought to encourage tourism in the early 1900s with picturesque images of a Spanish pastoral era. Nevertheless, the work of ordinary settlers in making wine throughout the southwest has gone largely unrecognized. El Paso del Norte, present-day El Paso, Texas, for example, was praised by visitors for the quality of its wines. Both friars and settlers planted an Andalusian grape variety known as the *mónica*. Fortified sweetened wines, similar to Spanish sherry, became known in California as Angélica.

In addition to Native American and Iberian traditions, Latino foods bear tastes from around the world. African slaves were imported to work on plantations in tropical lowlands of the Caribbean, Brazil, and along the Pacific. Many of the inhabitants of those regions still have a taste for starchy main dishes of plantains, rice, yams, or couscous, and flavored with greens, okra, malaguetta peppers, and palm oil. Middle Eastern influences are also apparent in the wealth of sweetened desserts, including flan and other custards, which were reproduced in the convents of Latin America. The presence of complex spice mixtures in dishes such as Mexican *mole* sauce as well as pickled dishes known as *escabeche* also derived from medieval Arabic cooking. Finally, Asian tastes arrived by way of the colonial Manila Galleon, which traversed the Pacific each year carrying silver and other trade goods between Acapulco and the Spanish colony of the Philippines. Nineteenth-century plantation owners employed indentured servitude after the abolition of the African slave trade, thereby reinforcing Asian culinary traditions with stir-fries and curry sauces.

Latin America became a hub of globalization during the early modern era through a process that has been called the Columbian exchange.

Although Iberian settlers preferred European foods, particularly wheat bread and meat, they acquired a taste for many indigenous foods, including frijoles, chile peppers, and chocolate. Cultural mixture, known in Spanish as *mestizaje*, has become so complex in Latin America that at times it is hard to tell exactly where particular traditions originated. Rice, for example, was consumed in Spain, Western Africa, and Asia before 1492. Moreover, foods such as corn, potatoes, and tomatoes spread so widely during the early modern era that many people do not realize they were domesticated in what is now Latin America.

Encounters

Despite this long history of cultural blending, many of the Latino foods that Anglo Americans first encountered in the 19th century were of relatively recent origin. A late-18th century economic boom transformed subsistence societies of the Spanish Caribbean and northern New Spain into thriving commercial centers. The beneficiaries of this wealth began to consume more luxury foods, while the working classes struggled to maintain a nutritious diet even as they lost their land to export crops. Oblivious to historical change, 19th century Anglos applied their attitudes of manifest destiny to foods as well as people, and looked down on these cuisines as relics of the past, created by "savage" Aztecs, Caribs, and Africans. This racist attitude colored early cross-cultural interactions and long impeded Latinos from achieving full citizenship.

Foods such as corn, potatoes, and tomatoes spread so widely that many people do not realize they were domesticated in what is now Latin America.

Late colonial prosperity allowed settlers on the northern borderlands to replace the sturdy, indigenous staple maize with European wheat, although they prepared it in the hybrid form of flour tortillas. Beleaguered by arid climate and Indian raids, rural Hispanic families generally sold their wheat to urban markets and fed themselves corn, either as tortillas or as pozole. When the Spanish Crown finally made peace with the Apaches and Comanches in the 1780s, however, settlers quickly expanded their irrigated fields, producing a surplus they could consume at home. The origins of wheat flour tortillas are unknown. Oral tradition in the borderlands often attributes them to Jewish settlers, who supposedly ate them during Passover, but such flatbreads were common throughout the Mediterranean. Wheat tortillas may also have been invented independently by Indian women who adapted familiar techniques to a novel grain. Regardless of their origins, these tortillas allowed rural folk to raise their status by eating Hispanic wheat, even if they could not afford the ovens and fuel for baking bread. Enormous, thin tortillas became a particular marker of the regional cooking of Arizona.[4]

A similar economic boom likewise stimulated a Hispanic culinary renaissance in Spain's Caribbean colonies, although not everyone shared in the windfall. The local sugar industry began to revive when the British occupied Havana in 1762, importing slaves and technology. The spread of abolition, beginning with the Haitian slave revolt of 1791, reduced competition for Spanish sugar. Coffee also became a significant export crop in the 19th century, particularly in the highlands of Puerto Rico. As historian Cruz Miguel Ortiz Cuadra has observed, the growth of Antillean plantations displaced local rice cultivation along with a range of indigenous root crops. Wealthy planters and merchants used the profits from sugar and coffee to import rice and other prestigious foods such as wine, olive oil, capers, and salt cod, which they prepared using Spanish recipes such as the soupy Valencian rice dishes, which became

known in Puerto Rico as *asopao de pollo* (rice with chicken). Slaves and poor farmers ate more imported rice as well, although the machine-milled grain was less nutritious than the varieties they had formerly milled by hand. Unable to afford the meats and condiments of the rich, they fell back on the relatively monotonous although basically sound combination of rice and beans, the moros y cristianos of Cuba or red beans called *habichuelas* in Puerto Rico.[5] Whether on the borderlands or in the Caribbean, the localization of European foods gave residents new opportunities to demonstrate their ties with Hispanic civilization.

These connections remained strong even after the U.S. annexed the northern half of Mexico in 1848. Although Mexican residents of the San Francisco bay area were soon overrun by '49ers, more isolated settlements in southern California, south Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona preserved their cultural autonomy. Anglo newcomers to these areas often married into elite families, thereby acquiring a taste for Mexican food. Cookbooks also helped to preserve cultural ties, and over time they became treasured family heirlooms. Encarnación Pinedo published *El cocinero español* (The Spanish Cook, 1898), perhaps the first Latino cookbook, as a tribute to California-Mexican cookery. A manuscript volume by Refugio de Amador, preserved in the Rio Grande Historical Collections at New Mexico State University, contains recipes for *torta de cielo* (heavenly cake), *turrón de Oaxaca* (nougat), and *jamoncillos de almendra* (fudge squares).[6]

XLNT tamale vendor, California, 1894 (XLNT Foods)

Latino culinary traditions also took root in port cities along the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico. Antillean communities were founded by merchants in commercial hubs such as New York City and New Orleans, as well as by the children of wealthy planters who studied in American schools. By the 1850s, they were joined by working-class Cubans and Puerto Ricans employed in garment and cigar factories of New York City and Ybor City, near Tampa, Florida. *Bodegas* (grocery stores) and restaurants catered to the immigrants' desire for familiar foods.

Many early Latino restaurants tried to attract a crossover clientele, but Anglos often refused to equate Spanish or Mexican cuisine with fine dining. With the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad in the late 1870s, Mexican entrepreneurs in San Antonio, Texas, and Los Angeles, California, appealed to the growing tourist trade by opening elegant restaurants with names such as *El Cinco de Mayo* (The Fifth of May) and *El Globo Potosino* (The Balloon), located in San Luis Potosí, a famously rich mining town. These establishments offered Hispanic and Mexican favorites such as *albóndigas* (meatballs) and *mole de guajolote* (turkey in chile sauce), along with French and American dishes. Within a few years, however, most had disappeared from city directories, to be replaced by restaurants with French names.[7]

When Mexican food became the subject of culinary tourism, Anglos sought out exotic street food, not elegant restaurants. Many working-class Mexicans supplemented their household incomes by selling food during civic and religious festivals, and the growth of tourism made their occasional stands into a nightly pageant in streets and plazas. Vendors in San Antonio were gendered female in the popular imagination, as "Chili Queens," while in Los Angeles

they were more often associated with masculine tamale pushcarts, although men and women of diverse ethnic groups sold chili and tamales in both cities. Stereotypes of Mexican food as painfully hot and potentially contaminating were conflated with the supposed sexual dangers of the "Chili Queens." Anglo journalists meanwhile accused tamale vendors of criminality and labor activism. Although a popular tourist attraction, vendors were constantly harassed by police and urban reformers, who sought to restrict them to segregated locations such as San Antonio's Milam Plaza.[8]

"Chili con carne was the simplest of moles: just beef, chili powder, oregano, and cumin."

Mexico: Encyclopedia of Food & Culture

By the end of the 19th century, Latino foods had become firmly established in the national consciousness with an image of "safe danger." They represented an exotic experience for tourists to test their manhood by flirting with "Spanish" women and risking the strong flavors of chile peppers, garlic, and oil. Yet the food appealed not just to Bohemian slumming but also to working-class ethnics, who learned that they could find a tasty and inexpensive meal in Latino restaurants. Thus, Latino foods soon spread beyond their ethnic and geographical origins; for example, black vendors carried tamales from San Antonio all the way to the Mississippi delta. Cross-cultural exchanges, often based on unequal power relations, continued with the growth of the food processing industry.

Industrialization

Food processing was one of the largest industries in the U.S. during the Gilded Age, as it remains today, and then as now, migrant workers performed the difficult and poorly paid labor in fields and factories that made these businesses profitable. Yet Latino contributions to industrial food have scarcely been limited to manual labor. Historian Donna Gabaccia has noted the paradox that although immigrant entrepreneurs developed culinary icons ranging from hamburgers and hotdogs to Fritos and tacos, national markets for these products generally have gone to corporations with little connection to the communities of origin.[9] Because corporate advertising has had such a prominent role in the mainstream marketing – if not in the technological innovation – of Latino and other ethnic foods, exotic and often disdainful stereotypes from the 19th century have persisted.

The history of *chili con carne* illustrates the industrial appropriation and distancing of foods from their Latino origins. Businessmen such as Willam Gebhardt capitalized on the popularity of Mexican vendors by marketing chili powder made from imported peppers mixed with spices. Chicago meatpackers added chili con carne to their line of canned products in order to disguise inferior cuts of meat. Chili con carne acquired new forms and flavors as it spread across the country. African American cooks in Memphis put it on spaghetti as "chili mac," while in Ohio and Michigan hot dogs with chili became known as "coneys." In the 1920s, Macedonian immigrant Tom Kiradjieff added cinnamon and other spices to his recipe for "Cincinnati chili," which he served on spaghetti with optional cheese, onion, and beans. Chili with beans became a national staple during the hard times of the Great Depression. Some Anglo Texans eventually denied the Mexican origins of *chili con carne*, although the cowboy cooks credited with the recipe also learned their ranching skills from Mexican *vaqueros*.

The well-known story of chili has tended to obscure a parallel history of food processing innovation and entrepreneurship within Latino communities. Labor migrants traveling out of the Southwest to work in Midwestern railroads, factories, and agriculture skillfully improvised familiar foods in makeshift kitchens.

By the 1920s, Mexican merchants in cities such as Chicago and St. Louis offered a range of fresh and dried ingredients, kitchen utensils, and prepared foods. Some of these items were imports from Mexico, including the Clemente Jacques line of canned chiles and sauces. Others were manufactured in the U.S. by companies such as the Los Angeles-based La Victoria Packing Company. Fabian García, a Mexican-born graduate of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, established the first scientific breeding program devoted to chiles, providing the basis for the commercial agriculture in the state. Mexican merchants in San Antonio, who congregated along Produce Row, organized the shipping of tropical fruits and vegetables to the U.S.[10]

Shopping in La Marqueta, Spanish Harlem, c. 1940 (Library of Congress)

Mexicans and Mexican Americans also pioneered the mechanization of tortilla making, although it remained a cottage industry for decades due to the cultural insistence on freshness. By the turn of the century, steel mills had replaced the burdensome daily labor of grinding corn dough, at least in urban areas of Mexico and the Southwest. In 1909, San Antonio corn miller José Bartolomé Martínez patented a formula for dehydrated *nixtamal* flour called Tamalina. Although the local market was not yet ready for a dried product, Martínez's Aztec Mills did a brisk business in daily deliveries of fresh tortillas. Martínez also transformed the leftover *masa de maíz* (corn dough) into the first commercial corn chips, called "tostadas," which he sold in eight-ounce wax bags beginning around 1912. Some scholars have claimed that Elmer Doolin used his recipe as the basis for Fritos brand corn chips. Although Martínez's legacy was usurped by others, Latino food businesses continue to prosper throughout the Southwest. The Sanitary Tortilla Company, for example, remains to this day a San Antonio institution with legions of customers still loyal to cantankerous 1920s machines.[11]

The growing influence of Puerto Ricans also stimulated food commerce and industry in New York City. Along with Cuba and the Philippines, the island had become an American colony following the Spanish-American War in 1898. With the Jones Act of 1917, Puerto Ricans gained U.S. citizenship and also became liable for military service, both of which spurred migration. Historian Virginia Sánchez Korrol has observed that restaurants with names like *El Paraiso* (Paradise) became important community centers in Spanish Harlem, comforting newcomers with familiar favorites including *arroz con gandules verdes* (rice with green pigeon peas), codfish fritters, and the plantain dishes known as *mofongo* and *tostones*. *La Marqueta*, an open-air market in the neighborhood, supplied shoppers with Antillean fruits and vegetables.[12] Historian Frederick Douglass Opie has argued, moreover, that Latino migrants from the Caribbean also had a significant influence on the development of African American foods as early as the Harlem Renaissance.[13]

The most prominent Latino merchant, Prudencio Unanue, migrated as a young man from his Basque homeland to Puerto Rico and ultimately built a Caribbean food empire called Goya. By the late 1920s he was importing foods for the Spanish colony in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, but the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) disrupted his source of supply, forcing him to diversify. His decision to

market Caribbean food instead proved a profitable one in the postwar era with the tremendous growth of migration from Puerto Rico and then neighboring islands. Goya soon began opening packinghouses and supplying local markets in the Caribbean as well.[14]

Fast food restaurants emerged as another important segment of the Latino food market in the postwar period. Taco Bell has become so dominant in this field that even many Latinos may believe the company website, which claims that the taco shell, a tortilla pre-fried in a U-shape, was invented in the early 1950s by a San Bernardino, California hotdog vendor named Glen Bell. This account of the origins of the fast food taco also fits with critics of "McDonaldization," who argue that modern technology and corporate standardization by outsiders has destroyed the authentic flavor of peasant cuisines. Nevertheless, a search of U.S. Patent Office records reveals that the original taco shell patent was filed in the 1940s by Juvencio Maldonado, a Mexican migrant who operated a successful New York City restaurant called Xochitl from the 1930s to the 1960s. Bell built his fortune not by employing modern technology but rather by franchising ethnic exoticism and allowing Anglo consumers to sample Mexican food without crossing informal lines of segregation in the postwar era.[15]

Despite the availability of Latino brands such as Goya, for decades most American consumers seemed to prefer Taco Bell, Frito-Lay, and Old El Paso. These companies not only transformed the flavors of Latino foods – Glen Bell based his salsa on chili dog sauce – but also used racially charged advertisements such as the Frito Bandito of the 1960s or the Taco Bell dog of the 1990s, which compared Latinos to criminals and animals. Yet consumers have become increasingly knowledgeable about and favorable toward foods that are actually made by Latinos, largely because of the recent spread of migrant restaurants and bodegas across the country.

Globalization

By the late 20th century, Latino foods were achieving unprecedented diversity in the U.S. Before that time, Latinos were primarily migrants from northern and central Mexico, if their families had not already lived in Florida, the Southwest, or Puerto Rico before those territories were acquired by the U.S. The arrival of people from throughout Latin America came not from the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which actually imposed restrictive quotas for the first time on people born in the Americas, but rather from Cold War involvement in the region. Each new conflict brought displaced populations to the U.S., from the Cuban Revolution of 1959 to the South American military dictatorships of the 1970s and the Central American civil wars of the 1980s. Political exiles and economic migrants introduced new restaurant cuisines at the same time that Latin American food processing firms began making inroads into domestic markets, including basic staples (Maseca tortillas, Bimbo bread), fast food (Pollo Campero), and alcoholic beverages (Chilean wines, Corona beer). Thus, the growing demographic importance and rising professional status of Latinos has contributed to a mainstream recognition of and desire for Latino foods.

Newly arrived migrants wasted little time in recreating their national cuisines. In the 1960s, Cuban exiles transformed Miami into Little Havana, centered on the nostalgia-filled restaurants, cafes, and street vendors of *Calle Ocho* (Eighth Street). Middle-class housewives meanwhile consulted treasured copies of *Cocina al minuto* (Cooking to the Minute, 1956), even though the author, Nitza Villapol, was widely considered to be a traitor for having remained behind in Cuba after the end of the Cuban Revolution. A decade later, Dominicans established a presence in the Washington Heights area of New York City, and bodegas were soon filled with dried shrimp and live chickens to satisfy Dominican tastes. When the

Adams Morgan neighborhood of Washington, DC, became home to Central American migrants in the 1980s, restaurants began selling pupusas and *gallo pinto* ("spotted rooster," a Nicaraguan and Costa Rican version of rice and beans). Mexican regional cuisines have also became more diverse, with Zapotec and Mixtec mole sauces available in Oaxacan restaurants in Los Angeles, while chain migrations have brought Mayan *salbutes* (tostadas) from the Yucatán to San Francisco.

One promising change in recent times has been a growing acceptance of Latino foods as fine dining. The 1960s counterculture prompted a skeptical attitude toward industrial processed foods and new interest in the peasant cuisines of the Global South, including Latin America. Although the desire for more authentic foods has at times exoticized Latinos, sophisticated diners have flocked to upscale restaurants serving Peruvian, Caribbean, Brazilian, Mexican, and other Latin American cuisines. Diverse national favorites have also come together in "Nuevo Latino" restaurants, which feature eclectic combinations of such foods as *ceviche* (marinated fish), plantains, grilled meats, and salsas.

Despite these gains, working-class Latinos still suffer pervasive discrimination. Many taco truck owners confront the same forms of harassment suffered a century earlier by the "Chili Queens," even when these vendors are U.S. citizens.[16] Health officials meanwhile target Latino foods as contributing to a supposed epidemic of obesity and diabetes. While it is true that poor Latinos suffer disproportionately from these conditions, as do the working classes more generally, stigmatizing "unhealthy behaviors" has been a longstanding theme of middle-class reform efforts toward the poor and foreigners. A century ago, migrant diets were criticized for excessive whole grains like maize and not enough fat and protein, exactly the opposite of advice given today. Sociologist Airín Martínez has found that migrant Latino mothers have basically sound ideas about *comiendo bien* (eating well) and that they often go to great lengths to provide healthy food for their families. But like 19th century migrants, their efforts are undermined by the structural constraints of poverty and limited access to fresh foods.[17]

"By 1936 the chili [queen] stands stood shrouded in screened tents, in response to complaints that open air stalls endangered people's health."

Hidden Kitchen, National Public Radio (NPR)

Latino cooks have clearly made significant contributions to the potluck that constitutes the national cuisine. Latin America's mestizo cuisines offer unique combinations of foods from around the world. They feature not the costly ingredients and elaborate techniques of French haute cuisine but rather hearty dishes with vibrant flavors. First shunned by Victorian diners and later imitated by the food processing industry, Latino foods have recently gained acceptance at the center of the table. If we are what we eat, then the U.S. is becoming an increasingly Latino nation.

Endnotes

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[5] Cruz Miguel Ortiz Cuadra, *Puerto Rico en la olla, ¿Somos aún lo que comimos?* (Aranjuez, Spain: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2006), 58-64.

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[14] Joel Denker, *The World on a Plate: A Tour through the History of America's Ethnic Cuisine* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2003), 147-62.

[15] Pilcher, *Planet Taco*, chapter 5.

[16] Vicki Ruiz, "Citizen Restaurant: American Imaginaries, American Communities," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (March 2008): 1-21.

[17] Airín Martínez, "*Comiendo Bien*: A Situational Analysis of the Transnational Processes Sustaining and Transforming

Healthy Eating among Latino Immigrant Families in San Francisco" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Francisco, 2010).

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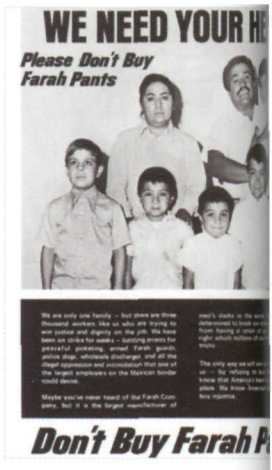
Clockwise from top left:
Mexican Bracero workers picking lettuce, c. 1940s, Imperial Valley, California (Library of Congress); ILGWU Local 415 strike in Miami, Florida (Kheel Center, for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University); Flyer urging consumers to boycott Farah Pants, 1973 (New York State Archives); Justice for Janitors march, 2010, Washington, D.C. (SEIU International); Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez meeting with farm workers and supporters in a field, 1968, location unknown (Wayne State University)



Latino Workers

Zaragosa Vargas

The employment experiences of Latinos are as varied as this work force's group histories. Latino workers are made up principally of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Central Americans, the latter mostly from Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Latino migration to the U.S. is linked to the demand for labor during periods of economic growth. Beginning in the late 19th century immigration and economic growth became integrally related. The discrimination by employers, Anglo workers, and unions and the U.S. imperial relations with Mexico, Central and Latin America, and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean also frames the history of Latino workers. In spite of hostility, Latino workers since the 19th century have fought for better wages and working conditions through strike actions and have participated in union leadership and struggled to be recognized by labor unions. Latino workers will continue to have a tremendous impact on America's work force because by 2050 they will constitute one of every three working-age Americans.[1]

The employment experiences of Latinos are as varied as this work force's group histories.

Latino Workers in the 19th Century

Nearly two-thirds of Latino workers are Mexican. Their history is underscored by the military conquest of the Southwest by the U.S. and the subsequent colonization and economic development of the region following the Mexican War (1846-1848). Prior to the American conquest, Mexicans in the ranching economies of present Texas and California worked as sheepherders, *vaqueros* (cowboys), servants, laborers, and artisans. In present New Mexico, small landowners and communal village farmers survived through their own labor. Already by the 1830s in Texas, Anglos out-numbered Mexicans, while Arizona remained relatively abandoned until 1862 owing to marauding Indian tribes. These labor systems during this transition from Mexican rule to U.S. domination were based on debt-peonage. Afterwards, a form of labor relations was ushered in founded on racial inequality and oppression as the worst jobs became synonymous with Mexican jobs. A dual wage system developed based on race that became part of the West's distinct labor relations.[2]

In the late 19th century capital-intensive railroad construction and maintenance, mining, and agricultural expansion unfolded on a massive scale in the Southwest. Mexican labor became the great engine of this region's economic growth and its established working class. Like many other Latinos, Mexicans followed traditional patterns of movement into the U.S. and maintained affiliation with kin and homeland. U.S. immigration policy proved beneficial to employers for it sustained a constant flow of Mexicans into the U.S.; in essence, it institutionalized a revolving door for low-wage workers from Mexico. The Mexican Revolution served as an important push factor in provoking this immigration, but the catalyst triggering Mexican immigration to the U.S. were the labor shortages caused by World War I. During the 1920s a half million Mexican immigrants entered the U.S. Nearly 10 percent of the immigrants made their way to the Midwest where new work opportunities emerged in agriculture, railroad, meatpacking, steel mill, metal foundry, and automobile work.[3]

At the end of Spanish-American War in 1898, the U.S. made Puerto Rico a colony. Puerto Ricans underwent a transition to wage labor with the decline of the plantation system that converted Puerto Rico's economy to large-scale

commercial farming for export. The inability of the Island's commercial agricultural economy to absorb Puerto Rico's huge surplus population resulted in double-digit unemployment. To offset mass joblessness, Puerto Rican women entered the labor force in needlework, the mechanized tobacco industry, and other firms dependent on female wage labor.[4]

Puerto Rico's colonial status and its overpopulation problem triggered and sustained outmigration, transforming impoverished Puerto Ricans into proletarian globetrotters who left for work in the Caribbean, Mexico, Latin America, and the Hawaiian Islands. In 1917, Puerto Ricans became American citizens through the Jones-Shaforth Act. Because of the labor shortages of World War I, Puerto Ricans were brought to the U.S. as contract laborers to work on East Coast military bases and munitions factories, on Louisiana sugar plantations, and on Arizona cotton farms. Following the end of Word War I, most Puerto Ricans migrated to New York City and got jobs in commercial, service, needlework, and cigar work. A significant number of Puerto Ricans who settled in the Brooklyn Naval Yard were maritime workers. About 7,364 Puerto Ricans lived in New York City and by decade's end their numbers ballooned to approximately 44,908.[5]

Ignored by organized labor, Latino workers in the 19th century sought support from within their own ranks or from progressive labor movements.

Because of social and economic developments in Cuba after 1865, and the growth of the cigar industry in Key West, Tampa, New Orleans, and New York City, Cuban *tabaqueros* (tobacco workers) migrated to the U.S. By 1890, 5,500 Cubans lived in Ybor City, and by 1900 this population tripled to more than 16,000. Cuban tobacco workers brought with them a revolutionary nationalism and socialism and a labor organizing tradition steeped in anarchism. *Lectores* (readers), labor newspapers, and workers' clubs targeted local bosses and the whole system of U.S. imperialist exploitation.[6]

Latino Worker Movements in the Late 19th Century and Early 20th Century

Ignored by organized labor, Latino workers in the 19th century sought support from within their own ranks or from progressive labor movements. Many joined the Holy Order of the Knights of Labor. The first mass organization of the American working class included Latino workers as well as women and blacks because the Knights of Labor made no distinction based on "nationality, sex, creed or color." Mexican Knights of Labor members formed assemblies in Texas, New Mexico, and California. Prominent Mexicans in the Knights included master workman Manuel López of Fort Worth, Texas, and in New Mexico, Juan José Herrera headed the Knights of Labor known as the *Caballeros de Labor*. Labor organizations in Cuba attempted to coordinate the activities of Cuban workers in the U.S. and sought the cooperation of the Knights of Labor. Cuban anarchist Carlos Balino was prominent in the Florida Knights of Labor, forming a chapter of the Knights in Tampa, and in 1886, Balino represented the Knights at its national convention in Richmond, Virginia. As the Knights of Labor declined following the Haymarket Riot of 1886, so did its efforts to enforce the principle of the brotherhood of labor.[7] The demise of the Knights of Labor contributed to the rise of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), formed in 1886 under the leadership of Samuel Gompers. Whereas the Knights of Labor aimed at legislative reforms for all workers such as the eight-hour day, the exclusive AFL focused on protecting the autonomy and established privileges of the craft unions.

During World War I, the AFL adopted a policy of organizing Mexicans, but into separate AFL

locals. It assigned Clemente Nicasio Idar as organizer-at-large in Texas and the Southwest. The American Federation of Labor stood firm against immigration from Mexico and its sentiments were made known to U.S. Department of Labor officials. In 1901, the AFL assigned Santiago Iglesias Pantín as a labor organizer for Puerto Rico and Cuba and Iglesias endeavored to organize Latino workers in New York City.[8] The AFL attempted to accommodate skilled Puerto Rican and Cuban tobacco workers. Because of discrimination, the tobacco workers formed the labor caucus *La Resistencia* in the AFL's International Cigar Workers Union. Puerto Rican and Cuban women worked long hours for extremely poor pay in the tobacco industry in Tampa and New York City and the Puerto Rican anarchist and feminist Luisa Capetillo and other Latina activists demanded that the unions represent them as well.

Ybor City cigar factory, c. 1920
(Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library)

The AFL could not prevent Latino workers from forming their own unions, which were ethnic based and a defensive reaction to exclusion and victimization. Militant labor activism by Puerto Rican and Cuban workers was an extension of labor activism steeped in socialism and anarchism in Puerto Rico and Cuba, where many had been unionized. Many Mexicans likewise brought radical labor union experience with them to the U.S. Some were members of the anarchist labor federation *Del Obrero Mundial* (House of the World Worker), followed the anarcho-syndicalist teachings of Ricardo Flores Magón and his *Partido Liberal Mexicano* (PLM), while others belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in Mexico, or joined this anarcho-syndicalist organization in the U.S. Between 1900 and 1920, the IWW recruited Mexicans working in southwestern mines, on the railroads, in construction, and in agriculture and these workers took the lead in many of the era's labor battles. In 1910, Mexican gas workers in Los Angeles, California organized by the IWW struck for higher wages. In 1917, Mexican copper miners in Jerome and Bisbee, Arizona went on strike against the Phelps Dodge Corporation. Organized by the IWW, the miners met opposition from the criminal syndicalist laws passed by Arizona and by several other western states as part of the government's efforts to break the power of IWW unions.

Latino workers would have contributed more to the American labor movement in the early 20th century had U.S. trade unions showed more interest in them. The integration of Latino workers into Anglo-led labor organizations remained limited until the 1930s, when the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) gained acceptance into the American labor movement. The left-wing unions of the CIO genuinely promoted racial equality, supported civil rights, and welcomed both Latino and Latina workers.

Latino Workers in the Great Depression

The economic crisis of the Great Depression was devastating to Latino workers. Union strength among Cuban tobacco workers in Florida declined as cigar factories introduced automatic cigar making machines with women operators and as Havana regained its primacy as the center of cigar manufacturing. Cuban cigar workers began to leave Ybor City for Havana, New York, and elsewhere to find work. Those workers who remained precipitated a general strike in 1931 organized by the Tobac-

co Workers Industrial Union and the workers once more were brutally suppressed. In New York City, despite high representation in the textile and the garment trades, one of three Puerto Ricans workers could not find work because of prejudice and competition for menial jobs. Consequently, many Puerto Ricans returned to Puerto Rico.[9]

President Roosevelt's New Deal labor legislation, including the Wagner Act of 1935, expanded the role of Latino workers like Bert Corona of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and Latina women in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) participating in and building the American labor movement. Latinos joined and organized CIO affiliated unions like the ILWU, the United Auto Workers (UAW), and the United Steel Workers of America (USWA), all of which admitted workers for membership regardless of race or ethnic background.[10]

Pecan shellers at the Southern Pecan Shelling Company (Institute of Texan Cultures)

Latina women played a prominent role in the 1930s labor movement, recognizing they shared mutual interests with their male counterparts in gaining higher wages, improved working conditions, and civil rights. Indeed, Latinas were as united as Latino men and were their equals in influence. In San Antonio, Texas labor organizers Emma Tenayuca and María Solís Sager incited Spanish-speaking workers to strike. A veteran of the 1933 walkout by women cigar workers, Emma Tenayuca helped form two locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), and led demonstrations and strikes for New Deal relief work and for the right of Mexican workers to unionize without fear of deportation. Joining the Communist party in 1937, Emma Tenayuca played a central role in the pecan shellers' strike the following year. In 1937 in Chicago, Guadalupe (Lupe) Marshall was active in the expanding labor movement in the city. Lupe Marshall led and participated in the strikers' demonstration at the Republic Steel plant during the infamous "Memorial Day Massacre".[11]

The Popular Front (1935-1939) was a social and political movement that maintained its strength through the language of labor and the newly formed Congress of Industrial Organizations. The open policy of the Popular Front toward ethnic and racial minorities provided Latino workers an avenue for demanding civil rights. The Popular Front in essence was a moment in time when labor rights were civil rights.

Popular Front activities occupied the efforts of Latino workers, like founding the labor and civil rights organization *El Congreso del Pueblo de Habla Española* (Con-gress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples) in Los Angeles in 1939. Latinos were also active in support of the Civil War in Spain. In San Antonio, Los Angeles, and Chicago, Mexican Americans raised money and supplies, as did Puerto Ricans in New York City, who in the summer of 1936 staged mass parades to protest the bombing of Madrid. In Ybor City, Cuban American workers who belonged to the Workers' Alliance of America and the Popular Front Committee were similarly immersed in local, national, and international issues.[12]

Latino Workers Organize in the World War II Years

During the World War II years, Latino workers achieved their greatest gains in job and wage

advances. This was the result of the nation's wartime emergency need for workers and government intervention in the workplace.[13] Mexican American labor leaders working through the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers Union (Mine Mill) ended the exploitive dual-wage labor system in mining. In California Bert Corona made inroads for Mexican Americans in the ILWU, and CIO Vice President Luisa Moreno brought higher wages to cannery workers through the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA). On the East Coast, Puerto Rican workers in the National Maritime Union, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, and in Florida, Cuban Americans in the CMIU and the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union also scored successes.

World War II brought increasing opportunities for Latina women who took jobs in war industries. Mexican American women in southern California obtained work in the aircraft plants and shipyards, while those in the Midwest worked in munitions factories, packing houses, and for the railroads. In New York City, Puerto Rican needle workers made life preservers and military shirts for GIs, and in Tampa, Cuban American women got jobs in the shipyards. By the end of the war, Latina workers were enjoying good wages though many of the jobs they held were low status and would be lost once the war ended.[14]

In 1942, Mexico and the U.S. agreed to establish the Bracero Program, the recruitment and contracting of workers from Mexico. Under the Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program and the Mexican Labor Agreement, approximately 4.2 million Mexican contract laborers entered the U.S. from 1942 through 1964, the majority working in agriculture, with some performing railroad maintenance and repair work. The Bracero Program institutionalized the earlier Mexican migrations as well as stimulated illegal migration to the U.S., with both substituting for each other at different times.[15] At this time, Puerto Rican and Cuban migration increased substantially. Puerto Rican migration was mostly a labor migration. The industrialization program "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico displaced many Puerto Rican workers, resulting in more than 18,000 Puerto Ricans migrating to the U.S. each year as contract laborers. Puerto Rican migration dispersed from traditional centers in the Northeast to Lorain and Cleveland, Ohio, Gary, Indiana, Chicago, Illinois, Pontiac, Michigan and elsewhere.[16]

U.S. immigration policy after World War II was largely shaped by the Cold War, and many refugees arrived in the U.S. from countries that had fallen into the Soviet sphere such as Cuba. Through the Cuban Refugee Program, 300,000 Cuban refugees were resettled throughout the U.S. to offset the impact of relocation on Miami and south Florida. Many of the refugees took jobs in hotel service, garment, furniture and fixtures making, restaurant, and retail work. Cuban women soon comprised 75 percent of the labor force in Miami's garment industry and were members of ILGWU Local 415. After arriving from El Salvador in the 1950s, Kathy Andrade first worked as a garment worker and organizer in Miami. Moving to New York City, Andrade became the Director of the Department of Education for ILGWU Local 23-25, where she developed bilingual educational and cultural programs for the mostly Latino membership. Andrade became active in the Hispanic Labor Committee, an organization that would soon number 150 Spanish-speaking union officials from AFL-CIO unions, the Teamsters, and the UAW, and later the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA).[17]

Latino Workers in the Postwar Years

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act impeded union organizing by weakening the National Labor Relations Board and by redbaiting progressive labor activists. These investigations marked

the beginning of the post World War II anti-communism that resulted in blacklists, worker dismissals, and the 1949 decision by the CIO to purge communists from its ranks. This did not deter Latino workers from defending their rights. In October 1950 in southeastern New Mexico, the mostly Mexican American members of Mine Mill Local 890 went on a 15 month-long strike against the Empire Zinc Company. The work stoppage known as the "Salt of the Earth" strike took place in the context of the Cold War, and the issue of communism was ever present. Mine Mill had been expelled from the CIO because it was influenced by communism. In January 1952, the sides negotiated a settlement. Latino labor unionism became part of a wider campaign for civil rights after World War II as Latino workers continued to press their demands for justice within unions through various organizations. Despite the Red Scare, Latino workers immersed themselves in party politics; they supported the Community Service Organization, and joined the Independent Progressive Party presidential campaign of Henry A. Wallace. Many Latinos fighting for racial and social equality came under government investigation. In New York City, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) investigated labor and civil rights activist and *Daily Worker* columnist Jesús Colón. In Florida, CMIU Vice President Mario Azpeitia signed a statement sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress deploring the attacks on civil liberties and was similarly investigated by HUAC.[18]

Female farm workers on strike in Delano, California, 1966 (Library of Congress)

Agribusiness was twice as productive as industry and posed a powerful opponent to labor organization. In 1946, the AFL granted a union charter to the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) headed by Ernesto Galarza to organize California farm workers. The NFLU struck the Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation, which broke the strike by using local sheriffs and red baiting. Two years later in 1949, the NFLU led 20,000 cotton pickers against the DiGiorgio Corporation in a successful strike over wage cuts. One of the striking cotton pickers was Cesar Chavez, the future head of the United Farmworkers of America. In New York City, Puerto Rican workers were well represented in many industries, and 51 percent of all adult Puerto Ricans were members of labor unions representing hotel, restaurant, laundry, building, and other service sectors. In 1959, two-thirds of all Spanish-speaking households in New York City included at least one person who was a member of a labor union.[19]

In the 1960s, the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War helped to radicalize Latino workers, many who broke into leadership positions in national unions. In 1962, long-time labor and civil rights activist Henry L. Lacayo of North American Aviation in Inglewood, California, was elected President of UAW Local 887, the largest UAW local west of the Mississippi River. In 1963, Lacayo attended Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," and in 1974, Lacayo became national director of the UAW's political and legislative department. In 1965, farm workers, led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, organized as the National Farm Workers of America. It gained union representation in 1970, utilizing marches, community organizing, secondary boycotts, consumer boycotts, and nonviolent resistance. This labor activism inspired farm labor organization in the Texas Río Grande Valley and in the Midwest where the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) headed by Baldemar Velásquez signed twenty-two con-

tracts. In 1968, under the auspices of the UAW, 14 labor unions established the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU). TELACU applied labor-organizing techniques to housing and urban development. UAW President Walter Reuther assigned UAW unionist Esteban Torres to organize TELACU. Torres was the UAW's director for the Inter-American Bureau for Caribbean and Latin American Affairs. In 1971, Cuban American labor activist Joaquin Otero of the Transportation–Communications Union (TCU) was elected International Vice-President of TCU.

In New York City, because of employer and union discrimination, the Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, and later the New York Labor Council, organized Puerto Ricans into unions and encouraged affiliated unions to unionize their Puerto Rican members.[20] Puerto Ricans in the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, neighborhood community action groups, and other organizations spoke on behalf of Latino workers. Puerto Rican workers joined labor unions, the most important being Hospital Workers Local 1199, or led union locals. In 1967, María Portalatín led other paraprofessionals in launching an organizing campaign to join the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), a union that had attempted to inhibit the growing electoral strength of the Puerto Rican community. In their first UFT contract, the paraprofessionals won salary increases and a career ladder program. Portalatín became the UFT chairwoman, a NYSUT Board member, and American Federation of Teachers Vice President. Puerto Rican and Latino workers strength was finally acknowledged in 1970, when the New York City Central Labor Council officially recognized the Hispanic Labor Committee, an organization of Spanish-speaking union officials.[21]

Flyer for the Farah Pants boycott c.1972 (New York State Archive)

Latino Workers in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s

During the 1970s, the Spanish-speaking population nearly doubled from 4.5 to 8.7 million persons, including approximately 1.1 million undocumented Mexicans. Business took an adversarial position against labor at this time, not only forcing union wages downward but launching efforts to break unions altogether. Latino workers did not falter in the face of this employer assault. In 1972, 2,000 female Mexican American and Mexican workers belonging to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at the Farah Pants Company in El Paso, Texas, went on a two-year strike to protest low wages, poor benefits, and unfair treatment by management. The Farah Pants walkout gained nationwide support and triggered a successful consumer boycott of Farah products. In 1975, the UFW won passage of an Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) that provided for secret elections for farm workers to determine which union the workers wanted to represent them. Facing a range of discriminatory practices, 1,472 Latino workers in Golden, Colorado walked out of the Coors Brewery on April 5, 1977. The Brewery Workers Union representing the workers charged Coors with discrimination and union busting. The Coors Boycott and Strike Support Coalition of Colorado formed to support the striking workers. The Coors boycott continued until 1987, when an agreement was reached between the brewery and its employees.[22]

The fact that Latino workers have never achieved real power in the labor movement

was one of the pivotal issues that led to the Latino caucus movement. In April 1973, a group of Latino trade unionists that included 10 international unions and 3 state federations met in Albuquerque, New Mexico and formed the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement. To implement these goals, LCLAA labor leaders such as Cuban American Anita Cofino of Florida worked with the labor movement to encourage voter registration and education among Latino workers, supported economic and social policies and legislation to advance the mutual interests of trade unions and Latino workers, and advocated to ensure equal pay and benefits and union protection for Latino workers.[23]

Recognizing the benefits of unionization, Latino workers fought back for labor rights.

In the 1980s, America's economic decline greatly impacted Latino workers. The postwar Puerto Rican migration to the northeast coincided with the era's severe drop in manufacturing jobs. New York City experienced the sharpest drop in manufacturing jobs, from over one million in 1950 to about 380,000 by 1987. The largest job loss was in the apparel industry, as dozens of apparel firms relocated to lower cost regions or else moved abroad to take advantage of cheap labor.[24] The continuing restructuring and integration of the Southwest with Mexico greatly impacted Latino workers in this region. In the 1980s, Mexico experienced its worst depression since the Great Depression and, combined with a huge foreign debt and high birth rates, produced a 50 percent underemployment rate at a time when Mexico's labor force grew four times faster than the U.S. labor force. In 1980 in south Florida, another 140,000 Cubans from the Mariel Boatlift arrived and increased Miami's labor force by seven percent in low-skilled occupations and industries. After the Boatlift, Miami received large numbers of Nicaraguans and other Central Americans, a Latino work group that increased 61 percent in this city.[25]

By 1988, one out of every nine Latinos in the U.S. was from Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Nearly a quarter million Central Americans migrated to the U.S., destined for Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and New York City. Many Salvadorans and Guatemalans were undocumented because they were not recognized as political refugees but as economic migrants. Central Americans had been activists in their home countries, and in the U.S. became active in the United Farm Workers (UFW) and in *El Centro de Acción Social-Hermandad General de Trabajadores* (CASA). More importantly, members of these worker and immigrant organizations played a prominent role in the Justice for Janitors campaign, in efforts by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) to organize the garment industry, and in the activities of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE).[26]

In 1986, Congress adopted the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), regularizing the status of undocumented immigrants and penalizing employers who hired these workers. The law provided that undocumented immigrants, who had been in the U.S. continuously since December 31, 1981, could apply for amnesty. Between 1989 and 1992 under IRCA, some 2.6 million former undocumented aliens gained permanent resident status and could bring in relatives to unify families. At this time, the number of Latinos in the work force increased by 48 percent and began replacing Anglos as the mainstay of the U.S. labor force. About 2.3 million Latinos entered the work force, representing one fifth of the total increase in the nation's jobs, and about 5.3 percent of Latino workers belonged to unions. Latinos took low-wage manufacturing jobs, performed construction, domestic, hotel, restaurant, and other service sector work without union protection and worker benefits.

Latino workers continued to experience racial discrimination. In 1989, the AFL-CIO's Organizing Department established the California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA). Consisting of about 6,000 Latino immigrant members, CIWA's goals were empowering the Latino community through collective bargaining and asserting civil and human rights.[27]

Recognizing the benefits of unionization, Latino workers fought back for labor rights. In 1980 in San Francisco, Latino members of the 17,000-member strong HERE Local 2 organized *Latinos Unidos* (United Latinos) to support a hotel strike. Miguel Contreras, staff director for HERE Local 2, helped coordinate the twenty-seven day walkout, which produced a significant wage and benefit increase and led to Contreras's appointment as a HERE international representative.

Between June 1983 and December 1985 in southern Arizona, a strike took place against the Phelps Dodge Copper Corporation by Mexican American copper miners and smelter operators in southern Arizona over wage and benefit reductions and the dissolution of the union. Women played a dominant role in sustaining the strike upheaval by picketing, organizing support, and defending their rights even when the Arizona National Guard occupied the mining towns. Latina frozen food workers kept the picket lines active in Watsonville, California. In September of 1985, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) organized 1,500 Latina cannery workers who walked out on the two largest frozen food companies in the U.S., Watsonville Canning and Richard A. Shaw Frozen Foods, over successive wage cuts. In the face of court injunctions harassment, and police confrontations, the strike gained national interest. After 19 months of lost wages, half of the strikers returned to work and at a significant wage reduction.

Janitors For Justice strike in Los Angeles, California, 1990 (SEIU International)

In 1989 in New York City, Dennis Rivera, a hospital workers union organizer in Puerto Rico, became Local 1199's President. Under Rivera's leadership, the 78,000 member-strong Local 1199 became the largest union in New York City, gaining good wages, benefits, and working conditions for its members. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which developed from the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), succeeded in organizing a labor federation independent of the AFL-CIO.[28]

The first large-scale breakthrough in the revival of California labor occurred in Los Angeles in June 1990, when Local 399 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) forced the international building maintenance company ISS to offer a union contract to 6,000 Latina and Latino janitors in Century City. Known as the Justice for Janitors campaign, it was the largest private sector, immigrant-organizing success since the United Farm Workers' campaign of the 1970s. This strike action was followed by the five month-long strike by Latino drywall workers, which temporarily halted residential construction in downtown Los Angeles by closing down hundreds of building sites. About 2,400 drywallers doubled their wages and unionized when the Carpenters Union negotiated a settlement on their behalf. Latina women also advanced labor's cause. In Los Angeles, María Elena Durazo was elected President of UNITE-HERE Local 11, and built it into one of the most active union locals in Los Angeles County. In 1996, Durazo became

the first Latina elected to the Executive Board of HERE.

In 1992, Latino workers comprised 7.6 percent of the U.S. work force mostly in low-paid factory, construction, and other blue-collar work. Many were immigrants. Latino immigrant workers in the 1990s engaged in protests and strike actions to win higher wages and better working conditions and forged a new chapter in the American labor movement. Because unions were reluctant to defend the interests of immigrant workers, Latino workers sought support from within their own ranks, establishing community-based labor organizations such as worker centers to battle worker abuse, anti-immigrant sentiment, and racial discrimination. Latinos soon comprised the largest percentage of new immigrants to the southern states. Latino immigrant workers in the South worked in poultry processing and in meatpacking plants, hotel laundries, construction sites, and agriculture. They fought for job safety, higher pay, and unionization through community-based organizations and union organizing and education initiatives by the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW), SEIU, and HERE. As the vanguard of the resurgent labor movement in America, Latino workers linked worker demands with social justice and with the struggles against the transnational corporations in Mexico and the rest of the Americas.[29]

May Day march, 2012, Minneapolis, Minnesota (Creative Commons by Fibonnaci Blue)

To compete more effectively with Japan and the European Common Market, the U.S. entered into a treaty with Canada and Mexico in 1994 called the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Free trade through NAFTA sped up the collapse of the living standards of workers in Mexico. In the U.S., NAFTA reordered the American labor force through the influx of workers from Mexico into the expanding low-wage manufacturing, retail, and service sector. The political right attempted to capitalize on anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. In 1994, California Republican Governor Pete Wilson threw his support behind Proposition 187 that would have denied public services to undocumented immigrants. The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (LACFL) joined a campaign to defeat Proposition 187 by organizing a protest of 100,000 Latinos against the anti-immigration proposition. Five years later, in the largest organizing drive since the Great Depression, LACFL helped the SEIU's Los Angeles Local 434B win union recognition for 74,000 home healthcare workers.

Of the more than 10 million Latino workers in the U.S. in the 1990s, 1.5 million belong to the AFL-CIO, representing one of ten union members. Latino union leaders protested to the AFL-CIO about the absence of Latinos on its Executive Council. I n 1995, the AFL-CIO's "New Voice" reform slate called for organizing more minority workers and increasing their presence within labor's leadership ranks. LCLAA member Joaquin Otero had been the only Latino elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council. The national labor federation failed to bring more Latinos into top leadership positions. This led to the election of long-time unionist Linda Chavez-Thompson as AFL-CIO executive Vice-President in 1995. At its annual convention in 1996, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement introduced resolutions on stepped up organization of Latinos in the labor movement. As a result, the AFL-CIO committed resources to organize industries employing Latino, immigrant, and other minority workers. María Elena Durazo remained an active partic-

ipant in shaping recent Latino labor history that involved powerful movements for social, political, and economic equality and justice for workers. In 2004, Durazo became Executive Vice President of UNITE-HERE International, and in 2006 he was elected as Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.[30]

Latino worker-based political representation increased rapidly. In 1997, LACFL endorsed Gilbert Cedillo, general manager of SEIU Local 660, for a California state assembly seat from the heavily Latino downtown district of Los Angeles. In 2002, Fabian Núñez, former political director of the LACFL, was elected to the California State Assembly. Núñez later became speaker of the California State Assembly. Key to these pro-labor political successes was the creation of the Organization of Los Angeles Workers (OLAW) by Miguel Contreras, María Elena Durazo, and SEIU International Vice President Eliseo Medina. OLAW trained union members from HERE, UNITE, and SEIU to campaign on behalf of pro-labor candidates in specific districts through the use of phone banks, precinct walking, and advertising in the immigrant press. OLAW also got support from the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), CASA, Clinica Romero (a Salvadoran immigrant solidarity organization), and a number of Mexican and Guatemalan hometown associations. Similar Latino worker-based political activity unfolded in the Midwest, the Northeast, and in South Florida.

The AFL-CIO and the breakaway labor federation "Change to Win" developed pro-immigrant policies, finally recognizing that they would have to organize immigrant workers in low-wage service jobs if the national labor federation were to survive. A number of the largest international unions--including the SEIU, UFCW, and the garment and hotel/restaurant amalgam UNITE HERE–had substantial numbers of Latino immigrants as members. Latino labor organizations, union caucuses in AFL-CIO affiliates and central labor councils, and immigrant worker associations and centers brought attention to low wages, workplace discrimination and anti-immigrant nativism, and underrepresentation in the labor movement. The resurgence of Latino labor in the U.S. marked an important turning point for labor, and it was shaping the way labor unions relate to the larger Latino community.[31]

Latino Workers in the Contemporary Era

In 2000, 32.8 million Latinos resided in the U.S. and represented 12 percent of the U.S. population. Three years later in 2003, the Latino population totaled 37 million, or 13 percent of the U.S. population. The SEIU's Justice for Janitors strike in 2000 foreshadowed the broad support for immigrant rights that unfolded in March and April 2006, when millions of Latino immigrant workers nationwide protested against repressive immigration reform proposals and to demand the right to work and live in the U.S. with the option of becoming U.S. citizens. These mass worker demonstrations constituted a new civil rights movement in America.

Contemporary Latino immigration remains a "Harvest of Empire," a result of the U.S.'s historic military intervention, support for dictators, and its free trade economic policies that have wreaked havoc in the Americas. Many Latin American countries struggle to comply with the conditions placed by the International Monetary Fund on their massive foreign debt and to cope with the economic upheavals associated with free trade. As governments devalue their currency and decrease spending on education, health care, and food subsidies and as domestic industries are further undermined by international competition, more and more Latin Americans will seek work in the U.S., despite the great dangers in crossing the border.[32]

The more than 50 million Latinos comprise nearly 16 percent of the U.S. population, the

nation's largest minority group. They remain a large and growing part of the U.S. labor force. There are about 19.4 million Latino workers and they comprise 12.2 percent of the nation's unionized work force. The workers, both men and women, are concentrated in highly unionized service sector industries like health care, government, communication, and transportation. Discrimination and nativism continue to work against Latino workers, who in the new millennium have experienced the sharpest drop in employment and the weakening of union protections. Undocumented Latino workers fare the worst; they are overrepresented in the lowest- skilled and most dangerous jobs, have the highest levels of wage theft, and death and injuries at work. Given America's economic trade policies such as NAFTA and CAFTA and the nation's addiction to cheap labor, the absence of a path to legalization exposes undocumented workers to labor, human, and civil rights' violations and anti-immigrant legislation at the state and federal level. The labor movement remains the most important source of protection for undocumented workers.[33]

To designate places heretofore unrecognized for preservation and honor would celebrate the numerous contributions of Latino workers in the building of America.

The U.S. has yet to come to terms with its Latino past. Additional national historical sites, monuments, or memorials are needed to recognize the history-making power of Latino workers who have been an integral part of the U.S. work force and are greatly expanding its diversity. To designate places heretofore unrecognized for preservation and honor would celebrate the numerous contributions of Latino workers in the building of America and would be an official expression of integrating Latinos in our nation's heritage.

Endnotes

1 Hector E. Sánchez, Andrea L. Delgado, and Rosa G. Saavedra, *Latino Workers in the United States 2011*. Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Washington, D.C. 2011, 9, 15; Peter Cattan, "The Diversity of Hispanics in the U.S. Work Force," *Monthly Labor Review,* Vol. 116, no. 8 (August 1993), 1, 13.

2 Gregory DeFreitas, *Inequality at Work: Hispanics in the US Labor Force* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 15.

3 DeFreitas, *Inequality at Work,* 15-16.

4 DeFreitas, *Inequality at Work,* 28; Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, *From Colonia to Community*: *History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983), 20-26. In 1920, one-fifth of the Puerto Rican labor force was unemployed, and the high jobless rate continued; in 1934, one third of Puerto Rican workers were without work.

5 Sánchez-Korrol, *From Colonia to Community*, 9-20, 28-29, 94-95, 109; DeFreitas, *Inequality at Work,* 34.

6 Gerald E. Poyo, "Cuban Communities in the United States: Toward an Overview of the 19th Century Experience," in Miren Uriarte and Jorge Canos Martínez, *Cubans in the United States* (Boston, MA: Center for the Study of the Cuban Community, 1984), 44-64.

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11 Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 166, 173-174.

12 Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*: *A History of Mexican Americans in California* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Company, 1984), 58-63; Sánchez-Korrol, *From Colonia to Community,* 187-190, 197-199.

13 Threatened by a mass march by African American labor leader A. Philip Randolph in 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, ending discrimination in federal hiring and by manufacturers holding government defense contracts, and created a Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC) to investigate complaints of racial discrimination.

[14] Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War At Home: The CIO in World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 111; Altagracia Ortiz, *Puerto Rican Women and Work: Bridges in Transnational Labor* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 59.

[15] At its height in the 1950s, the bracero program coincided with Operation Wetback, a military-style operation that apprehended 865,318 Mexicans in 1953 and 1,075,168 in 1954.

[16] Sánchez-Korrol, *From Colonia to Community,* 33-36, 40, 46.

[17] González and Gray, "Puerto Ricans, Politics, and Labor Activism," 122-123.

[18] After the strike, several blacklisted Hollywood filmmakers made a film about the strike but the film was suppressed because of the anticommunist sentiment prevalent at the time.

[19] H.L. Mitchell, "Little Known Farm Labor History, 1942-1960," in James C. Foster, editor, *American Labor in the Southwest: The First One Hundred Years* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982), 116-118; González and Gray, "Puerto Rican Politics and Labor Activism," 118.

[20] González and Gray, "Puerto Ricans, Politics, and Labor Activism," 120.

[21] Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community,* pp. 199-200; González and Gray, "Puerto Ricans, Politics, and Labor Activism," 120.

[22] Nancy MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 177-179. In late 1978, Coors took back three fourths of the strikers and hired new employees to replace the rest.

[23] González and Gray, "Puerto Ricans, Politics, and Labor Activism," 120-121.

[24] DeFreitas, *Inequality at Work*, 140, 142.

[25] Ibid., 256; Cattan, "The Diversity of Hispanics in the U.S. Work Force," 3, 5-7.

[26] Elizabeth G. Ferris, *The Central American Refugees* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1987), chaps. 2 and 7.

[27] Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream. Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (New York: Verso Books, 1986), 227; Sánchez, Delgado, and Saavedra, *Latino Workers in the United States, 2011*, 11.

[28] When Rivera left Local 1199 in 2007, it had nearly 300,000 members.

[29] Cattan, "The Diversity of Hispanics in the U.S. Work Force," 9, 12.

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[31] Ruben G. Rumbaut, "Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in Contemporary America," in Sylvia Pedraza Bailey and Ruben G. Rumbaut, eds., *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in America* (New York: Wadsworth Publishing, 1996), 39-40.

[32] Juan González, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

[33] Sánchez, Delgado, and Saavedra, *Latino Workers in the United States, 2011*, 11-12, 15.

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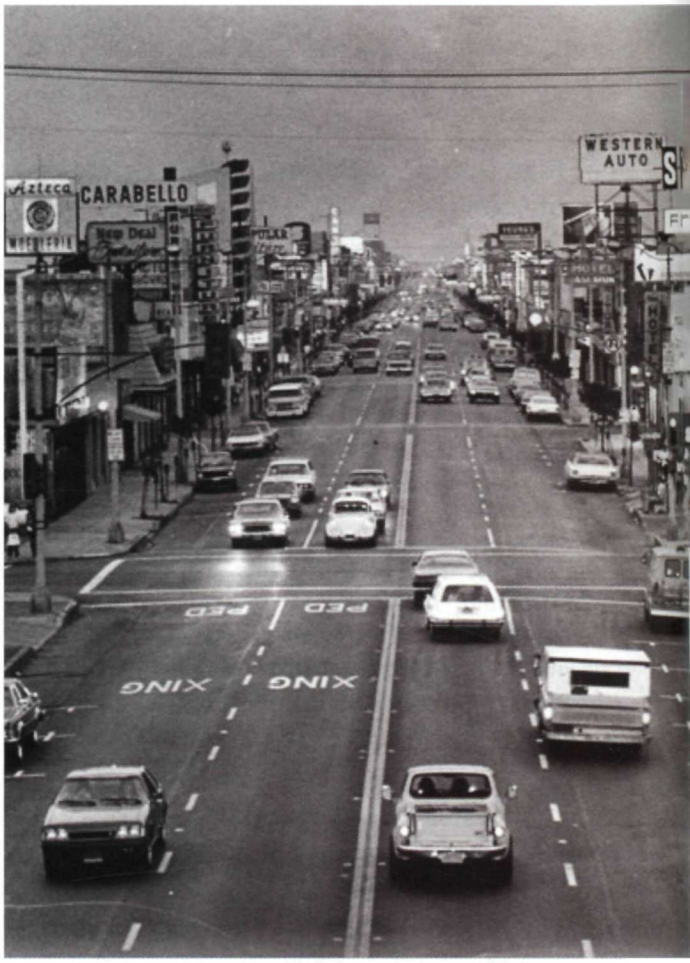

Clockwise from top left:
Rancho El Sur, an original Mexican land grant, is part of Andrew Molera State Park, Monterey County, California (Creative Commons by Dare2-Dream); Whittier Boulevard, c. 1979, East Los Angeles, California (Los Angeles Historical Society); Sedano's Supermarket, Florida (Sedano's); El Mercado, one of the historic market squares in San Antonio, Texas (Creative Commons by Raul); Habana Village, a Cuban restaurant and Latin music and dance venue, Washington, D.C. (Southwest Travel)

Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business & Commerce since the 16th Century

Geraldo L. Cadava

For 500 years, from the earliest Spanish explorers to the growing league of 21st-century entrepreneurs, Latino business and commerce in the United States has encompassed the activities of ranchers, farmers, land colonizers, general store operators, street vendors, corporate executives, real estate developers, entertainment industry mavens, self-employed domestics, and barbers. They have run businesses small and large, with zero to thousands of employees, and have served Latino and non-Latino communities all around the world. Latino businesses at first concentrated in the southwestern portion of the U.S., as well as in Louisiana, Florida, and New York. By the 20th century, however, they had spread across the U.S. and beyond, as Latino culture, music, food, and styles became popular and widespread commodities. The Latino population in the U.S. increased from the late 19th century onward, leading to the expansion of Latino markets. Latino-owned and non-Latino businesses focused on cultivating as clients this growing group of consumers. Altogether, Latino business and commercial activities have constituted an important aspect of Latino ethnicity, politics, and community formation in the U.S.

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The growth of Latino-owned enterprises, and of data collected by U.S. government agencies about them, has led to a wave of scholarship that has characterized Latino entrepreneurs as centrally important, though understudied, members of their communities. As a country, we have focused on the heated debates over Latin American labor migration, rather than the entrepreneurs who have created markets, played pivotal roles in the development of their communities, and emerged as political organizers and leaders.

Commemorating the long history of Latino business and commercial activities—through their designation as historically significant, or simply through greater awareness of them—poses several challenges. Such a process might entail the acknowledgment that already-recognized establishments, like the religious missions of the Spanish colonial period, had broader business and commercial significance. Alternatively, it could involve figuring out how to locate the precise sites of ephemeral activities. For example, how would one go about recognizing as historically important the street corners and parking lots where self-employed day laborers gather to find work? Even more broadly, designating such sites, since many of those who gather at them are not U.S. citizens, would require the recognition that non-citizens are capable of productive economic activity that is historically significant. Likewise, even though Latino entrepreneurship often has involved temporary activities or extremely small operations, only long-lasting and larger businesses have received recognition for their historical significance. Finally, how would one go about claiming the historical significance of businesses started by return migrants who saved money in the U.S. and learned successful business practices here, which enabled them to engage in entrepreneurial activities in their Latin American home countries? While these issues pose certain challenges to the project of designating historically significant Latino business and commercial activities, finding ways to

recognize appropriately those endeavors would promote a richer understanding of the role Latinos have played in the history of American business and economics.

The establishment and growth of Latino business and commerce has mirrored the expansion of the Latino population itself. Until the late 19th century, the vast majority of such activities took place among Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the U.S. Southwest, the area of the U.S. that, until after the U.S.-Mexico War (1848) and the Gadsden Purchase (1854), formed part of the Spanish empire and Mexico. Other Latin American merchants conducted business during this period elsewhere in the U.S., in places like Louisiana, Florida, and New York. For the most part their stay in these places was temporary, and their dealings did not contribute to the formation, settlement, or advancement of Latino communities. Rather, they were confined to trading and other mercantile activities. Then during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the immigration of Latinos to the U.S. and their exile from international conflicts including Latin American independence movements, the Spanish-American War, and the Mexican Revolution, led to the growth and diversification of Latino businesses including groceries, clothiers, and medical practices that served these new communities. By the end of World War II, Latino business and commerce had spread across the U.S., from Los Angeles to New York, and from Chicago to Miami.

The Armendaris Ranch, (Pedro Armendariz Grant No. 33 [1819] and part of No. 34 [1820]), is the largest Spanish land grant in New Mexico. (Armenderis Ranch, 2010)

While the incorporation of Latino business and commercial activities into broader social, political, and economic patterns of the U.S. increased after World War II, most Latino businesses still catered primarily to Latino communities. Then from 1965 forward—after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (The Hart-Celler Act), the Cuban Revolution of 1959, and violent, anti-democratic repressions in Central and South American countries during the 1970s and 1980s led to the dramatic increase of U.S. Latino populations—Latino business and commerce exploded, becoming the fastest growing sector of the U.S. small business community. Most Latino businesses still served local Latino communities, but others reached broader non-Latino communities across the U.S. By the late 20th century, thousands of businesses opened by recent Latin American immigrants joined those opened by earlier generations of Latinos in the U.S., and many immigrants eventually returned to their home countries to establish businesses there. Their activities represented the hemispheric and global reach of Latino business and commerce during the 21st century.

The Economies of Northern New Spain

From its very beginning, Spanish imperial expansion in the Americas was a business venture. Spaniards mapped the land and exploited the indigenous labor that made it productive. They also extracted minerals that they sent back to the crown, which increased their own wealth as well. From Florida to California, they established missions and ranches that became extremely profitable, as Spanish missionaries, soldiers, ordinary citizens, and indigenous peoples raised cattle and crops, and then sold their meat, hides, tallow, grains, and vegetables both locally and throughout the empire. Among these men were the first Latino entrepreneurs.

Spaniards established cattle ranches as early as the 16th century, first near St. Augustine and

Tallahassee, Florida. Tomás Menéndez Márquez owned the La Chua Ranch, which stretched thousands of square miles from the St. John's River in East Florida to the Gulf of Mexico, and produced more than a third of Florida's cattle during the 17th century. Márquez provided hides, dried meat, and tallow to Florida's Spanish colonies, as well as to Havana, demonstrating how Latino business and commercial activities reached distant markets from its earliest days. Once Márquez established his cattle business, he branched out into other commercial activities as well, traveling by boat to Havana and returning with goods that he traded in Florida.[1] Francisco Javier Sánchez became his successor, owning and operating stores, plantations, and ranches in Florida that supplied Spanish and British officials. Following paths first carved and traveled by indigenous communities, men like Márquez and Sánchez established some of Florida's earliest commercial trading routes, trading posts, and stores, much like other Spaniards did elsewhere across the Spanish empire's northern frontier.

If large-scale cattle ranching began in Florida, it became iconic in the Southwest. Juan de Oñate introduced cattle in New Mexico during the late 16th century; Captain Alonso de León and Eusebio Francisco Kino introduced cattle to Texas and Arizona during the 17th century; and Junipero Serra and Juan Bautista de Anza introduced cattle to California during the 18th century. Across the Southwest, livestock industries supplied nascent agricultural and mining operations, producing tallow for candles, and hides for clothing, harnesses, and bags that carried mineral ores and water. Ranches throughout the region relied on the labor of indigenous populations, which herded cattle and sheep, slaughtered the animals, and made clothing and other goods from them. By the early 19th century, cattle from Spain's northern frontier were shipped to South America, leading to the rise of cattle industries there, and again demonstrating early connections among distant markets. The cattle industries of northern New Spain also spawned some of the frontier's first illicit economic enterprises, as cattle rustlers illegally drove cattle across imperial and national borders.

Opportunity and Consequence on Mexican and U.S. Frontiers

Throughout the Spanish Colonial period, land grants awarded by the Spanish crown provided the grounds for business and commercial activities. After 1821, when Mexico won independence from Spain, the Mexican government continued the practice of granting lands on the country's northern frontier, particularly through the secularization of mission lands that were converted into ranchlands. From the 1820s through the 1840s, the Mexican government issued hundreds of land grants, with parcels that ranged from 4,000 to 100,000 acres each. By the time of the U.S.-Mexico War, 800 ranchers owned more than eight million acres of land. Some entrepreneurs divided their land for distribution among colonists and their families, who were then able to grow crops and raised animals. Other entrepreneurs developed ranches, many of which remained in operation decades after the U.S.-Mexico War. In 1760, for example, Captain Blas María de la Garza Falcón received from the Spanish crown a 975,000-acre land grant in Texas, which he called Rancho Real de Santa Petronila. Much of it later became the King Ranch, which, at half a million acres, was the largest ranch in the U.S. In Arizona, Toribio Otero received a 400-acre land grant that his great grandson, Sabino Otero, the so-called "cattle King of Tubac," expanded to include lands from Tucson to the U.S.-Mexico border city of Nogales. While men received the majority of Spanish and Mexican land grants, some women became property owners as well, allowing them to achieve a measure of independence from patriarchal Mexican societies during the early 19th century.[2]

The Southwest's agricultural, ranching, and mineral goods reached markets via shipping and trading networks including the 900-mile long Santa Fe Trail and other routes connecting San Antonio with El Paso, and Tucson with the Mexican port town of Guaymas, Sonora. Through the mid-19th century, the bulk of profits earned by Mexican-owned businesses stemmed from this trade in agricultural, ranching, and mining products. These goods were sold in small general stores, by street vendors, and merchants who shipped them throughout the U.S. and Mexico. Such business ventures laid the groundwork for Latino business and commerce in later periods of American history, and cemented relationships that increasingly pulled northern Mexico into the economic orb of the U.S.[3]

The expropriation of lands once owned by Mexican Americans facilitated the industrial growth of the U.S. Southwest, with devastating consequences for Mexican Americans of all class backgrounds.

During the mid-19th century, the U.S.-Mexico War and the annexation of Mexican land by the U.S. transformed the social, political, and economic conditions of Mexican business and commercial activities in the southwestern U.S. Mexican American ranchers remained some of the wealthiest and most powerful businessmen into the 1880s, when U.S. railroad companies came to control most of their vast landholdings. Famously, California landowners, including Pio Pico and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, lost thousands of acres of land. In some cases railroad, mining, ranching, and agricultural interests purchased the land or it was claimed by squatters. In many cases, Mexican American ranchers, called *Californios*, offered up their land to pay lawyer's fees incurred as part of their effort to defend their properties against encroachment. In bitterly ironic ends to their lives and careers as wealthy and powerful landowners, some *Californios* died bankrupt. The expropriation of lands once owned by Mexican Americans facilitated the industrial growth of the U.S. Southwest, with devastating consequences for Mexican Americans of all class-backgrounds.[4]

The shift from Mexican to U.S. economic and political control negatively affected many Mexican Americans living in the Southwest, but a few individuals capitalized on the new national context to develop their own business empires. Brothers Bernabé and Jesús Robles took advantage of the federal Homestead Act of 1862, which offered western land for cheap to those who would make it productive, claiming two 160-acre parcels of land that eventually became Three Points Ranch in southern Arizona. Their cattle and land made them wealthy, enabling them to purchase additional landholdings that eventually totaled one million acres between Florence, Arizona, and the U.S.-Mexican border, an expanse of land 134 miles long from north to south. Bernabé Robles later diversified his businesses, investing in Tucson real estate and general stores that he left to his children.[5]

In addition to ranches, Mexican American entrepreneurs owned wagon-based freighting businesses that moved goods across the Southwest, and between the U.S. and Mexico. In 1856, Joaquin Quiroga established a business that hauled goods between Yuma and Tucson, Arizona, thus becoming a pioneer of the freighting industry. But by the 1870s, Tucson's Estevan Ochoa (1831-1888) operated a business—Tully, Ochoa & Company—that shipped goods east as far as St. Louis, Missouri, and south as far as Guaymas, Sonora. He later opened several mercantile businesses, small mining companies, and sheep ranches that depended on his freight company to market their goods beyond Tucson. Freighting companies

like Tully, Ochoa & Company generally went out of business after the arrival of railroads, which could carry goods farther, faster, and for less money, though several others remained competitive by operating routes not serviced by trains.

Business and Commerce in Urbanizing Latino Communities and Beyond

While vast ranchlands and transportation industries provided the foundations of Mexican American entrepreneurship into the late 19th century, with their decline, many Mexican Americans moved into the growing cities of the Southwest, including San Francisco, Los Angeles, Tucson, El Paso, Denver, Albuquerque, and San Antonio. White settlers arrived in these burgeoning metropolises as well, and within a couple of decades played an increasingly dominant role in the social, political, and economic histories of these places. As the influence and status of Mexican Americans waned, they increasingly became seen as members of a regional working class, and the vast majority of them lived substantially segregated lives within *barrios*. These neighborhoods became the strongholds of Mexican American business and commerce. Tucson's Federico Ronstadt, an immigrant from Sonora, established the city's biggest carriage-building business, as well as a successful hardware store. Leopoldo Carrillo, also from Tucson, became one of the city's largest real estate holders. According to the 1870 census, he was Tucson's wealthiest individual, owning almost 100 homes, ice cream parlors, saloons, and the city's first bowling alley. Because of the impressive array of his business interests, the *Tucson City Directory* simply called him a "capitalist." While Mexican entrepreneurs in these communities marketed their goods locally, they also developed commerce between the United States and Latin America. As part of his carriage business and hardware store in Tucson, for example, Ronstadt kept agents south of the border in Cananea, Nogales, Hermosillo, and Guaymas, Sonora.[6]

F. Ronstadt Company, Tucson, Arizona, c. 1910 (The University of Arizona Library)

Emerging Latino communities elsewhere in the U.S., especially Florida and New York, also demonstrated vibrant patterns of trade between the United States and Latin America. Cubans and Puerto Ricans first settled in Tampa and New York City as exiles from Latin America's wars for independence against Spain. They formed some of the first Caribbean Latino communities in the U.S., and opened a diverse array of businesses shortly after their arrival. By the late 19th century, Caribbean merchants had traded in U.S. ports for more than a hundred years, but they did not establish communities. From the 1880s forward, though, Cuban and Puerto Rican exiles increasingly settled in southern and eastern U.S. cities.

Most famously, Cuban émigrés established cigar factories outside of Tampa. Caribbean revolutions had disrupted the business of these factories in Cuba. Furthermore, high import taxes on cigars entering the U.S. had curtailed their sales, a problem solved by opening cigar factories on the mainland. Vicente Martínez Ybor was the most famous proprietor of these cigar factories. Ybor and his partner Ignacio Haya created a company town – later known as Ybor

City – with mutual aid societies, theaters, schools, and printing presses that grew up around the factories, which led to the rapid growth of the area as a whole.[7]

A leader of the independence movement, the Cuban exile José Martí moved between Florida and New York during the 1880s and early 1890s, and in those places became a unifying force for Caribbean Latino communities. Sotero Figueroa, a Puerto Rican exile who moved to New York City in 1889, developed a close friendship with Martí. He opened the print shop Imprenta América, from which he published several Spanish-language papers, including *El Americano* (The American) and *El Porvenir* (The Future). His press also printed Martí's paper, *Patria* (Nation). He moved to Cuba after the Spanish-American War, and eventually became director of *La Gaceta Oficial*, the newspaper of the new Cuban government. In addition to Figueroa's print shops, other Latino businesses located in New York as well, including small grocery stores, restaurants, and health centers like the Midwife Clinic of Havana in New York City, owned and operated by the Cuban woman Gertrudis Heredia de Serra. These businesses in the urban Southwest, Florida, and New York laid the foundations of Latino business and commerce during the early 20th century, when the U.S. Latino population increased in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, and during the Mexican Revolution.

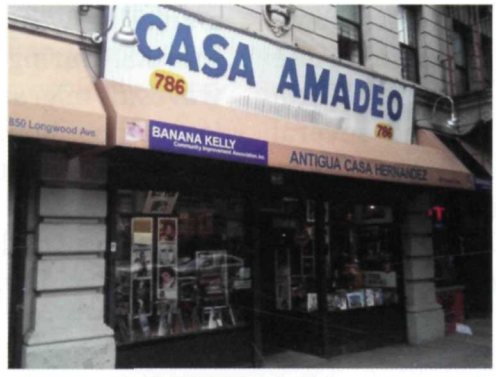
During the late 19th and early 20th century, wars and revolutions throughout Latin America caused Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican migrants to seek new livelihoods in the U.S. Production demands in mining and agricultural industries during the World War I era held forth the promise of jobs upon arrival. Latinos settled in cities like Los Angeles, Phoenix, Tucson, El Paso, Chicago, Detroit, Miami, and New York, generally in *barrios* established during the late 19th century.

After the Mexican Revolution, following a decade of migration and settlement, the economist Paul Taylor and the sociologists Manuel Gamio and Emory Bogardus conducted some of the first studies of Mexican communities in the U.S., which offered brief references to the Mexican entrepreneurs who met the needs of their growing communities. While a few owned land and operated their own agricultural businesses, many recent Mexican immigrants joined more established community members in opening small businesses, such as bakeries, barber shops, billiards halls, and pharmacies, as well as larger ones, like Mexican cinemas, hotels, and printing shops. Taylor concluded that, despite these ventures, by the end of the 1920s Mexican business owners had not, for the most part, advanced economically in the U.S.[8]

During the late 19th and early 20th century, wars and revolutions throughout Latin America caused Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican migrants to seek new livelihoods in the U.S.

The growth of Latino communities created new markets for goods, services, and information, which led many Latinos—longtime community members and immigrants alike—to open businesses in *barrios* that remained segregated from other areas of the city and served a primarily Latino clientele. Only a few non-Latino businesses during the early 20th century sought Latino patronage, or stocked goods that Latinos desired. Doctors in Los Angeles, for example, like the "Doctora" Augusta Stone, or Dr. Chee, the "Doctor Chino," claimed to speak Spanish and advertised their services to Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. Nevertheless, the segregation of Latino communities created business opportunities for aspiring Latino entrepreneurs.[9]

Most Latino-owned businesses were small, family-owned operations that met the basic food, clothing, health, and everyday life (and death) needs of growing U.S. Latino communities. They included birthing and funeral services, tortilla factories, money transfer agencies, auto repair shops, bakeries, barbershops, and beauty salons. Demonstrating how Latino-owned businesses concentrated in *barrios*, the Mexican American neighborhoods of Corpus Christi, Texas, were home to stores named Loa's Shoe Shop, Juán González Funeral Home, Estrada Motor Sales, and La Farmácia Gómez, while those in Los Angeles were home to stores like Farmácia Hidalgo and Farmácia Ruíz. In addition, several Latinos were self-employed as lawyers, doctors, and dentists, even though their numbers paled in comparison to their white counterparts. Only rarely did Latino-owned businesses operate outside of Latino ethnic enclaves, or serve broader, non-Latino communities. Jácome's Department Store and Federico Ronstadt's hardware and general store—both established during the late 19th century and located in Tucson's central business district—served a mixed clientele including Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and white settlers who moved to the city in growing numbers from the 1880s forward.[10]



Casa Amadeo, New York, New York (Creative Commons by Fefo M.)

While most Latino businesses met basic needs, others that created cultural and leisure opportunities also increased during the early 20th century. For example, in 1927, Rafael and Victoria Hernández, a husband and wife who migrated to New York from Puerto Rico, opened Almacenes Hernández, which is widely regarded as the first Puerto Rican-owned record store in New York. Later during the 20th century, under new ownership, the store's name changed to Casa Amadeo, and in 2001 was listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its role in the development of New York's Latin American music scene. Musicians looking for work gathered at the store; Victor and Columbia records relied on the storeowners to help them locate new talent and keep them abreast of new trends; and, more generally, the store kept New York's Latino communities in tune with music from their home country. Similar stores served Latino communities elsewhere in the U.S., such as the Repertorio Musical Mexicana in Los Angeles, owned by Mexican immigrant Mauricio Calderón, who claimed that his store was "the only Mexican house of Mexican music for Mexicans."[11]

In addition to record stores and other music industries, Latino-owned cultural and leisure enterprises including restaurants, dancehalls, theaters, vaudeville houses, movie houses, bars, and cafes catered to Latino communities across the country. El Progreso Restaurant in Los Angeles enticed Mexican American customers with food prepared in a "truly Mexican style," and theaters like Teatro Novel and Teatro Hidalgo entertained Mexican immigrants with live entertainment and films imported from Mexico. Such Latino-owned businesses often shaped the social and political relationships of their owners, who became important community leaders. For example, as the owner of Club Sofía, a popular nightclub in Corpus Christi during the 1940s, Sofía Rodríguez gained a seat on the Texas Alcohol Beverage Commission, which put her in contact with politicians who expected her to deliver Mexican American votes. Other businesses also developed political inroads among Latinos by making financial contributions to Latino civil rights and social organizations like the Alianza

Hispano Americana (AHA), founded in Tucson in 1894, or the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), founded in Corpus Christi in 1929.[12]

The growth of Latino businesses during the early 20th century therefore demonstrated the role of Latinos not only as economic and cultural consumers, but also as engaged social and political actors. They fought anti-Latino discrimination, debated the merits of candidates for office, and organized various community events. The immigrants among them also followed from afar the politics of their home countries, takings sides, for example, in the wars and revolutions that reshaped Latin American societies. Latinos formed several new social, political, and economic groups to engage these local and international issues, such as the AHA, LULAC, and their women auxiliaries. Latino-owned businesses, especially Spanish-language newspapers and radio stations, both shaped and reflected the activities of these groups.

El Tucsonense staff, Tucson, Arizona, c. 1927 (Arizona Historical Society)

Print shops were some of the earliest Latino-owned businesses in the U.S., dating back to the late 18th century, but a growing number of them were established during t[illegible]arly 20th century as a [illegible]lt of expanded Latino communities that demanded news both from their new cities and from their Latin American homelands. Several Spanish-language newspapers founded between 1910 and 1930 kept Latino communities informed, such as Ignacio Lozano's San Antonio paper, *La Prensa*, his Los Angeles paper, *La Opinion*, and Arturo Moreno's Tucson paper, *El Tucsonense*. Lozano shipped *La Prensa* to the West and the Midwest, making it something like a national Spanish-language daily. He used the profits from his newspapers to diversify his businesses, which eventually included a publishing company, a bookstore in Los Angeles called Librería Lozano, and real estate holdings throughout the city. Moreover, printing presses like Lozano's were precursors to Spanish-language radio and television media pioneered by individuals like San Antonio's Raoul Cortez and Tucson's Ernesto Portillo.

Expanding Populations, Expanding Markets

The children of Latin American migrants who arrived between 1900 and 1930 came of age in the U.S. during the mid-20th century. New waves of migrants joined them, compelled to leave their home countries because of poor economic conditions caused by the global depression of the 1930s, and because of civil wars aggravated by U.S. military interventions. World War II was a critical turning point for U.S. Latinos and Latin American migrants alike. Latinos joined the U.S. military and returned from service, articulating new claims to citizenship and belonging bolstered by Federal programs like the G.I. Bill. These new programs enabled many of the returning servicemen to pursue higher education, move out of *barrios*, and move into areas of their cities that were more affluent. Meanwhile, Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants met U.S. labor demands as participants in guest worker programs, and other Caribbean and Central American migrants—namely, Guatemalans, Cubans, and residents of the Dominican Republic—moved to the U.S. in increasing numbers. As during earlier periods, demographic changes within U.S. Latino communities led to new business and commercial practices.

Many Latino-owned businesses established during the late 19th and early 20th centuries continued to serve Latino communities into the late 20th century. Tampa's cigar factories operated into the 1950s; New York's Latino music and entertainment industries boomed between 1940 and 1970, eclipsing their success in earlier decades; and retail businesses like Jácome's Department Store remained open until 1980. These businesses relied on Latino clientele that had lived in the U.S. for a generation or more, and on trade with international markets throughout Latin America. Nevertheless, they also served new consumer markets in the U.S., including recent Latin American immigrants and non-Latino consumers increasingly interested in the goods and services provided by Latino-owned businesses.

Small businesses remained the cornerstone of Latino entrepreneurial activity into the post-World War II period.

Small businesses remained the cornerstone of Latino entrepreneurial activity into the post-World War II period, and Latino consumers were still their targeted clients. During a period generally defined as an economic boom time, second or third generation Latinos—descendants of Latino families that had lived in the U.S. since the 19th century or the children of Latin American immigrants who had arrived during the early 20th century—started more businesses than any previous generation of Latinos.[13]

Entertainment industries established during the early 20th century grew along with U.S. Latino communities. After the mass migration of Puerto Ricans to New York, the Forum Theater, which first opened its doors in 1917 to entertain Greek immigrant audiences, was renamed the Teatro Puerto Rico in 1948. Until the 1970s, the theater provided live entertainment for members of New York's Latino communities, including Puerto Rican musicians like José Feliciano, and Mexican actors like Mario "Cantinflas" Moreno, Jorge Negrete, and Pedro Infante. New York's Palmieri family opened a corner store in the Bronx known as the Mambo Candy Shop. It became a hangout for the city's Latino musicians. Eddie and Charlie Palmieri, whose parents owned the store, themselves became famous musicians. At the same time, a continent away, the Mexican American composer/musician Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero entertained audiences in his Los Angeles nightclub, Lalo's.[14]

Latino-owned businesses during the mid-20th century increasingly found markets for their goods and services beyond the Latino community, both because Latinos began to move out of *barrios* after World War II, and because of the increasing commoditization of all things Latino, especially food and music. Goya Foods, for example, began in 1936 as a small, family-owned business that marketed its goods only within New York's Latino communities. Into the postwar period, non-Latino-owned chains including Safeway refused to sell Goya products. But under the leadership of Joseph A. Unanue, the U.S.-born son of Puerto Rican immigrant and company founder Prudencio Unanue, Goya Foods became the largest Latino-owned food distributor in the U.S., and also shipped its goods around the World, particularly to Latin America, Spain, and other European countries. La Preferida, a Mexican-owned food company established in Chicago during the late 19th century, also started as a small enterprise that then expanded to market its products nationally and internationally.[15]

New groups of Latin American migrants reinvigorated Latino business and commercial activities during the mid-20th century. Guatemalans fled their home country after the 1954 coup d'état that replaced the leftist leader Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán with the U.S.-backed, conservative military leader Carlos Castillo

Armas. Residents of the Dominican Republic fled their home country following the 1961 assassination of Rafael Trujillo, which unleashed more than a decade of social, political, and economic instability. Cubans fled their island following the Cuban Revolution through which Fidel Castro claimed power. As they settled in the U.S., these new groups of Latino migrants opened businesses that served their migrant communities, including bodegas, restaurants, music clubs, and other operations.

Since the earliest years of their migration to New York, Illinois, and Florida, Cuban migrants—especially the first wave of exiles that arrived in the U.S. right after the Cuban Revolution, which was, in general, more educated and affluent compared with later waves—have been regarded as a particularly entrepreneurial group of Latinos. Because Castro had limited their ability to open businesses in Cuba, many entrepreneurs were eager to flee the island. But even more than the supposed entrepreneurial orientation of early Cuban migrants, the Cold War policies of the U.S. aided Cubans who aspired to pursue careers in business, offering them financial aid, scholarships, and business loans. The concentration of Cubans in Miami also facilitated what one scholar has called "the development of ethnic-based social capital," or "economic and social resources and support based on group affiliation." During the 1960s, Miami quickly became the hub of Cuban American business activity, especially the neighborhood that became known as Little Havana. Restaurants, clothing stores, pharmacies, fruit stands, cafes, medical centers, and service-oriented businesses like locksmiths defined the business landscape of Miami's largest Cuban neighborhood.[16]

Business Booms and the Globalization of Latino Culture

As the U.S. Latino population expanded dramatically after 1965, so did the number of Latino-owned businesses. The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act replaced national origins quotas with a visa-granting system that extended opportunities for settlement to migrants from previously restricted countries, yet continued to limit their number. Because the approximately 100,000 available visas numbered less than the millions of migrants who sought work in the U.S., an increasing number of migrants, particularly from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, entered the U.S. without documentation from the late 1960s forward. During the 1970s and 1980s, streams of Central American refugees from Civil Wars in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador also settled in the U.S. Latinos from all ethnic backgrounds, especially from the 1990s onward, settled across the U.S., most rapidly in the U.S. South, Northeast, and Great Plains. The overall growth of the Latino population during the late 19th century provided opportunities for profit both for longtime Latino business owners, and for new migrant entrepreneurs.

As Latino business and commercial activities increased, the U.S. government paid increasing attention to U.S. Latinos as consumers and entrepreneurs. In 1972, the U.S. government published its first *Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises*, and then repeated this exercise every few years, in 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007. The 1972 survey revealed that there were approximately 81,000 Mexican-owned businesses in the U.S. By 1987, the number of Mexican-owned businesses had jumped by almost 230 percent, to 267,000. The 1992 survey, because the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act had led many Latin American migrants to regularize their citizenship status, revealed another dramatic increase in Mexican business ownership, as the number of Mexican-owned businesses grew by 42 percent, to 379,000. A decade later, in 2002, there were more than 700,000 Mexican-owned businesses in the U.S. The increase in business ownership was as dramatic among other Latino groups as it was among Mexicans. In 1977,

according to the U.S. Census Bureau, there were 248,000 Latino-owned businesses, by 1987 there were 422,000, and by 1997 there were 1.2 million. By 2002, Latinos owned 1.6 million businesses, and their rate of business ownership was growing faster than the rate of ownership by any other ethnic or racial group in the U.S. Acknowledging the astounding growth of Latino business and commercial activities, the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce was established in 1979 to represent the Latino business community.[17]

The geographic distribution of Latino owned businesses followed the residence patterns of U.S. Latino populations as a whole. Most Mexican-owned businesses were in the U.S. Southwest, though their number had grown in other areas as well, like the U.S. South, New York, and Illinois. In 1997, California and Texas alone were home to 75 percent of all Mexican-owned businesses. Meanwhile, 70 percent of Cuban-owned businesses were located in Florida; most Puerto Rican-owned businesses were in Florida, New York, and Illinois; and most businesses owned by individuals from the Dominican Republic were located in New York. After California, Texas, Florida, and New York, most other Latino-owned businesses could be found in New Jersey, Illinois, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Virginia. As Latino communities moved into suburbs, Latino-owned businesses quickly followed. For example, the Phoenix suburbs of Glendale and Mesa, which had few Latino residents in 1990, by the early 21st century were home to thriving butcheries, bakeries, tire shops, ice-cream stores, western wear outlets, and beauty salons. Their names often invoked the Mexican states of Sinaloa, Michoacan, Chihuahua, or Sonora. The stores displayed images of Emiliano Zapata or the Virgen de Guadalupe; hung advertisements for van rides to Mexico; wired money to Latin American countries; sold international phone cards, and newspapers from Mexican border cities. As such, they helped Latino immigrants maintain connections with their home countries, and served as primary points of entry into their new communities in the U.S. Nevertheless, despite the suburbanization of the U.S. Latino population, most Latino businesses located in cities, and five metropolitan areas alone—Los Angeles, Miami, New York City, Houston, and San Antonio—were home to more than a third of all Latino businesses in the U.S.[18]

The Tower Theater on Calle Ocho, Little Havanna, Miami, Florida
(Creative Commons by Infrogmation of New Orleans, 2006)

Into the 21st century, the vast majority of Latino-owned businesses were still small operations that served Latino communities across the U.S. Latino-owned restaurants, grocery stores, barber shops, movie houses, concert venues, publishing companies, and doctor's offices still catered to U.S. and foreign-born Latinos. They also operated small businesses that served non-Latino communities, such as landscaping and housecleaning services. Latino entrepreneurs tended to be younger than non-Latino entrepreneurs. Latino-owned businesses concentrated in the retail, service, and construction sectors of the U.S. economy. Most self-employed Latinos—those who claimed to run their own business—had no paid employees, and often relied on the unpaid labor of family members. Some held salaried positions, but also cleaned houses, did yard work, maintenance work, or sold baked goods like sweet bread, burritos, or tamales in their neighborhoods or at their places of em-

ployment. Sometimes Latinos borrowed money from family members, joined groups that pooled their resources, or successfully procured small business loans that enabled them to convert these side businesses into more profitable, full-time occupations.[19]

Nevertheless, despite these general trends, many differences existed among Latino business owners from different ethnic, class, and gender backgrounds. While Mexicans owned more businesses than any other Latino group, businesses owned by Cubans were, in general, more profitable. Stereotypes held by Latinos and non-Latinos alike said that Cubans were the most entrepreneurially successful of all Latino groups, or, conversely, that Mexicans lack business savvy. In fact, differences resulted from the historical circumstances that would-be Mexican and Cuban entrepreneurs have encountered in the U.S.; namely, that the anti-Castro policies of the U.S. have resulted in greater opportunities for Cubans. While all Latinos had difficulty securing bank loans to finance startup costs, and therefore had to rely on personal savings, small loans from family members, government programs, or high-interest loans from banks that exploited ethnic communities, aspiring Latino business owners from middle class backgrounds fared better than poor Latinos and recent immigrants. Their higher levels of education, wealthier relatives, and greater familiarity with U.S. business practices tended to give Cuban immigrants an advantage over these others.

La Salsa Cantina, Las Vegas, Nevada (Creative Commons by Alfred Hermina)

Additionally, Latinos of particular ethnic backgrounds tended to loan money only to Latinos from similar backgrounds. When they opened their businesses, 18 percent of Latinos relied on "co-ethnic" sources of capital (i.e., Cuban, Mexican, or Nicaraguan), and only 6 percent benefited from "co-racial" capital (i.e., Latino). Likewise, Mexicans were more likely to shop at stores owned by other Mexicans, Cubans at stores owned by Cubans, and Puerto Ricans at stores owned by Puerto Ricans. Lastly, the number of Latina-owned businesses has increased faster than all other Latino-owned businesses. Nevertheless, Latina business owners have even less access to bank financing than their male counterparts, their businesses tend to be less profitable, and they concentrate disproportionately in food industries and domestic services.[20]

Differences among Latino entrepreneurs have resulted in highly segmented Latino business and commercial activities. In short, larger Latino-owned businesses have fared better than the small, primarily sole proprietor operations that constitute the vast majority of Latino-owned companies. Only 6.5 percent of Latino-owned businesses were large corporations, but these accounted for 40 percent of the total revenues of all Latino-owned businesses. Meanwhile, 85 percent of Latino-owned businesses were sole proprietorships, but these firms accounted for only 22 percent of total sales income.

The rise of Latino business and commerce has created opportunities for a few Latino entrepreneurs to become some of the most successful business leaders of the U.S. Roberto Goizueta served as the CEO of the Coca Cola Company for almost two decades. Arturo Moreno, owner of the Los Angeles Angels baseball team, and son of the Mexican American owner of

Tucson's Spanish-language newspaper, *El Tucsonense*, became the first Latino to own a major U.S. sports franchise. Angel Ramos founded Telemundo, the first television station in Puerto Rico, which eventually moved to the Miami suburb of Hialeah and became the second largest Spanish-language network in the U.S.

Most Latino entrepreneurs experienced vastly different career trajectories. Surveys of Latino business owners revealed that many of them earned less than Latinos who worked in low wage, salaried positions. These business owners maintained their businesses only in order to remain autonomous from discriminatory labor markets, despite their lack of financial success. Furthermore, many Latino entrepreneurs who achieved financial success were financially successful only in relation to other Latinos, not in relation to white entrepreneurs. In general, Latino-owned businesses earned less than white-owned businesses. By the end of the 20th century, 21 million U.S. companies generated greater than $18 trillion dollars in revenues, or almost $900,000 dollars per company. 1.2 million Latino-owned businesses, however, generated sales of $187 billion, or only $155,000 per company. Meanwhile, 40 percent of Latino-owned businesses had annual revenue of $10,000 or less. Latino-owned businesses, therefore, accounted for almost six percent of all U.S. businesses, but only one percent of sales revenues. Moreover, comparatively few Latino entrepreneurs were included at the highest levels of corporate management. During the late 1990s, the magazine *Hispanic Business* revealed that there were only 217 executives at 118 Fortune 1,000 companies. In 2002, the number had risen to 928 executives at 162 Fortune 1,000 companies, still an extremely small number.[21]

Latino entrepreneurs share a "universal belief in their success."

Despite different economic outcomes among Latino entrepreneurs, and between Latino and white entrepreneurs, Texas A&M sociologist Zulema Valdez has found that all Latino entrepreneurs share a "universal belief in their success." Their claims to success in some cases were linked to financial earnings, but in many instances they stemmed from the fact that, by establishing their own business, they were able to leave behind "dirty, dangerous, or difficult" jobs, or jobs where they experienced "anti-immigrant sentiment, or racial or ethnic discrimination." Others defined success in non-economic terms, particularly women and recent immigrants who cited their mere survival, or their ability to help others.[22]

Their universal belief in success through business ownership, despite unequal levels of economic success, highlights a central paradox in the history of Latino business and commerce, and Latino history more broadly. Namely, Latino entrepreneurs, like many Latinos in general, continue to believe that progress and better lives are possible in the U.S. This is why many of the immigrants among them have taken great risks to leave their home countries for the U.S., and continue to build lives in the U.S. even though they have experienced discrimination and economic inequalities here. In fact, many Latino migrants increasingly question this wisdom, saving only enough money in the U.S. to establish businesses in their Latin American home countries. Official recognition of Latino business and commercial activities, through their designation as historically significant, will acknowledge this paradox that has been central not only to Latino history, but U.S. history more broadly. It will acknowledge the many ways that Latinos and others have found success in the U.S., but also the structural inequalities that continue to prevent it from being the best country that it can be.

Endnotes

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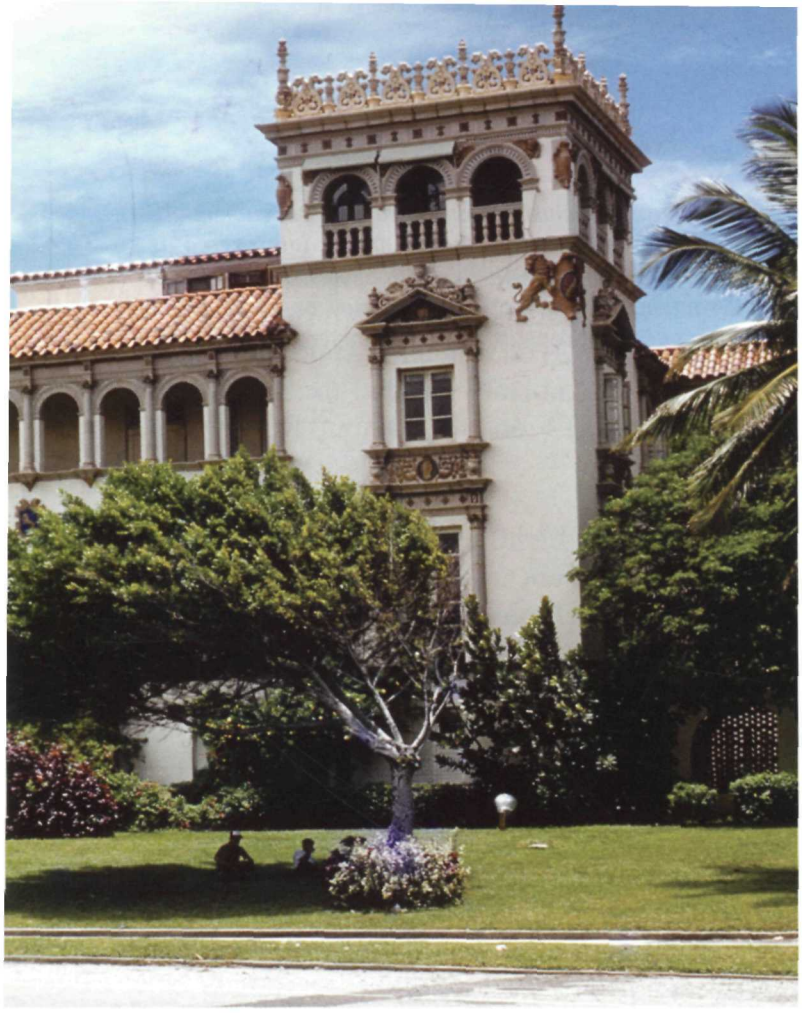


Clockwise from top left:
School of Tropical Medicine, University of Puerto Rico, San Juan, Puerto Rico (National Library of Medicine); Patients in yellow fever hospital, 1899, Havana, Cuba (National Library of Medicine); Circulo Cubano de Tampa, Ybor City, Tampa, Florida (Creative Commons by Ebaybe); U.S. public health service officer examining smallpox vaccination on Cuban refugee, *c.* 1960s (National Library of Medicine); "Women Don't get AIDS; They just die from it" *AIDS Awareness poster* (New York Public Library)

American Science, American Medicine, and American Latinos

John Mckiernan-González

On August 26, 1935, midwife Felicitas Provencio walked into the El Paso City Hall to register a recent birth in South El Paso. Alex Powell, the El Paso county registrar, ordered the arrest of the 100-year-old Provencio for practicing midwifery without a license. From her jail cell, Provencio proudly told the press that she had been "committing this crime [of midwifery] for more than sixty years...no one had ever died at a birth she attended." Provencio had been born and raised in El Paso before it was part of the U.S. As she recalled, it "was once a sad little ranch, or less than a ranch. There was a river that crossed deserts and prairies and some little adobe houses, and even then, I was a midwife." Thus, "she found it deeply unjust that she was apprehended because of some useless piece of paper."[1] The issue was larger than medical certification. She was a midwife at a time when her profession was under severe scrutiny, and she was Mexican during the decade of Mexican repatriation.[2]

Latino communities have participated in the popular currents of U.S. science and medicine in central ways.

Provencio's story provides a window into the ways Latinos have participated in science and medicine and the ways that their participation has ben discouraged or barred. While Latinas and Latinos have been using their medical skills and credentials to move in and out of key American institutions since at least 1848, the boundaries between Latinos and American institutions have often shifted, changing the terms of belonging and the requirements for entrance. Historical attention to Latino participation in science and medicine requires a focus on the borders of American science, on the historical worlds that doctors, nurses, and scientists share with patients, midwives, and even their fellow citizens and residents.[3] The Latino presence in these worlds brings attention to the unexpected ways American expansion enabled both exclusion and inclusion in American society.

As Provencio's anger from her jail cell made clear, Latinos did not appreciate some of their treatment at the hands of medical authorities. In 1940, policy historian and civil rights activist George I. Sanchez argued that Americans treat Latinos like "a forgotten people," placing them outside the arc of American citizenship.[4] Medical historians have shown that Americans have treated Latinos and other minorities like a medical threat – another "immigrant menace" or "syphilis soaked race" – and built medical institutions against the conjoined threat of foreign peoples and epidemic diseases.[5] Medical assimilationists, on the other hand, have sought to use health reform and medical institutions to help turn Latinos into better Americans, more "fit to be citizens."[6] Caught within these indifferent, hostile, patronizing, and coercive medical currents in 1930s American society, Felicitas Provencio's pride in her craft, her open defiance of medical authorities, and her documented presence in the Texas Latino press should remind us all that Latinas and Latinos have developed their own views on health and well-being, their own perspectives on the institutions of medicine, and their own understandings of the ways in which science and medicine fold into their aspirations for life in the U.S. Her presence in the El Paso city jail is another reminder that Latino perspectives on science and medicine are an important part of American history.[7]

Provencio's life coincided with the westward expansion of the U.S., the American civil war, U.S. interventions into the Caribbean and Mex-

ico, and redefinitions of American identity during the New Deal-era. Felicitas Provencio did not live to see the outbreak of World War II or the investment in transportation, medicine, science, and military institutions that defined the economic expansion of the Cold War period. It was not until several decades after Provencio's death, during the 1950s and 1960s that Latinos and Latin Americans would finally begin to move in significant numbers into American science and medicine. Those communities nonetheless engaged in important ways with the history of science and medicine across the 19th and 20th centuries. From starting grape boycotts, to finding holes in the ozone layer, to taking over hospitals, Latinos have participated in the re-definition and democratization of American science and medicine.

Latinos, Medicine, and American Expansion, 1848-1910

For many Americans, science was part of America's manifest destiny "to overspread and possess the whole of the continent," but Americans were unsure where Mexicans and other Latinos would fit in this expanded post-1848 nation. In an 1880 survey of health conditions in South Texas, the first extended study of medical conditions and attitudes in Mexican American communities, National Board of Health member Dr. John Hunter Pope recommended drastic improvements in housing stock, basic primary care, and working conditions in South Texas so that "the Mexican cannot then indulge his peculiar ideas of epidemics without involving some of the rest of us."[8] While Dr. Pope recommended public health reforms to keep Mexican American goods safe for Americans and insulate Americans from Mexican health conditions in the U.S., others used medical science to remind Americans of the ways in which "disease binds the human race together, as with an unbreakable chain."[9] African American doctors made the political import of this message clearer, when they reminded Americans that, unlike American society, "germs know no color lines."[10] Border journalist Justo Cardenas considered access to public health measures "a measure of civilization," something wanting in late 19th century Texas.[11] Shaped by public debates and political conflicts, medical and scientific institutions in turn framed the public contexts in which Latinos, immigrants and racial minorities made their way in the U.S., forcing Latinos to use medical arguments and practices to claim spaces for themselves in the U.S.

Latino communities challenged medical discrimination by supporting their own favored doctors, nurses, curanderos, and parteras and by seeking opportunities, albeit slim, in the new American order.[12] Elite families from California to Puerto Rico sent their children to schools in the Northeast for medical training. *Californio* landowner and politician Mariano Vallejo's son Platón attended Columbia University's College of Medicine during the 1860s at around the same time as El Pasoan Jose Samaniego. Platón Vallejo also volunteered with the Sanitary Commission in the Civil War.[13] The liberal Guiteras family fled Cuba for Philadelphia during the Ten Year's War. Their sons Juan and Gregorio attended the University of Pennsylvania's College of Medicine, and both obtained commissions in the U.S. Marine Hospital Service.[14] Also leaving during the throes of slave emancipation but from a more humble class position, Afro-Puerto Rican José Celso Barbosa moved to New York at the age of 19 to seek professional training. Unable to attend the Columbia University College of Medicine because he was black, Barbosa attended the University of Michigan medical school and became the first Puerto Rican doctor educated in the United States. Very visible in civil rights struggles in Puerto Rico, he helped establish the Puerto Rican Republican Party in 1899, and became a member of the Executive Cabinet from 1900 to 1917.[15] In the early-20th century, Mary Headley Treviño de Edgerton, part of the powerful Treviño family in

Starr County, became among the first Tejanos to attend medical school in Texas when she enrolled at the University of Texas – Medical Branch in Galveston. However, despite graduating at the top of her class and receiving the highest grade in the state medical exam in 1909, no county medical association, with the exception of Starr County, allowed this *Tejana* a medical practice.[16] As the Latin American presence in American cities increased, it is clear that the number of Latino doctors did not keep pace with population growth. As with women and African American doctors, the numbers of Latino doctors trained in American medical institutions fell between 1890 and 1920.[17]

Dr. Finlay, seated on left, with American public health experts. (University of Virginia, Health Sciences Library)

Economic growth in the American Southwest and Mexico, as well as Central America and the Caribbean, forced American scientific authorities to start grappling with medical conditions in Latino communities. Joint Cuban and American research into tropical diseases helped Dr. Carlos Finlay determined that mosquitoes were the vector for yellow fever.[18] The subsequent precedent-setting American drive to eradicate mosquitoes in Cuba did little to improve the general medical and social conditions for Cubans, but it did make the American South, Panama, Central America, and the Caribbean safer for American workers. This American engagement with tropical diseases created temporary opportunities for Latino physicians and scientists. In 1888, Gregorio Guiteras was one of the few Latino commissioned health officers in the USMHS.[19] For the next 37 years, the Service depended on his ability to communicate with Spanish-speakers in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Key West, Florida, and Laredo, Texas. When the U.S. occupied Veracruz, Mexico, in 1917, the United States Public Health Service (USPHS) sent Guiteras to coordinate the yellow fever campaign. There were few subsequent openings for Latino doctors, as Guiteras became the last commissioned Latino health officer in the USPHS until after World War II.[20]

Conditions in Puerto Rico changed after the American occupation, allowing Puerto Rican doctors – with some assistance from USMHS health officers – to initiate a nation-wide rural health campaign. After two years in Puerto Rico, USMHS surgeon Bailey Kelly Ashford came to believe that hookworm – and not the exploitation of Puerto Rican peasants - was responsible for the anemia, pallor and weakness he noted among peasants in Puerto Rico, "our war ward, so newly under our flag, and so sick."[21] Expecting maybe 500 patients, Dr. Gutierrez Igaravidez and Ashford treated nearly 5,000 people in their army-funded hookworm dispensary (public pharmacy) in Utuado, Puerto Rico in 1904. Responding to this success, the Puerto Rican Legislature allocated funds for a network of rural dispensaries. Nearly 1 out of 5 Puerto Ricans received treatment as a result; the Rockefeller Foundation tried to implement this model in the American South.[22]

The American/Caribbean scientific collaboration in Puerto Rico and Cuba that followed the Spanish-American War strengthened boundaries around American medicine in the Progressive Era. Congress expanded the medical grounds for exclusion in the 1892 Immigration Act. The color line became a more institutional presence in the American Medical Association, prompting African American physicians to establish the National Medical Association in At-

lanta in 1895. Reforms to medical education also led to the de-funding and de-accreditation of numerous medical schools, leading to a whiter, less ethnic, more class homogenous and far more male medical student body. Despite the migration and settlement of close to a million Mexicans in the U.S. between 1900 and 1920, the number of licensed Latino medical professionals fell from 73 to 67 licensed Latino doctors in California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, New Mexico, New York, and Texas over that period.[23] In 1922, the AMA required hospital residencies and internships of prospective members, giving hospital administrators tremendous authority in determining the future of the medical profession.[24] Though the majority of Latinos continued their lives at the margins of American medicine, aspiring Latino doctors faced more obstacles than ever to their participation in American science and medicine.

Mutual Aid and Medical State Formation, 1910-1940

Hospital administrators may have determined the licensing of Latino medical professionals in the U.S., but they did not shape Latino health conditions. Corresponding to their economic status, Latinos continued to face dire medical situations through the early-20th century and, as with other communities, social class and political powerlessness limited their access to clean water, decent housing, food, and sanitation services. Estimating the medical impact of institutional discrimination on Latino communities before 1980 is difficult, as the Census Bureau only kept separate counts for Latinos in 1930. In addition to marking individual tragedies, infant mortality rates speak to the relative quality of life in a given neighborhood. In 1910, infant mortality rates were three times higher for Latinos than for Anglos in New Mexico, California, Texas, and Florida. This was slightly higher than the infant mortality rate of approximately 146 children per 1000 live births in African American communities in 1910.[25]

Centro Asturiano, Ybor City, Tampa, Florida, c. 1947 (State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory)

With few political means to address their medical conditions, Latinos pooled their resources to create mutual aid societies to address the deaths, injuries and illnesses in their midst. Most *sociedades mutualistas* (mutual aid societies) were structured to provide families the money for a decent burial and some death benefits. Some provided access to unemployment insurance, and – on occasion – health services. The largest *mutualista*, the *Alianza Hispano Americana,* co-founded by Dr. Mariano Samaniego and other Tucson businessmen in 1894 grew quickly, following railroad workers west to California, north to Colorado and east to Houston and South Texas.[26] In 1903, local cigar workers in Tampa won citywide labor contracts that required employers to support their *mutualistas.* The *Centro Asturiano*, *Círculo Cubano*, *Centro Español* and the *Sociedad La Union Marti-Maceo* then put physicians on contract, dedicated rooms and, in some cases, small hospitals for their members. For doctors, this arrangement provided a consistent revenue stream, but it met with hostility from the AMA.[27]

The Mexican Revolution changed American policy attitudes toward Latino health conditions from neglect to hostility. El Paso, Texas became the flashpoint for these new medical fears. City and state officials blamed Mexican workers for high tuberculosis (TB), smallpox, typhus, and infant mortality rates in their jurisdictions and, rather than improve their own services, they

demanded the United States Public Health Service ensure healthy Mexican border-crossers. In 1916, medical officers in El Paso began to inspect and delouse (in kerosene and vinegar baths) anyone who looked like a "dirty and lousy immigrant" suspected of carrying smallpox or typhus, subjecting working-class Mexican immigrants to inspections, fumigation of their bodies and their property, and unwanted vaccinations.[28] In January 1917, the USPHS expanded the medical inspection and delousing to include daily commuters from Ciudad Juarez. Though all people, including citizens, were technically inspected before entry beginning in 1894, most European and Mexican arrivals experienced searching glances and a sense of humiliation, not full inspections or delousing. The sudden demand for public disrobing and fumigation for daily Mexican commuters along a central business corridor shocked communities on both sides of the border.

Mexicans waiting to be deloused at Santa Fe Bridge quarantine plant, El Paso, Texas, 1917 (National Archives and Records Administration)

Some Latino workers responded directly to this new indignity. On the morning of January 28, 1917, Carmelita Torres, a domestic worker riding a streetcar from nearby Ciudad Juárez, responded to the demand for inspection by punching the USPHS medical officer coordinating the border quarantine, starting an episode known as the "Typhus Bath Riots."[29] Although working women overturned automobiles and were able to close cross-border traffic for three days, their actions did not change the USPHS typhus quarantine focus on working-class Mexicans and Mexican Americans through the 1930s. Migrants, residents, and braceros through World War II remembered feeling that officials "disinfected us as if we were some kind of animals that were bringing germs." The regular inspections reminded border-crossing Latinos of their place in the American social order.

The World War I era also expanded the benefits of being within the medical boundaries of American citizenship. The Sheppard-Towner Act recognized the new public presence of mothers as voters after the 19th amendment. Passed against the wishes of the American Medical Association, the Act provided substantial financial support to cities and towns to build maternal and child health clinics to ease the burdens of childbirth and lower the infant mortality rate among American women. Most cities used Sheppard Towner funds to improve historically white clinics and hospitals or establish additional, better staffed and better funded maternal and child health clinics in white ethnic neighborhoods.[30] Concerned with the negative publicity associated with high infant mortality rates and using local Mexican support, Albuquerque and Los Angeles city and county authorities built Latino-specific maternal and child health clinics in Latino majority neighborhoods like Montebello and Barelas. Although Los Angeles working-class neighborhoods were ethnically diverse at the time, city authorities also directed Mexican families in other neighborhood to these less well-funded "Mexican" clinics.[31]

Rather than building clinics in small towns or Mexican neighborhoods, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado also used Sheppard-Towner funds to train and certify Mexican American midwives to reach mothers in rural areas. The certification process had its own complications, as many of the state educators could not speak Spanish, were also deeply suspicious of traditional Mexican culture, and were unable to

evaluate the quality of the relationship between midwife and client.[32] As the opening anecdote of Felicitas Provencio shows, ongoing certification put long-practicing midwives in a difficult bind. While some women appreciated the sudden legitimacy of a license, others resented the incursion. Birth registration – part of the national campaign against infant mortality – provided an effective club to compel certification. Given that midwives helped deliver the majority of births in Latino, African American, Native American, and rural white communities through the Second World War, this outreach program affected more Latino families than the Sheppard–Towner clinics.[33]

Others saw an opportunity to expand medical autonomy through this federal support for motherhood. In Puerto Rico, Dr. José Lanauze-Rolón, an Afro-Puerto Rican, socialist, Howard University-trained physician, founded *la liga para el control de la natalidad* to help working-class women have the power to choose when to have children. Despite some support in the legislature and American birth control networks, *La Liga* was unable to provide a full-spectrum of reproductive health services.[34] By the 1950s, some employers turned these services – including sterilization – into an informal requirement for employment, thwarting women's autonomy.

The Great Depression made these public funds for Latino medical services publicly controversial and politically volatile. Repatriation – the 1930s era movement that used public funds to move approximately half a million ethnic Mexicans to Mexico, regardless of citizenship - also had a medical dimension.[35] People who were deported and who received public assistance through medical clinics or relief offices were likely to become a public charge and be denied readmission to the U.S. The close institutional links between medical and repatriation concerns were not simply a Mexican problem. After long-term Florida resident Manuel Yglesia sought treatment for TB at the Centro Asturiano's sanatorium in Havana, the United States Public Health Service prevented his return to the U.S., a decision that kept him apart from his family for the rest of his life. Depression era medical policies split American families along lines of citizenship.[36]

In Texas, the state health office tried to sever their relationship to conditions in Mexican American communities. San Antonio, Texas reported the highest TB rates, dysentery rates and infant mortality rates in the country, and these were concentrated in Mexican neighborhoods. [37] The Texas Department of Health reported 212.8 TB deaths per 100,000 Latinos, compared to 42.6 per 100,000 for Anglo Americans and 109.1 per 100,000 for African Americans. Latinos were dying of TB at five times the rate of their white neighbors and twice the rate of their African American neighbors. Texas health officials responded to this crisis in Latino communities by changing the racial category for Mexicans from "white" to "colored." Latinos met this decision with outrage. As El Paso journalist Salvador Franco Urias stated, "shuffling vital statistics is not the response we want to see for the infant mortality crisis."[38] Latino activists turned this racial re-classification in Texas into an organizing opportunity.

Community organizations came into being across the U.S. in response to the vulnerable medical and political status of ethnic Mexicans.

Community organizations came into being across the U.S. in response to the vulnerable medical and political status of ethnic Mexicans. In Los Angeles, *La Union Latina* demanded that Franklin Delano Roosevelt "recognize our equality under the law, and reject the odious agreement that classifies Mexicans as a *colored*

race."[39] In El Paso, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Committee to Defend Mexicans, and the Veterans of the Great War came together in opposition to this legal re-classification. Under pressure from New Mexico Senator Dennis Chavez, the Mexican Foreign Office, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and countless Latino community activists across the Southwest, the state of Texas agreed to stop placing Mexicans in the *colored* category.[40] This decision forced Texas county medical associations outside of El Paso and South Texas to start accepting now legally white Mexican and Mexican American doctors.

Prompted by Depression-era hardships, Latinos in the 1930s understood their demands for better wages and working conditions, and improved living arrangements, as part of their campaigns against starvation and disease. Texas organizer Emma Tenayuca remembered, "we fought against poverty, high infant death rates, disease, and hunger and misery. I would do the same thing again."[41] In Los Angeles, *El Congreso de Pueblos de Habla Hispana* pushed the city to build healthy public housing in Mexican neighborhoods.[42] In New York, *La Prensa* reported that "we receive persistent and detailed complaints from destitute *hispanos* who, after speaking to relief station officials, either don't receive any aid at all or are given indefinite date – which never actually arrives."[43] In Tampa, the consortium of mutual aid societies successfully beat back the AMA's blacklisting of their physicians. Faced with the devastating medical effects of unemployment and displacement, this generation of activists demanded "sanitation, not discrimination."[44]

Cold War Alchemies: Latinos, Science, and National Institutions

The advent of World War II changed the conditions of citizenship for Latinas and Latinos in the military and in the United States. Postwar changes in public education and new public investments in science and medicine opened new careers to U.S. born Latinas and Latinos after 1945. Aspiring doctors and scientists who emerged in Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and other Latino communities took advantage of falling racial boundaries and increasing investment in public education to earn advanced degrees and build careers unimaginable in the 1930s. Los Alamos and Sandia National Laboratories in New Mexico, Mission Control in Houston and the Arecibo Observatory in Puerto Rico became key scientific fronts in the Cold War, affecting the culture of surrounding Latino communities. The construction of new universities and medical schools and the desegregation of other medical schools helped increase the number of available Latino doctors. The AMA again recognized the Puerto Rican Medical Association an affiliate in 1946, another sign of the changing times.[45] Hospitals started recruiting globally to serve the growing U.S. population, increasing the number of Latin American doctors in the postwar U.S.

Arecibo Observatory, Arecibo, Puerto Rico (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2010)

The career of Dr. Héctor Pérez García highlights the impact of these postwar democratic transformations. The García family had fled revolutionary violence in Tamaulipas and settled in South Texas. Growing up with segregated "Mexican schools," six of the seven García children would eventually obtain degrees in the medical field. Hector's brother counseled him to "become a doctor.

That will give you the financial independence and community respect to do what you want to do." An exceptional student at the University of Texas Medical Branch – Galveston, when García graduated *cum laude* in 1940 every hospital in Texas rejected him because he was "Mexican." He secured a residency in Omaha, Nebraska, and then volunteered for the Army Medical Corps in World War II. "My command was practically ninety-nine percent Anglos," he later remembered, "and practically no blacks and maybe one or two Hispanics...[But] it did not matter, everyone obeyed me."[46]

Returning to South Texas in 1946, the Veteran's Administration hospital was the only Corpus Christi facility that provided him visiting privileges. When he saw Mexican patients kept in a hall while beds were empty in white wards, García demanded that the hospital treat Mexican veterans like any other white patients. He also started a successful petition drive to raise city dollars for a municipal hospital in Corpus Christi. On March 26, 1948, he started an organization called the American G.I. Forum to help all veterans access their benefits. However, when he learned that a South Texas funeral director had refused to bury Private Felix Longoria in a cemetery in the town of Three Rivers, García committed himself to securing the civil rights of Mexican American veteran "I didn't become that deeply involved in politics until the Felix Longoria case in 1949," he recalled.[47] Advertising in Spanish and English, and organizing through appeals to citizenship and military service, the American G.I. Forum became one of the most important civil rights organizations in the postwar U.S. The organization bankrolled the *Hernandez v. Texas case* (1954) regarding racial representation on Texas juries, and it opened doors to military and federal employment to Latinos. The first Mexican American appointed to the Civil Rights Commission of the U.S., as well as numerous diplomatic posts, Hector Perez Garcia maintained that his continued public service "nearly bankrupted" his medical practice at 3024 Morgan Avenue in Corpus Christi, and most likely would have if not for the help of his siblings Dr. Xicotencatl Garcia and Dr. Cleotilde Garcia.[48]

A contemporary of Hector García, Dr. Jorge Prieto's story connects to the roles migrants played in the transformation of the industrial Midwest. Arriving as political refugee from Mexico in the 1920s, he grew up wanting to practice medicine among farmworkers. He earned his medical degree at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México (UNAM), but completed his residency in the U.S. During his practice, private hospitals followed their white clients to the suburbs, making teaching hospitals and city hospitals the main form of urban health care. Recognizing that African American Chicago residents made their way to Cook County Hospital, "a dilapidated and obviously obsolete building with patchwork equipment and wards," while wealthier residents had a different experience "across the street ... [with] two modern and well-equipped hospitals: Presbyterian and the University of Illinois Hospitals," he grew concerned about such "institutionalized racism" and joined the Catholic Interracial Council. Initially working in Puerto Rican and Mexican neighborhoods, he built a network of public family practice clinics across Chicago's working-class neighborhoods. In 1985, Mayor Harold Washington made Prieto the President of the Chicago Board of Health.[49]

With César Chávez and members of the United Farm Workers union, Prieto expressed concern during the 1960s and 1970s about technology's effects on agricultural workers in the U.S. Outraged at large landowners' "influence with the Davis branch of the University of California, which effectively controls research in agriculture of the entire state," he pointed to the way that scientists had developed "machines...to replace workers picking tomatoes," which required chemicals "that would harden tomatoes – and other fruits – so that steel claws, instead

of human hands, could pick them."[50] For Prieto, Cesar Chavez, and many other Americans, agricultural biotechnology symbolized an unholy alliance between postwar scientists and big business, but the grape boycott challenged this relationship and helped link American environmentalism to the U.S. labor movement. Latino scientists also made scientific contributions to American environmentalism. Geophysicist Mario Molina explored the environmental effects of chlorofluorocarbons. His research group used orbiting satellites (created by the Cold War space race) to measure CFC's effects on the ozone layer, winning the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1995.[51]

Los Angeles County General Hospital (Rootsweb)

Latinos were also test subjects in the scientific transformation of fertility and family planning. In 1956, progressive medical researchers interested in the effects of cortisole and progesteron on ovulation moved to test these products in official clinical trials in Puerto Rico, where U.S. companies and government officials had long encouraged the sterilization of women in a procedure commonly known as "*La Operación.*"[52] Many Puerto Rican women involved in the clinical trials had to be hospitalized with nausea, bleeding, headaches, and water loss. Although "The Pill" has come to symbolize the revolutionary promise of applied science, women in the U.S. also started raising questions regarding the dangerous dismissal of these side effects.[53] The ensuing congressional hearings helped springboard the women's health movement into national consciousness, but the earlier experiences of Puerto Rican women with the pill went ignored in most American communities.[54]

Through the Cold War, Latino mobilization for basic health care rights came into conflict with medical movements aimed at regulating sexuality and motherhood. The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Social Security act opened access to hospital employment and medical care for everyone; access also brought doctors unfamiliar with Latino cultures into intimate medical contact with Latinos. As with Sheppard-Towner, hospitals across the U.S. received funds from federal policies to support reproductive health services. Dr. Quilligan of Los Angeles County General Hospital, who believed "poor minority women were having too many children," used some of the funds to reimburse the sterilizations of Mexican immigrant women during childbirth.[55] Ten sterilized women and a coalition of Chicana advocates who underwent these coerced sterilizations challenged the hospital. While the plaintiffs in *Madrigal v. Quilligan* lost in May 1978, public pressure surrounding the trial forced County General Hospital to adhere to federal guidelines for sterilization, to establish a moratorium on the sterilization of minors, to translate forms into Spanish and other languages, and to explain repeatedly that welfare was not tied to sterilization.[56]

Struggle over respectful access to American medical services became a key front in Latino politics in the 1970s and helped expand the medical boundaries of citizenship. Two Arizona cases illustrate the process. In *Memorial Hospital v. Maricopa County,* Memorial Hospital in Phoenix, Arizona refused to admit traveling welder Henry Evaro for asthma in 1971. Instead, they asked the Maricopa County Hospital to admit him as a patient. The county hospital refused and Memorial sued Maricopa County. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed, stating that residency requirements for medical care "im-

pinged on the right of interstate travel by denying newcomers basic necessities of life." In the second case, the Phelps Dodge Copper Queen Hospital emergency room refused to treat child burn victims, redirecting them to the county hospital in Douglas eighteen miles away. In *Guerrero v. Copper Queen* (1974), the state Supreme Court agreed that 'nonresident aliens' could not be exempt from a hospital's requirement to provide emergency medical care.[57]

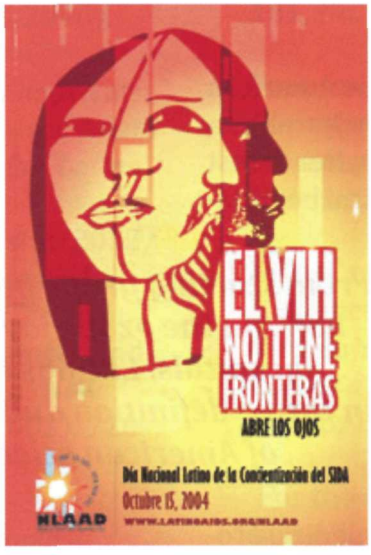
Dignified access to medical services also affected doctors and became a key front in democratizing health care in the 1970s. Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias, a founding member of the women's caucus and the Hispanic Caucus in the American Public Health Association, recalled the first meeting of the women's caucus in 1971, when "woman followed upon woman with moving and sometimes tragic stories of abuses: back alley abortions, medical treatment denied because of lack of money, little recognition for their work as professionals, sexual harassment."[58] Born in New York and raised in Puerto Rico and New York, she became involved in free speech issues and the *independentista* movement, while raising three children and finishing her medical education. She graduated in 1960 with highest honors from the Universidad de Puerto Rico and established the island's first center for newborn children. Her medical experience and political involvement served her well when, in June 1970, the Young Lords took over Lincoln Hospital (South Bronx, NY) while she was director of pediatrics.

Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias at a Clinic in Puerto Rico, ca. 1963 (Library of Congress, Look Magazine)

For Dr. Rodriguez-Trias and the Young Lords, health and illness were fundamental to their understanding of Latino urban communities. The Young Lords stressed that the medical structure had negative consequences for city residents, that "bullets and bombs aren't the only ways to kill people. Bad hospitals kill our people." Gloria González considered teaching hospitals like Lincoln to be "very degrading." She remembered, "I was having my baby, and I'd thought I'd be there only with a doctor, maybe a nurse, and to my surprise there were twenty people just staring."[59] The Young Lords focused on changing these power relations in hospitals. When the Lincoln Hospital takeover provided provide free health screenings to everyone, some doctors enthusiastically cooperated in the hope of turning it into an institution beholden to the surrounding communities. For Rodriguez-Trias, this action demonstrated the "need to negotiate or confront the health care system to get the best health out of it."[60] The action opened doors to more community-based doctors. Dr. Rodriguez – Trias went on to lead the New York City Department of Public Health, helping to bring national attention to the devastation caused by HIV and AIDS among inner city mothers and children. In 1993, the American Public Health Association elected her their first Latina president.

When AIDS appeared in cities across North America, it coincided with the sexual revolution, 1970s social justice movements, and the Latinization of working-class America. Latinos with AIDS built political responses from available movement scripts. In San Francisco, people started using the *Día de los Muertos* celebration in 1984 to grieve loved ones and break the national silence around Latinos with AIDS. [61] Gay *Tejano* Paul Castro left Houston for a more open life in San Francisco. When ABC Network's K-GO TV

refused to allow any equipment to touch Paul Castro during a press conference on AIDS, he sued and won. Castro encapsulated the issues clearly in his opening statement, "I am a person, not a disease."[62] In New York, ACT UP coalition member and artist, sexworker and EMT Iris de la Cruz took a cue from the 1970s Puerto Rican activist campaigns, bluntly reminding treatment activists "her doctor did not take food stamps."[63] As she remembered her transformation through organizing her fellow workers, "hookers needed love, support, and encounter groups. I learned to accept and give love. I also learned why so many of my friends were dying."[64] Iris de la Cruz and ACTUP helped force the NIH to confront the ways the AIDS diagnoses and associated health services had no knowledge of the medical and social experiences of women with HIV. As the poster stated, "Women don't get AIDS, they just die from it." In San Francisco, Pedro Zamora carried his young, Gay, and Cuban perspective from Miami to *MTV's The Real World,* bringing the impact of AIDS, homophobia and racism on a weekly basis to living rooms across the country.[65] Zamora's public death, alongside Castro and de la Cruz's place in early AIDS mobilization, marked Latino presences in the early phases of the AIDS epidemic.



"HIV has no boundaries" poster for National Latino AIDS Awareness Day (Latino Commission on AIDS, 2004)

The appearance of AZT cocktails changed Latino politics around AIDS, making survival more of a question of timely access to steady medical treatment. Latinos responded by building communities around dignified access. Gay migrant Latinos built organiations like ALMA (Association of Latino Men for Action) in Chicago and Project Vida in San Francisco that fomented compañerimo, partly through a sense of exclusion from mainstream Gay and Latino organizations but more through a sense of hope, solidarity, and shared experience. In his book *Compañeros: Latino Activists in the Face of AIDS* Jesus Ramirez-Valles is told by fellow activist Gregorio, "In them I found a desire to live and to do something for the community."[66] Arts organizations like Teatro Pregones in New York City crafted performances to address homophobia and indifference in Latino and American communities.[67] Other cultural workers sought to make their AIDS stories matter to their fellow migrants. San Francisco filmmakers Gustavo Cravioto and Mario Callitzin crafted the film *Del Otro Lado* around a gay Mexico City couple's illegal – and ultimately tragic – crossing of the border to gain access to life-giving AZT to make migrant LGBT stories resonate with other more visible migration experiences.[68]

The 1980s and 1990s also saw a backlash against Latinos that centered, in part, on hospitals and medical care. Proposition 187 devoted a full section to "the exclusion of illegal aliens from publicly funded health care services." These policies could not stop the movement of Latinos through the hospital doors and into key medical and scientific positions. President George H.W. Bush appointed pediatric surgeon and drug addiction specialist Dr. Antonia Novello Surgeon General of the U.S. in 1990, making her the first Puerto Rican, the first Latina and the first racial minority to occupy this position. Echoing earlier medical reformers, she pointedly reminded Americans "viruses and bacteria do not need green cards."[69] More importantly, Latinos had begun to establish themselves as professionals in the fields of science, engineering, and medicine. In 2004, Latinos earned 2.95% of the nation's PhDs in science and engineering fields, and

that number increased slightly to 3.29% by 2008. The National Hispanic Medical Association (NHMA) has estimated that Latinos comprise between two and five percent of health care employees. In 2007, the American Association of Medical Colleges estimated that 6.4% of medical school graduates were Latino.[70] These numbers remain far too low, but they call to mind the important work that small numbers of Latino doctors, nurses, engineers, scientists, and others have done as researchers, health providers, and community leaders over the last century.

Felicitas Provencio's presence in the American historical record emerges from her status as a criminal, not a midwife, in El Paso. Her arrest dramatically shows the ways medical boundaries around American science and medicine can move suddenly, turning Latinos into outsiders in America, just as American adventures abroad helped turn a Cuban activist into an American doctor. This essay has discussed the nineteenth-century presence of Latino medical professionals in American science, the rise of starkly policed medical boundaries around American citizenship during the Progressive Era, the movement of Latinos across the boundaries of American medicine after World War II, and our contemporary volatile expulsion and inclusion of Latinos in the worlds of science and medicine. It has used individual stories to focus on changing American medical boundaries and their Latino border-crossers. In recent years, women have become a more public part of these boundary crossings as more Latinas participated in science and medicine as doctors, patients, nurses and test subject, and as observers became more vigilant about the sex and gender of people moving across the borders of American medicine. Throughout the long history of the U.S., race, gender, imperialism, and citizenship have shaped the contours of most American institutions. Much more still needs to be done to understand and document how Latinas and Latinos made their way in the worlds of science and medicine. However, from Platón Vallejo's participation in the Sanitary Commission to the Young Lords' takeover of an American hospital, it is clear that these communities have participated in the popular currents of U.S. science and medicine in central ways.

From starting grape boycotts, to finding holes in the ozone layer, to taking over hospitals, Latinos have participated in the re-definition and democratization of American science and medicine.

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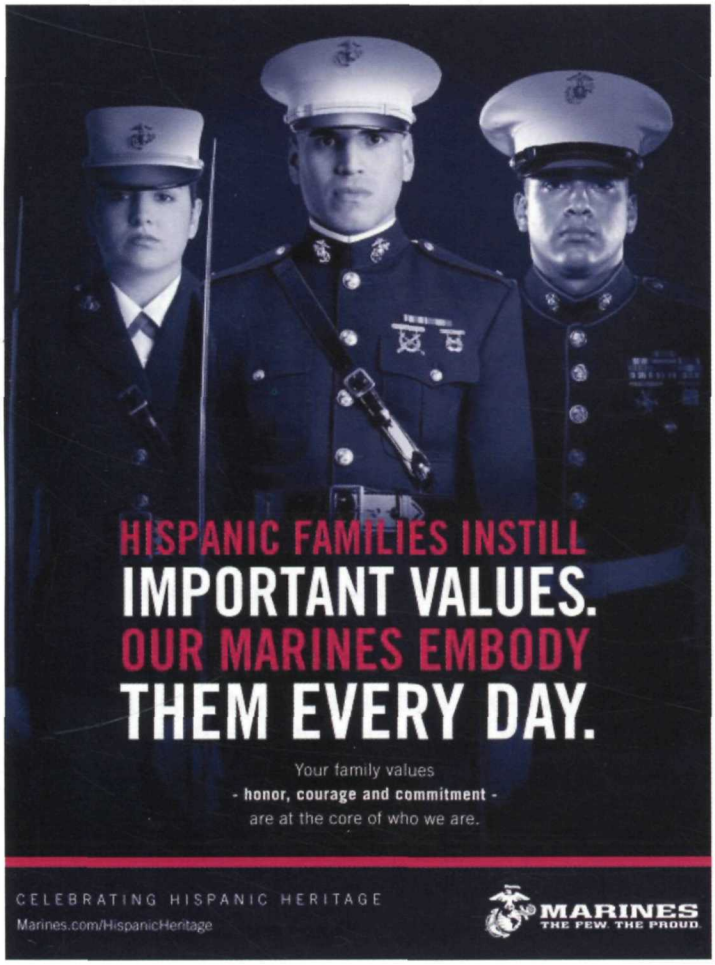


Clockwise from top left:
Admiral David Farragut aboard the USS Hartford, c. 1860s (The Photographic History of The Civil War); Company C, 2nd Platoon, 65th Infantry Regiment, "The Borinqueneers," South Korea, 1952 (US Army); 1st LT Baldomero Lopez, USMC, scaling the seawall during the Inchon Landing, South Korea, 1950. Minutes after this photo was taken, Lopez sacrificed his life to save his men and was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor (USMC); The seven Medina brothers, known as the "Fighting Medinas," fought in WWII. They came from Texas, Puerto Rico, and New York (US Department of Defense); Marine Corps Hispanic Heritage month poster (USMC)

Fighting on Two Fronts: Latinos in the Military

Lorena Oropeza

Culturally, Latinos come from places that have long valued a tradition of military service. Historically, Latinos first entered the United States in significant numbers through war, first in 1848 in a war against Mexico and then in 1898 at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. Politically, most Latinos by conquest soon shifted their allegiance to the U.S., a pattern that has prevailed among successive generations of immigrants from Cuba, Mexico, and, more recently, the countries of Central America. Racially, Latinos trace their ancestry to Europe, the Americas, and Africa and, consequently, have long struggled to be recognized as the equals of whites in the U.S. For all these reasons, Latinos have not only taken tremendous pride in their record of military service, they have also adroitly used their status as soldiers and veterans to advance the equal treatment and integration of Latinos within U.S. society.

As immigrants and as citizens, Latinos have served the United States in the military proudly for generations and continue to do so today.

At the heart of the modern Latino experience has been the quest for first-class citizenship. Within this broader framework, military service provides unassailable proof that Latinos are Americans who have been proud to serve, fight, and die for their country, the U.S. Thus, advocates of Latino equality often note that Latinos have fought in every U.S. conflict from the American Revolution to the current conflict in Afghanistan. They also point to the significant number of Medals of Honor bestowed upon this group (44 at last count) as well as numerous other honors.[1] Although dissenting voices among Latinos have appeared on occasion, ethnic leaders over the years have fashioned a civil rights strategy that blends equal parts ethnic pride and patriotism. With each U.S. military engagement, Latino civil rights activists have insisted that wartime sacrifice merits peacetime equality. Although this civil rights strategy reached its apotheosis during the World War II era among Mexican Americans, it continues to echo today.

In 2012, even the briefest Internet search reveals an extraordinary number of books, documentaries, and websites devoted to tallying Latino military service. Testimony to how "Hispanic Americans have contributed gallantly to the defense of our Nation," in the words of one early publication, together these accounts send the powerful message that Latinos should be recognized as genuine American heroes.[2] The message matters because of the stubborn misperception, also easy to find on the web in 2012, that Latinos comprise a largely immigrant population fraught with divided loyalties.[3] In fact, according to the 2010 census, Latinos were 62 percent native-born.[4] More important, over the years, countless immigrant Latinos have fought for their adopted country, often in the hope of obtaining U.S. citizenship.

The quest for inclusion based upon military service, moreover, affects more than just fighting men. Entire families have taken pride in their relatives' wartime contributions while mourning their absences and casualties. These family members, moreover, have expected fairer treatment on the basis of a loved one's wartime sacrifices. Furthermore, although a civil rights strategy focused on soldiers and sailors is massively gendered, Latinas have likewise contributed to war efforts since at least World War II. During that war, they served as nurses, administrative personnel, and as members of such auxiliary forces as the

Army's WACS (Women Army Corps), and the Navy's WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Service). That tradition of service continued in subsequent conflicts, while more recently, Latina enlistment in the armed services has outstripped that of Latinos![5] Just as their male counterparts have for so many years, Latinas today recognize military service as a vehicle of assimilation and of economic advancement. Eager to move from the margins to the mainstream, they too have turned toward the armed services.

Ultimately, a civil rights impulse frames the very topic "Latinos in the military." Given the relative recent vintage of the term "Latino," for example, any survey of Latinos in the military is at least in part a project of looking backward before the term existed. For that reason, the first "Latinos" to fight for American war aims were not ethnic minorities within the U.S. but colonial subjects of Spain. Even more telling, is how broadly most of these surveys define "Latino." Historically, people whose families originally come from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba have comprised the largest cohorts of Latinos. The topic "Latinos in the military," however, prompts mention of the exploits of those whose forbearers hailed not only from Latin America, but also from the Canary Islands west of Africa, the island of Minorca off the coast of Spain, as well as directly from the Iberian Peninsula, including Portugal![6] From a civil rights perspective, however, such chronological and geographical inclusivity makes sense. A Latino definitional umbrella stretched as wide as possible neatly maximizes the number of Latino heroes and, implicitly, strengthens the argument that all Latinos are deserving of first-class citizenship.

Bernardo Galvez y Madrid (Museo de los Gálvez)

Moreover, the case can be made (and often has been) that Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surnamed military men drew from a shared cultural heritage that placed a high value on military service and on battlefield courage. Certainly, the earliest Latino military hero, Don Bernardo de Gálvez y Madrid, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, earned accolades on exactly these grounds. Even before Spain declared war on its imperial rival in 1779, Gálvez, a native of the Spanish province of Málaga, had demonstrated his personal sympathy to the goals of the American independence by preventing British smuggling through the port of New Orleans but looking the other way as American shipments of arms and supplies traveled up the Mississippi. Once officially at war, Gálvez raised a multiracial, multiethnic army that included troops from Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. These troops dislodged British forces from forts along the Mississippi River and then east all the way to Pensacola, Florida, in an unrelentingly successful military campaign. At a time when the British were blockading Atlantic seaports, the campaign kept open critical supply lines through the Caribbean. The final sea and land battle at Pensacola, then the capital of British Florida, also allowed Gálvez to display his intrepid nature. For daring to breach the entrance to Pensacola Bay at a time when other Spanish commanders were more hesitant, Gálvez received permission from the Spanish king to emblazon the words, "*Yo solo* (I alone)," on his family coat of arms.[7]

In a naval career that stretched from the War of 1812 to the Civil War, Admiral David Glasgow Farragut earned a similar daring reputation. The son of a Minorcan sea merchant who

had settled in South Carolina just in time to join the fight for American independence, the younger Farragut joined the U.S. Navy at the age of nine. At the age of 12, he brought a captured British ship to port. More training and assignments in the Caribbean followed. By 1854, Farragut was in California, apparently using both English and Spanish to establish Mare Island Navy Yard in the northern portion of the state. Despite being southern-born and raised, he remained loyal to the Union when the Civil War erupted the following decade. During the Battle of Mobile Bay, Farragut famously urged Union ships forward in waters infested with mines (called torpedoes at the time). Navy lore attributes to him the saying, "Damn the torpedoes. Full speed ahead!" As a result of his tremendous service, he became the navy's first Rear Admiral, first Vice Admiral, and, finally, first Admiral, all ranks created especially for him. While Farragut's Hispanic heritage was more attenuated than Gálvez's, he remained proud of it, making it a point to visit Spain and its Mediterranean islands on a goodwill tour before he died.[8]

Admiral David Farragut, c. 1860s (Photographic History of The Civil War)

Neither Gálvez nor Farragut, however, understood their actions as working within a civil rights tradition, much less saw themselves as members of a marginalized minority. Nineteenth-century Tejanos (Mexican Texans) who fought for Texas independence did. As one of their number, Juan Nepomuceno Seguín, famously lamented, he had become "a foreigner in my own land." After gaining independence in 1821, the young Mexican republic had welcomed American immigration to Texas in the hopes of spurring economic development. By the mid-1830s, these American immigrants not only outnumbered Tejanos ten to one but many wished to break free from Mexican rule. Some Tejanos like Seguín shared their opposition to the Mexican government. Seven of them joined the roughly 200 rebels who had gathered in a former San Antonio mission turned military barracks called the Alamo. Here they decided to take a stand against the Mexican Army, vowing to defend the Alamo with their lives if necessary. Seguín, who had been sent on a daring but ultimately futile mission to gather reinforcements, was one of the few to escape the massacre.[9]

Although not strictly an American conflict, the Texas fight for independence marked the first time that Latinos sought equal treatment based upon military service. All told, dozens of Tejanos fought alongside Sam Houston and Stephen Austin, but these Tejanos soon found out that Texans did not remember them whenever they remembered the Alamo. Instead, in the wake of the war, people of Mexican descent in Texas encountered severe prejudice, land encroachment, and economic dispossession. Unwilling to accept such erasure and ill treatment, Tejanos veterans continually petitioned for redress. As late as 1875, for example, a group of Tejanos wrote a letter to the state comptroller asking him to provide them with pensions just like the pensions that other veterans of the independence struggle had routinely received. Although appeals such as this one usually fell upon deaf ears, a century later the same tactic would be employed to advance equality across the Southwest.[10]

Events in Texas, moreover, directly influenced the outbreak of war between the U.S. and Mexico 10 years later. In 1846, Mexico encompassed the present-day states of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, as well as parts of Col-

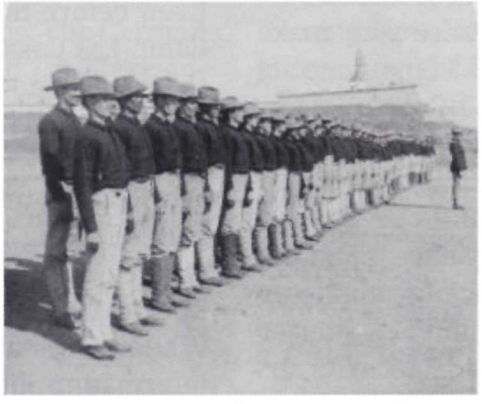
orado, Utah, and Wyoming. Mexico also still claimed Texas although Texans disagreed. After the U.S. annexed Texas as a state in 1845, relations between the two nations quickly soured. The following year, President James K. Polk formally asked for a declaration of war, and by March of 1847 American servicemen were marching toward Mexico City from the gulf port of Veracruz. Relatively little fighting took place, however, along Mexico's northern frontier. Expecting an American victory, the estimated 100,000 Mexicans in what was soon to become the American Southwest mostly felt a sense a sense of loss and vulnerability. After centuries of Spanish-speaking rule, the region was about to be annexed by the U.S. Among those who took up arms, however, a few fought on the *American* side. In southern California, for example, support for U.S. annexation ran so high that two sons of prominent families joined the U.S. cavalry and engaged in a skirmish outside of San Diego against other Mexican citizens.[11]

Glorietta Pass Battlefield [Mexican-American War]
Pecos National Historical Park, New Mexico
(Kathleen Madigan, National Park Service, 2008)

Given the scarcity of the fighting up north, however, far more significant than any individual battlefield appearances was the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that ended the war. At the time, U.S. courts recognized only whites as citizens. The treaty, by holding out the promise of U.S. citizenship to the Mexican population in the ceded territory, implied that Mexicans were legally "white." The social reality, of course, was quite different. In 1848, Mexicans were a despised and twice-defeated enemy. Given the prevailing racial ideologies at the time, Mexicans were also deemed inferior because they were racially mixed, a blend of European, indigenous, and African people.[12] Nevertheless, as "whites," Mexican Americans always served in regular units of the U.S. Armed Forces. With the important exception of dark-skinned Puerto Ricans, the same privilege awaited other Latinos. On the battlefield at least, U.S. society tended to deem Mexican Americans and most other Latinos as equals. Not surprisingly, Latinos were later to build upon this slender privilege to push for equality in other arenas of their lives.

More immediately, the Civil War proved how closely Latinos identified with the broader American culture, both North and South, which surrounded them. In fact, from Texas to California, Latinos fought valiantly for both the Confederate and Union armies. The efforts of Spanish-speaking *Nuevo Mexicanos*, however, stand out for permanently stymieing Confederate plans to control the entire Southwest. One estimate is that *Nuevo Mexicanos* accounted for as many as 2,500 of the 3,800 New Mexicans volunteers who joined the Union Army of the West.[13] Although rarely professionally trained, many of these Spanish-speakers hailed from isolated, rural areas, where they had spent years on horseback protecting their home villages from Native American incursions. Both familiarity with the terrain and tested fighting skills proved useful in the grueling Battle of Glorieta Pass when Spanish-speaking New Mexicans helped crush Confederate supply lines in northern New Mexico Territory. Afterward, however, at least some Spanish-speakers nursed the disappointment that, rather than be rewarded for their efforts, they endured an onslaught of unscrupulous speculators and tendentious court decisions that together separated them from most of their landholdings.[14] Although the memory of land loss

lingered, this population continued to serve the U.S. with great valor in the wars that followed. A key indicator of that valor originated during the Civil War. In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln established the Medal of Honor as the nation's highest recognition for extraordinary military service. During the conflict, three Latinos were bestowed this honor – the first three of the present total of 44. A reminder that the U.S. has long been a haven for immigrants, the three were Joseph H. De Castro, a Boston-born man most probably of Canary Island heritage, Philip Bazaar, a Chilean immigrant who had settled in Massachusetts, and John Ortega, a Spanish immigrant who had found a new home in Pennsylvania.[15] Again, none of these individuals necessarily saw themselves as representing a larger group of immigrants or Spanish-speakers, much less as soldiers in a broader fight for equality, but post-facto, their heroic actions definitely added more luster to the history of Latinos in the military service.



First Company of native Puerto Ricans enlisted in the American Colonial Army, 1899 (US Army)

During the Civil War, Americans also applied the label "Spanish" to untold numbers of Puerto Ricans and Cubans because both islands were still part of the Spanish empire in the Americas. Cuban and Puerto Rican *independistas* spent the next several decades fighting through word and deed to change that status. In 1868, Puerto Ricans launched an armed insurrection, issuing *El Grito de Lares* calling for immediate independence. That same year, the Ten Years' War broke out in Cuba, followed by the Little War (1879-1880), both conflicts aimed at breaking free from Spain. Working within the U.S., the great Cuban patriot José Martí rallied support for independence among the émigré community and the broader American public. In 1895, Cubans launched another major war for independence. American entry into that war three years later ensured the defeat of the Spanish and marked the evolution of the U.S. from a continental to a global empire. Despite their demonstrated willingness to die for freedom, however, the war failed to fulfill the independence aspirations of most Cubans and Puerto Ricans.

In Cuba, Americans and Cubans faced the same enemy, but mostly fought separately. While some Americans recognized the strides that poorly-equipped guerrilla soldiers had accomplished against regular Spanish troops, other Americans quickly formed a negative view of Cuban soldiers, especially Afro-Cuban ones, labeling them "dirty," "a wretched mongrel lot," and "worthless."[16] Despite negative views about Cuban fighters, U.S. policy makers recognized the strategic value of the island. At war's end, the U.S. gained a naval base at Guantánamo and, until 1934, reserved the right to intervene in the island's foreign and commercial affairs. The close relationship established between the two countries after 1898, moreover, is one reason that thousands of Cuban exiles fled to the U.S. after another revolution hit the island in 1959.

For strategic reasons, the U.S. decided to maintain direct control over Puerto Rico. Like Cuba, Puerto Rico had served as a military outpost for Spain. Thus, soldiering had been an integral part of the island's colonial history for centuries. The status of Puerto Rico as a territory of the U.S., however, complicated the relationship between military service and equal rights. On the one hand, arriving Americans immediately offered men on the island the opportunity to receive military training under U.S. auspices.

More than 400 men soon formed the "Porto Rican Provisional Regiment of the Infantry."[17] On the other hand, Americans saw no immediate reason to offer Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship. In 1899, even a sympathetic American considered the island's population "simple-minded," "indolent," and overly fond of "wine, women, and music and dancing." The U.S. instead established an intense program of Americanization for the island, of which military training was but one aspect, as a necessary precursor to citizenship. Not until March 1917, did Congress, through the Jones Act, make Puerto Ricans citizens of the U.S. The same act also made more than 236,000 Puerto Ricans immediately eligible for conscription. The following month, the U.S. entered World War I.[18]

Ever since, critics of U.S. policy have found the timing of the Jones Act suspicious, implicitly suggesting that the U.S. government's ulterior motive in granting citizenship to Puerto Ricans was to increase the number of available fighting men on the eve of war. To the dismay of many islanders, however, nothing could have been further from the truth. Puerto Ricans eagerly registered for the draft, trained on the island, and, ultimately, 18,000 served in the war. As former colonial subjects of Spain, who now inhabited a territory of the U.S., Puerto Ricans paid special attention to President Woodrow Wilson's call for self-determination for all nations. Whether they favored statehood or independence or something in between, many Puerto Ricans hoped that serving in the U.S. military might be a way to advance their political objectives. At the same time, to the most impoverished rural peasants, the island *jíbaros*, military service was probably of greater economic than political significance: it meant three square meals a day and a pair of shoes. While the Army found boots that fit the extra-wide feet of men who had walked barefoot their entire lives, Puerto Rican political aspirations were largely disappointed. Early on, military officials decided that islanders, like African Americans on the mainland, were best fit for service duties only, such as kitchen patrol or being a member of a labor battalion. Although members of the Porto Rican Regiment were sent to guard the Panama Canal, an important task, no islander saw combat in World War I.[19]

Consequently, the only Puerto Ricans who fought in France during World War I were those who had earlier migrated to the mainland. They experienced a segregated army. Even before the war, U.S. military officials at Camp Las Casas, the main training facility on the island, had routinely divided Puerto Rican soldiers upon inspection into the categories of "black" and "white." Once the U.S. entered World War I, officials on the mainland followed suit, allowing light-skinned Puerto Ricans to join regular units while shunting dark-skinned Puerto Ricans to all-African American units. While their status as whites makes retrieving information about Puerto Ricans who served in regular units difficult, more is known about the fate of Afro-Puerto Ricans, especially those soldiers who ended up fighting – and playing – with the 369th Infantry Regiment from Harlem. The 369th was one of the few African American units that experienced combat during the war. Fighting for 191 days without losing a single soldier as a prisoner or an inch of ground, the regiment earned the nickname the Harlem Hell Fighters and each regimental soldier was awarded the Croix de Guerre from an appreciative French government. The regiment was also famous for introducing jazz music to Europe. Perhaps hearing of the Puerto Ricans' alleged affection for music and song, the bandleader of the 369th regimental band had traveled to the island to recruit talented musicians just before the unit shipped out. [20]

While proud of their contributions overall, for some Puerto Ricans, the biggest, and most bitter, lesson of World War I was the American tradition of racial segregation rooted in white supremacist thinking. A significant minority of

Mexican Americans in Texas, however, saw the war as an excellent opportunity to overturn that ugly tradition. They did so against tremendous odds. The years preceding World War I coincided with a fierce and widespread backlash against Mexican immigration as an estimated million people fled the political and economic upheaval of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917. Worse, the violence of the revolution spilled over the border several times, compounding anti-Mexican sentiment. Then, in 1917, news of the Zimmermann Telegram deeply shocked many Americans. The German diplomatic dispatch proposed a Mexican-German alliance based in part upon German support of Mexican re-annexation of the U.S. Southwest. Although Mexico immediately rejected the proposal as preposterous, in Texas, the telegram prompted U.S. authorities to start spying on Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. More than ever before, Americans were convinced that people of Mexican descent were not only foreign but also politically suspect. Under these circumstances, many Americans viewed what they termed the "Mexican exodus" as the ultimate proof of ethnic group disloyalty and cowardice. During the war, many immigrants (and some American-born Tejanos) headed south across the border rather than risk conscription. Still inclined to identify with the Mexican nation-state than the American one, these men believed that World War I was not their fight.[21]

"We know that this so-called "Camp Gordon Plan" is the one which will add thousands and thousands of virile, efficient soldiers to our armies on the battle lines"

Capt. Edward R. Padgett, The Infantry Journal, October 1918

Precisely to counter such sentiments, the U.S. instituted a program to assimilate immigrants into the military called the Camp Gordon Plan. At the time, the U.S. immigrant population, not just from Mexico but from Europe and Asia as well, was approaching 12 percent of the total population, a record high. The U.S. Army grew concerned that so many immigrant soldiers might weaken combat-readiness. At the most basic level, immigrants did not necessarily speak English nor have an understanding of U.S. war aims. Implemented at training facilities across the country, the Camp Gordon Plan called for temporarily dividing non-English speakers by language group and offering them specialized training programs in order to boost morale and enhance unity. For about 600 Mexicans and Mexican Americans, therefore, a first stop before France was Camp Cody outside of Deming, New Mexico, where Spanish-speaking officers taught soldiers enough English language skills to become "valuable fighting units." Hundreds of other Latino soldiers, immigrants and citizens alike, took similar classes elsewhere. Although the "white" status of all Mexican-origin soldiers again makes determining the exact number that served in World War I difficult, estimates number in the thousands and even and tens of thousands.[22]

Despite the Mexican exodus, therefore, the war produced its share of Latino heroes. Among those Mexican immigrants who did serve, for example, Marcelino Serna stood out for single-handedly capturing 24 German soldiers *after* a German bullet had grazed his head. Perhaps even more impressive, Serna prevented another American soldier from summarily executing all the captives in the heat of the moment. Another hero was the American David Barkley, a native of Laredo, Texas. Anti-Mexican prejudice ran so high at the time that Barkley, enlisting at the age of 17, did his utmost to conceal from the army that his mother was a Tejana. Dying in France after a dangerous spy mission that called upon him to cross an icy river, Barkley did such a thorough job of concealing his Mexican roots that not until 1989 was he recognized as one of the

first Mexican American recipients of the Medal of Honor for his ultimate sacrifice that day.[23] After answering President Wilson's call to make the world safe for democracy, moreover, a number of Tejanos returned home eager to make Texas more democratic and safe for Mexican Americans. A first step, they were convinced, was to use their war record as proof of their commitment to the U.S. "Our sacrifice in battle is the ultimate act of protest against a determined group of petty citizens who have never been able to rid themselves of racial prejudice against our people," declared José de la Luz Saenz, a schoolteacher from Dittlinger, Texas. For his part, Manuel C. Gonzales of San Antonio wondered whether Mexican Americans after the war would be accepted as citizens as they had been accepted as soldiers. "In a time of peace are the good people of our country to receive us as Americans," he asked, "or are we to step back into the role of "an alien" until another war is had?" To ensure the former alternative, in 1929 Gonzales, Saenz, and many other World War I veterans helped found the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) to battle segregation directed against Mexican Americans. Today it remains the largest Latino civil rights advocacy group nationally.[24]

Puerto Rican Army nurses, 296th Station Hospital, Camp Tortuguero, Vega Baja, Puerto Rico, 1945 (US Army)

LULAC's glory years in toppling segregation in the courts, however, had to await the advent of another war and a demographic switch from majority immigrant to majority native-born. By 1940, people of Mexican descent in the U.S. were twice as likely to have been born and raised in the States than not. Often the children of immigrants who had entered in previous decades, they strongly identified with the country of their birth. The result was massive Mexican American participation in World War II, the most recent estimate being that some 500,000 Mexican Americans served in the conflict.[25] For many, a novel sensation of belonging accompanied the experience. Private Armando Flores of Corpus Christi, Texas, for example, fondly recalled being rebuked for putting his hands in his pockets on a cold day during basic training. "American soldiers stand at attention," a lieutenant told him, "They never keep their hands in their pockets." Years later, Flores still marveled at the significance of the occasion in his estimation: "Nobody had ever called me an American before!"[26]

The massive mobilization effort that the war required, moreover, ensured widespread participation from non-combatants. Countless Latinas joined the Army's WACS, the Navy's WAVES, or similar all-female auxiliary units associated with the U.S. Air Force. Just 19, Maria Sally Salazar of Laredo, Texas, for example, was so eager to join the Army's Women Army Corps that she borrowed her sister's birth certificate so that she could pass for 21, the minimum age requirement for women. After basic training, she spent 18 months in the Philippine jungle working out of an administrative building but also tending the wounded when needed.[27] In addition, thousands of Mexican American men and women found jobs in defense industries, an opportunity that was almost denied them because anti-Mexican prejudice remained so high. Although President Franklin Roosevelt had issued an executive order in 1941 banning discrimination in defense industry hiring, the war's seemingly ceaseless demand for labor soon proved more effective in trouncing employer reluctance to hire Latino

workers. The upshot was that wartime sacrifice was often a family affair. The Sanchez family, transplanted from Bernalillo, New Mexico to Southern California before the war, is a case in point. Of ten grown siblings, three sisters each became a "Rosita the Riveter," while all five brothers served: two as army soldiers, one as an army medic, one as a Seabee, that is, a member of U.S. Navy Construction Battalion, and the eldest, who turned 50 during the war, as a civil defense air-raid warden. The family's participation was so extensive that members remember waiting to hear of one brother's fate during the Battle of the Bulge just after hearing another brother had died in combat in the Philippines.[28]

With good reason, Mexican Americans took tremendous pride in their combat record during World War II. Thus, a tiny two-block lane in Silvis, Illinois, originally settled by Mexican immigrant railroad workers, earned the nickname "Hero Street" for sending an amazing 45 sons off to war. Sent to the Philippines because of their ability to use Spanish to communicate with their Filipino allies, many New Mexicans meanwhile experienced the horrors of the Bataan death march. Pinpointing ethnicity by looking at Spanish-surnames in addition to birthplace makes clear, moreover, that at least 11 Mexican Americans received the Medal of Honor during the conflict. Among them was Joseph P. Martínez, the child of immigrants and a Colorado beet harvester before the war. For leading a dangerous, but strategically critical, charge up a snow-covered mountain on the Aleutian Island of Attu, Martínez received that honor posthumously, the first draftee to do so. Many ethnic group members attributed their willingness to serve, and to serve so courageously to their unique cultural inheritance, one rooted in both Iberian and indigenous warrior societies. As Medal of Honor recipient Silvestre Herrera explained his decision to enter a minefield and single-handedly attack an enemy stronghold in France, a decision that cost him both feet in an explosion, "I am a Mexican-American and we have a tradition. We're supposed to be men, not sissies."[29]

Hector Garcia, founder, American G.I. Forum (Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi)

Not surprisingly, after the war, Mexican Americans found continued inequality deeply ironic and increasingly intolerable. In recognition of Herrera's heroism, for example, the governor of Arizona decided to name August 14, 1945 Silvestre Herrera Day.[30] Unfortunately, in advance of that date the governor also had to order Phoenix businesses to take down signs that read, "No Mexican Trade Wanted." Similarly, at war's end, the owner of the Oasis Café in the town of Richmond, Texas, made clear that he only served an Anglo American clientele. When told to leave, however, Macario Garcia, another Medal of Honor recipient, refused to do so and instead got into a scuffle with the café owner. Although local city officials charged Garcia with aggravated assault, nationally he won in the court of public opinion, especially after the radio celebrity Walter Winchell decried the injustice of the incident on his program. Especially after fighting a fascist dictatorship that championed an ideology of racial supremacy, the idea that wartime sacrifice merited peacetime equality resonated with more Americans than ever.[31]

By far the most famous instance of ill treatment directed at a Mexican American World War II veteran was the case of Private Felix

Longoria of Three Rivers, Texas. It also contributed to the success of another civil rights organization dedicated to addressing Mexican American concerns. Four years after his combat death in the Philippines in 1945, Longoria's remains were shipped to the U.S. The local funeral home, however, refused a request by his widow, Beatrice, to use the funeral home's chapel for a wake in his honor. As the funeral home director explained then, "We just never made it a practice to let them [Mexican Americans] use the chapel and we don't want to start now." He was correct. Across the Southwest, segregation against Mexican Americans endured less as a matter of law than as a matter of social custom. Yet what had been common practice before the war was no longer acceptable to Mexican Americans or to their Anglo American allies.[32]

"Vengo a decirle adiós a los muchachos porque pronto me voy para la guerra..."

"La Despedida" by Pedro Flores

A Corpus Christi physician, Hector P. Garcia, led the charge to address the injustice. Garcia, who had served as a medic in Europe during the war, had upon his return to the States formed an organization called the American G.I. Forum to secure equal treatment for Mexican American veterans at Veteran Administration hospitals. Receiving a call from a Beatrice's sister to intervene in the dispute with the funeral home, Garcia called the funeral director himself to ask him to reconsider. He was quickly rebuffed. To Garcia, the irony of enforcing segregation even in the case of dead soldier amounted to a "direct contradiction of those principles for which this American soldier made the supreme sacrifice." Immediately, Garcia sent notes of protest to news media outlets, elected politicians, and high government officials. In response, Lyndon B. Johnson, then the junior senator from Texas, graciously arranged for Longoria to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery. For Garcia, however, his work on the civil rights front had just begun. The Longoria incident propelled the American G.I. Forum to the front lines of the fight for Mexican American equality. Joining with LULAC, the Forum throughout the 1950s vigorously challenged segregation directed against Mexican Americans. So successful were the two organizations that the most overt manifestations of this practice as it was aimed at Mexican Americans substantially diminished by the end of the decade. Thus, a civil rights strategy born after World War I reached fruition after World War II.[33]

Unfortunately, the experience of Puerto Ricans during World War II also echoed their experience during the previous global conflict. Once again, Puerto Ricans on the island eagerly registered for the draft or volunteered in the dual hope of contributing to the war effort and along the way helping their island through an infusion of defense dollars and technical training.[34] Once again, military officials limited those hopes. Although the classic bolero *La Despedida* has its origins in the World War II era because so many soldiers left the island during those years, the military preferred to keep islanders in security and service roles. Charged mainly with hemispheric defense, members of the 65th Infantry Regiment (formerly the island's provisional regiment) were stationed as far away as the Galapagos Islands and again in the Panama Canal Zone, where some soldiers became subjects in army medical experiments about the effects of mustard gas.[35] Army researchers concluded that Puerto Ricans burnt and blistered just like "whites." Finally, near the end of the war, a few island soldiers experienced combat directly. After being deployed to North Africa and Italy to guard supply lines, they came under assault from German forces in Europe. Meanwhile, about 200 Puerto Rican women contributed to the war effort by joining the WACS or WAVES. They received training in the States, and, un-

fortunately, in some cases experienced discrimination, before returning to Puerto Rico.[36]

On the mainland, Puerto Ricans found ways to contribute, too. Puerto Ricans who served in the regular army units (versus service-oriented African American ones) likewise experienced combat. In addition, Puerto Ricans participated in D-Day and were at the Battle of the Bulge. In some cases, a single family sent sons to war from both the island and the continental U.S. Although many Americans families saw multiple sons go off to war, the stereotype of big, Catholic families certainly held true in the case of the "Fighting Medinas," who were seven brothers from a single Puerto Rican family divided between the island and Brooklyn, all of who served. Stateside, U.S. officials tapped Puerto Rican aviators for a special assignment: training African American pilots who became the Tuskegee Airmen of World War II. Whether chosen to train black men or to be subjects of army medical tests, Puerto Ricans found that the military's continued preoccupation with racial difference framed their experiences during World War II.[37]

Company C, 65th Regiment (The Borinqueneers), Korea (US Army)

Not until the Korean War did Puerto Ricans have the chance to prove themselves in battle in significant numbers. Following the surprise outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula in June 1950, the sudden and urgent need for manpower propelled the 65th Regiment to the front lines where they engaged in some of the most heated fighting of the entire war. Although the armed forces had been desegregated in 1948 by presidential order, the 65th Regiment, comprised entirely of islanders, remained an all-Puerto Rican unit. Proud of their service, they soon adopted the nickname the Boriqueneers, a name that was both a tribute to the island's original indigenous name, Boriquen, and possibly as well a nod to Puerto Rico's pirate past and the time of the buccaneers. Thrust in the thick of a war that featured a dramatically shifting front line across a rugged, mountainous terrain, these island soldiers also slogged through mud and snow as they faced both North Korean and Chinese enemy soldiers. By the end of 1951, the 65th Infantry Regiment had been in battle for 460 days, suffered 1,535 battle casualties and taken 2,133 enemy prisoners, meaning it had fought more days, lost fewer men, and taken more prisoners than comparable regiments on the front line. Little wonder that General Douglas MacArthur, who until April 1951 was in charge of military operations in Korea, said that the 65th "was showing magnificent ability and courage in field operations."[38] A later study by the Office of the Governor of Puerto Rico also concluded that Puerto Ricans suffered disproportionate casualty rates as a result of the tremendous role played by the 65th.[39]

For Puerto Rican politicians on the island, moreover, the Puerto Rican soldier exemplified the new working relationship they hoped to see between the island and the mainland. The 65th Regiment was both wholly Puerto Rican but also completely partnered to the U.S. Increasingly, Puerto Ricans had settled on a middle road between independence and statehood: they looked for maximum autonomy within the U.S. orbit. Thus, just as Mexican Americans used their military service to push for civil rights at home, Puerto Ricans used the demonstrated patriotism of the island's young men to ameliorate the colonial relationship between the island and the U.S. In the wake of

World War II, islanders had received the right to elect their own governor. During the Korean conflict, U.S. officials decriminalized both the Puerto Rican flag and the Puerto Rican anthem for the first time since 1898. Shortly afterward, Puerto Rico officially became a Commonwealth of the U.S., a status between independence and statehood.[40]

These steps toward autonomy occurred despite a controversial court-martial of Puerto Rican soldiers. In the fall of 1952, soldiers with the 65th stood accused of twice disobeying orders, failing to attack a hill in one incident and refusing to cross a river in another. In short order, 200 were arrested; of this group 94 were court-martialed and found guilty. Yet the Army quickly overturned these verdicts and granted the soldiers clemency. In doing so, the Army recognized one major obstacle the 65th Infantry faced by 1952: most of its soldiers were Spanish speaking with limited English skills while most of the officers were monolingual English. Originally, the regiment had boasted an entire contingent of fully bilingual Puerto Rican NCOs (non-commissioned officers directly in charge of the enlisted men). These men had been rotated out, as had many veteran soldiers.[41] Defenders of the regiment, moreover, saw a broader pattern of prejudice at work in the harsh decisions of the commanding officers. Given the broader significance of the 65th as a symbol of Puerto Rican pride and long-denied equality, some accounts of this regiment understandably fail to mention the court-martial at all. Inconveniently for civil rights activists, the full story of the 65th suggested that Latino patriotism had limits.

Mexican-American Marines in Vietnam, c. 1970-1972 (Marine Corps Archives & Special Collections)

Mexican Americans made that point clear during the Vietnam War. While thousands of ethnic group members had looked upon Korea as a necessary Cold War conflict and yet another opportunity to serve their country, some came to a different conclusion regarding Vietnam. A few individual Mexican American young men decided *against* serving in the conflict and thousands more, men and women alike, demonstrated against the war. In fact, until 2006 and nationwide demonstrations on behalf of immigrants' rights, the largest Latino demonstration ever had been an anti-war protest march that occurred on August 29, 1970 in Los Angeles. Organized by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee Against the War in Vietnam, Chicano anti-war activists kept the civil rights strategy cemented in World War II but employed it with a twist. While veterans in the post-World War II era had asked for equality premised on their military service, anti-war Chicanos asked why they should continue to serve in the face of continued inequality. They pointed to evidence of disproportionate casualty rates: a 1967 Ford Foundation study that suggested that although Mexican Americans comprised just 13.8 percent of the Southwest's population, they comprised 19.4 percent of all casualties. Anti-war Chicanos blamed the era's draft system, which originally had provided automatic deferments for colleges students at a time when roughly half of the Mexican-origin population lacked even an eighth grade education.[42] Ironically, even as Chicano anti-war activists criticized the country, their protest was arguably a sign of assimilation. Just as the rest of the nation was deeply divided about the war in Vietnam, so too were Mexican Americans.

Even more telling in terms of the intersection between ethnic politics and military service, Mexican American anti-war demonstrators al-

ways constituted a minority within a minority. Notably, the first Vietnam demonstrations among Mexican Americans were American G.I. Forum-sponsored marches in support of the war in 1965 and 1966 in Los Angeles and Austin, respectively.[43] Among Mexican Americans, support for the war stemmed in part from an unwillingness to depart from military or political tradition. During the Cold War, moreover, steady jobs at the dozens of military bases and other facilities that dotted the western landscape offered many Mexican Americans entry into the middle class. San Antonio alone, for example, was once home to four Air Force bases as well as the Army's Fort Sam Houston.[44] For these workers, economic as well as political interests inclined them toward supporting U.S. foreign policy. In the end, however, thousands of Mexican Americans served in the Vietnam War for the same reason they had served in previous wars: because their country called them.

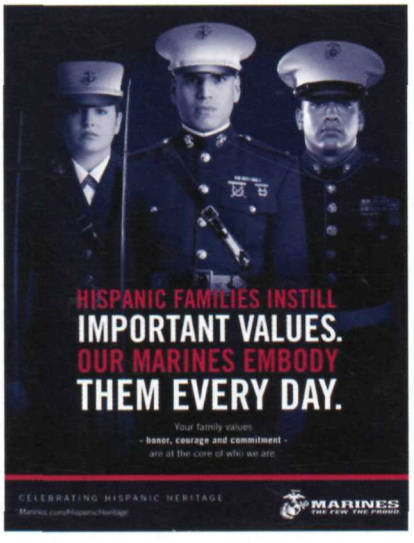
Indeed, some had looked to the military for a sense of inclusion even before the U.S. intervened militarily in Southeast Asia. Everett Alvarez was one. Wanting to be part of a "Hispanic tradition," he viewed his Navy uniform as a refuge for him from boyhood memories of anti-Mexican discrimination and rejection. Trained as a Navy pilot, Alvarez took part in retaliatory raids after reports of an attack by North Vietnamese forces upon American ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. Shot down in August 1964, Alvarez spent the next eight and a half years as a prisoner of war but never once questioned his mission or American war aims.[45] For his part, Roy P. Benavidez used the radio call sign "Tango Mike Mike," short for "That Mean Mexican," in tribute to his hardscrabble youth marked by poverty and segregation. Joining the National Guard as a teen during the Korean conflict and the U.S. Army shortly after that, Benavidez proved his mettle on the battlefield. A Medal of Honor recipient for his actions during the Vietnam conflict, Benavidez kept eight wounded men alive for six hours as they waited for medical evacuation. He did so despite heavy enemy fire and being wounded dozens of times himself. Notably, Benavidez always described his fighting spirit as a family legacy. Yaqui Indian on his mother's side, on his father's, the family tree included Placido Benavides, one of the Tejanos who fought for Texas Independence in 1836.[46]

Latinos from Puerto Rico – and Cuba – participated in the Vietnam conflict as well. Adding credence to the familiar complaint that Latino military contributions are too often overlooked, much information about these servicemen has not yet been published in book form but is only traceable via the Internet. During the conflict, servicemen of Puerto Rican descent were awarded four Medals of Honor, each one posthumously. The count increased to four only after researchers realized that Humbert Roque Versace, a West Point graduate like his Italian-American father, was also of Puerto Rican descent on his mother's side. Executed by his North Vietnamese captors in 1965, he became the first POW ever awarded the Medal of Honor, an honor granted to him because of his extraordinary bravery and inspirational leadership in the face of torture designed to break his spirit.[47] Equally impressive was the service record of a survivor of the conflict. The island-born Jorge Otero Barreto, an army sergeant, participated in 200 combat missions and was bestowed 38 military citations along the way. That record made him the most decorated Puerto Rican soldier ever and one of the most decorated soldiers of the entire Vietnam conflict.[48]

In addition, Cuban immigrants who had recently arrived in the U.S. eagerly volunteered to serve in a war against a communist enemy. First arriving in the U.S. in sizeable numbers during the latter half of the 19th century, Cubans had participated in every American war since at least the Civil War. After the 1959 rev-

olution on the island, however, anti-communist Cubans fled their homeland by the hundreds of thousands. Many of these young men jumped at the chance to fight communism as part of the U.S. Armed Forces. Prominent among them was Felix Sosa-Camejo, who left Cuba in 1960 when he was just 20 and participated in the failed Bay of Pigs invasion to overthrow Fidel Castro the following year. Ransomed by John F. Kennedy, Bay of Pig survivors were offered the chance to join the U.S. Army in 1963 and Sosa-Camejo immediately did so. He served a tour of duty in Vietnam and then volunteered for another, before losing his life during the Tet Offensive in 1968. During his tragically abbreviated military career, Sosa-Camejo was awarded a dozen military citations.[49]

Cuban migration that started during the 1960s was only part of a larger trend. The post-Vietnam War era coincided with tremendous immigration from Latin America, a phenomenon that renewed and magnified the connection between military service and the quest for inclusion. Immigration combined with natural increase, moreover, accounted for the skyrocketing Latino population overall. Between 2000 and 2010 alone, the Latino population grew 43 percent, or more than four times the nation's 9.7 percent growth rate. The decade of the 1980s also saw for the first time significant numbers of immigrants from Central America who were fleeing the war, violence, and economic upheaval of their home countries. Although in 2010 the three largest cohorts within the U.S. Latino population still traced their ancestry to Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba (accounting for 63 percent, 9.2 percent and 3.5 percent of the total respectively), Central Americans as a group accounted for nearly 8 percent of the total U.S. Latino population and those who origins go back to El Salvador accounted for 3.3 percent. Within the U.S. today, Salvadoran Americans constitute almost as large a group as Cuban Americans.[50]



Hispanic Heritage Month poster, 2010 (US Marine Corps)

Despite substantial progress on the civil rights front since the 1960s, moreover, for these new immigrants the relationship between military service and citizenship remained as pertinent as ever. As they looked for a place to belong, to excel, and to earn a living, serving in the U.S. Armed Forces remained a viable option. The recent war in Iraq underscored that point. Early news reports noted that among the initial casualties in Iraq were four Marines from California who were not U.S. citizens: José Gutiérrez, a Guatemalan immigrant, and José Angel Garibay, Francisco Martinez Flores, and Jesus A. Suarez del Solar, all born in Mexico.[51] In response, the U.S. Congress made these and other non-citizens soldiers eligible for citizenship if their next of kin wished to have their fallen relative naturalized posthumously.[52] Of the four fallen soldiers mentioned above, all but Suarez became U.S. citizens after their death.

Looking toward the future, the armed forces realize that given the country's demographics, successful recruitment for all branches of the military depends upon the successful recruitment of Latinos. In fact, one of the greatest champions of the long history of Latinos in the U.S. military is the Department of Defense. A sustained recruitment campaign aimed at Latinos has yielded impressive results. In 2003, the Latinos were underrepresented as compared to their percentage of the population in every branch of

the military with the notable exception of the Marine Corps. Even then, the discrepancy disappeared when controlled for citizenship status and educational obtainment.[53] Today, Latinos are overrepresented in the Navy and their representation has greatly increased in every other branch of the military. In addition, an increasing number of Latinas are finding the military a route to economic security and educational opportunity. Military planners note, however, that more work needs to be done to achieve parity in terms of rank. When the focus narrows to the officer ranks, marked underrepresentation still prevails in every branch of the military service although the best (if still low) representation for Hispanic officers occurs again in the Marine Corps.[54] While non-citizens are eligible to become enlisted men and women, only U.S. citizens can become officers.

Olga Custodio, the first Latina U.S. military fighter pilot, exiting a T-38 Talon (U.S. Air Force)

As part of its outreach efforts, the Department of Defense has devoted increased attention to tracking the ethnicity of service personnel and their citizenship status. These studies make clear two important points that should be obvious but are often lost in the debate that surrounds immigration. First, reflecting the population overall, the vast majority of Latinos and Latinas serving in the U.S. Armed Forces are native-born. Second, non-citizens make up a tiny minority of the overall armed forces population: 1.4 percent in 2010.[55] Many immigrants evidently become citizens *before* joining the military, but thousands more have become citizens while in the military. In the wake of 9/11, President George W. Bush streamlined the naturalization process for non-citizens soldiers as long as they were legal residents. Today non-citizen servicemen and servicewomen can now start naturalization proceedings after serving a single day. Furthermore, although technically enlistment is only an option for legal residents, the latest legislation includes a provision allowing undocumented U.S. residents serving in the armed forces an opportunity to gain citizenship.[56] As it proceeds with its recruitment campaigns, the military recognizes that non-citizens, whatever their status, "represent a valuable pool for enlisted recruiting." In 2011, Hispanics accounted for 31.5 percent of all non-citizen recruits.[57]

Ultimately, whether the U.S. is the land of one's birth or one's adopted homeland, a new generation of Latinos continues to enter the military service. According to a 2009 academic article entitled, "The Army's Hispanic Future," moreover, the number one reason Latinos join the army is: "to serve my country."[58] Although he chose to join the Marines, Rafael Peralta exemplified that sentiment. A native of Mexico, Peralta excitedly enlisted the same day that he received his green card and became a U.S. citizen after joining the military. In 2004, the day before engaging in operations in Fallujah, Iraq, he wrote a letter to his younger brother, Ricardo, telling him, "Bro, be proud of me . . . and be proud to be an American." The next day, Peralta, 25, died after absorbing the impact of an exploding grenade with his body, an action that saved the lives of five fellow Marines. Six years later, to honor his brother, Ricardo Peralta also joined the Marines.[59]

To be certain, the story of Latino military service is neither unique nor without its limitations. After all, Americans of all backgrounds have proved themselves to be great patriots and capable of battlefield heroics. On the civil

rights front, other minorities have drawn similar linkages between military service and the desire for equal rights. During World War II, for example, African Americans demanded a "double victory," one against the forces of fascism abroad and the forces of segregation at home, while Japanese Americans joined the 442nd to prove their loyalty to the U.S. and escape the injustice of the internment camps.[60] Equally important, a story that emphasizes Latino patriotism, honor, and duty, is necessarily also a story that bypasses those pieces of the past that do not fit the narrative. By definition, the topic "Latinos in the military" is *not* about those Latinos who have questioned U.S. foreign policy or war aims. The standard narrative leaves no room for voices of dissent or even for those voices expressing conflicting emotions about the cost of war, such as the voice of Fernando Suarez, the father of a Jesus Suarez del Solar, the fallen Marine. After his son's death, the elder Suarez was both intensely proud of his "Aztec Warrior," and a bitter opponent to the war in Iraq. Although his son was offered posthumous citizenship, a heartbroken and angry Fernando Suarez had zero interest in accepting this symbolic gesture on his son's behalf.[61]

Yet many more Latinos have viewed military service as a route toward meaningful inclusion within a society that in years past had a hard time viewing them as real Americans. More than a hundred years ago, for example, the *New York Times* worried about the loyalties of Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico during the Spanish-American War. Without a shred of evidence, the newspaper labeled Nuevo Mexicanos "disaffected and semi-traitorous citizens" and accused them of being "deeply hostile to American ideas and American policies."[62] The most frequent response on the part of Latinos to such hostility had been literally to fight as members of the U.S. armed forces. Since World War I, and especially since World War II, Latinos have strategically upheld their military service to battle against racial discrimination and against the legacy of colonialism. To their credit, progress on the civil rights front matched their service overseas. Today, moreover, their long and commendable record of military service also stands as a powerful response to critics concerned about high rates of Latino immigration and supposedly low rates of Latino assimilation. In the end, a tradition of focusing upon military service as a means of furthering a more just society for all endures because it is founded on an essential truth about Latinos in the military: as immigrants and as citizens, Latinos have served the U.S. in the military proudly for generations and continue to do so today.

Ultimately, whether the U.S. is the land of one's birth or one's adopted homeland, a new generation of Latinos continues to enter the military service.

Endnotes

1 Wikipedia keeps a running count, as do many other websites.

2 *Hispanics in America's Defense* (Washington DC: Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Military Manpower and Personnel Policy, 1990), 3.

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4 Mark Hugo Lopez and Paul Taylor, *Latinos and the 2010 Census: The Foreign Born are More Positive* (Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, 2010), at *www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/121.pdf*, accessed August 21, 2012.

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6 Often listed among the 44 Medal of Honor recipients, for example, is the California-born Harold Gonsalves (anglicized from the Portuguese Gonçalves) who died in Okinawa in 1945, sacrificing his life to save his fellow Marines.

7 John Walton Caughey and Jack D. L. Holmes, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana 1776-1783* (Gretna, LA: Firebird Press, 1999). Also see Thomas Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2002).

8 Farragut's son, Loyall, wrote the most extensive overview of his father's life, *The Life of David Glasgow Farragut* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1879). A focus on Farragut's naval career can be found in the more contemporary work by James P. Duffy, *Lincoln's Admiral: The Civil War Campaigns of David Farragut* (New York: Wiley, 1997). For a debate about Farragut's Hispanic background, see Raoul Lowery Contreras, *Jalapeño Chiles, Mexican Americans, and Other Hot Stuff* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2003), 24-25, 42-44. A 2010 U.S. Navy pamphlet, *Hispanics in the U.S. Navy* (Washington, DC: Navy Diversity Directorate, Chief of Naval Personnel, 2010), claims that Farragut used both English and Spanish on the job. The pdf can be found online as well at *www.history.navy.mil/diversity/brochures/HispanicsInUSN_Final.pdf, accessed August 21, 2012.*

9 L. Lloyd MacDonald, *Tejanos in the 1835 Texas Revolution* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 2009). See also Jesús F. de la Teja, ed., *A Revolution Remembered: The Memoirs and Selected Correspondence of Juan N. Seguín* (Denton, TX: Texas State Historical Association, 2002).

[10] McDonald, 290-292. Also see Timothy M. Matovina, *The Alamo Remembered: Tejano Accounts and Perspectives* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 31-37.

[11] William E. Smythe, *History of San Diego, 1542-1908* (San Diego, CA: History Co., 1908), 163, at http://www.sandiegohistory.org/books/smythe/index.htm, accessed August 21, 2012.

[12] Laura Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 83.

[13] For the numbers of Nuevo Mexicano volunteers as well as a general overview, see National Park Service, *Hispanics and the Civil War: From Battlefield to Homefront* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 2011). It is available for purchase at http://www.eparks.com/store/product/93205/Hispanics-and-the-Civil-War%3A-From-Battlefield-to-Homefront/.

[14] Mike Scarborough, *Trespassers On Our Own Land: Structured as an Oral History of the Juan P. Valdez family and the land grants of Northern New Mexico* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2011), 47.

[15] Biographical information on each recipient is available in Robert Montemayor and Henry Mendoza, *Right Before Our Eyes: Latinos Past, Present and Future* (Tempe, AZ: Scholargy Publishing, 2004), 52-53. The entire third chapter, "An Untold Story of Duty and Honor: Latinos in the Military," exemplifies the civil rights strategy of articulating a plea for inclusion based upon military service.

[16] Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), 200-201.

[17] United States War Department, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Vol. I, Part 3* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 125.

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[19] Harry Franqui, "Fighting For the Nation: Military Service, Popular Political Mobilization and the Creation of Modern Puerto Rican National Identities: 1868-1952," PhD Diss., University of Massachusetts – Amherst, May 2010. See especially chap. 3, at http://scholarworks.umass.edu/open_access_dissertations/229, accessed August 21, 2012.

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[24] Rámirez, 28, 121, 123-125.

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[47] Versace's story is succinctly captured in the remarks President George W. Bush made upon awarding him the Medal of Honor posthumously in 2002. These remarks can be found online, including at http://www.mishalov.com/Versace.html, accessed August 21, 2012.

[48] Otero's story has mostly been captured in news reports, including Univision.com at http://archivo.univision.com/content/content.jhtml?cid=1688017.

[49] Bloggers and politicians mention Camejo-Sosa's service. One of the fullest accounts of his life can be found in a document that accompanied a letter that Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen presented to President Bush requesting that Camejo-Sosa be awarded the Medal of Honor posthumously. Both the letter and the summary can be found online at http://www.cavavets.org/Felix%20Sosa%20Cameo.pdf, accessed August 21, 2012.

[50] See Sharon R. Ennis, Merarys Ríos-Vargas, and Nora G. Albert, "The Hispanic Population: 2010," *2010 Census Briefs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), at http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/ briefs/c2010br-04.pdf, accessed August 21, 2012.

[51] Tim Weiner, "A Nation at War: Immigrant Marines, Latinos Give Their Lives to New Land," *New York Times*, April 4, 2003, B10.

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[57] Molly F. McIntosh, Seema Sayala and David Gregory, *Non-Citizens in the Enlisted U.S. Military* (Alexandria, VA: CNA Analysis and Solutions, November 2011), 6, 1, 27-28, at http://www.cna.org/sites/default/files/research/non%20citizens%20in%20the%20enlisted%20us%20military%20d0025768%20a2.pdf, accessed August 21, 2012.

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[61] See, for example, Paul Rockwell, "From Grief to Protest: How Peace Loving Fathers Honor their Fallen Sons," *In Motion Magazine*, June 11, 2004, at http://www.inmotionmagazine.com/opi/pr_fathers.html, accessed August 21, 2012.

[62] "Topics of the Times," *New York Times*, August 24, 1898, 6.

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Clockwise from top left:
Rio Arriba County Courthouse Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico. The courthouse was occupied briefly by *Alianza Federal de Mercedes* in 1967 (Creative Commons by Jimmy Emerson); Mural on wall at Cafetería Guardabarranco, Little Havanna, Miami, Florida (Creative Commons by Infrogmation); Young Lords, c.1970s, New York, New York (Palante); March and mock graduation in support of the DREAM Act, Los Angeles, California (Latino Rebels, 2009); Junior LULAC Council, 1957, Harris County, Texas (LULAC)

Demanding Equal Political Voice...And Accepting Nothing Less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion

Louis DeSipio

Over the past century and a half, diverse Latino communities have mobilized to demand civic and political inclusion, a process that has also facilitated the formation of a pan-ethnic political identity. Although there have been continuous gains, the quest for full and equal inclusion remains. The fact that the Latino population continues to grow in numbers and needs, and that this growth is often seen as a challenge to the majority population, ensures that Latinos will remain politically engaged in the pursuit of a full political voice in the upcoming decades.

Over the past century and a half, diverse Latino communities have mobilized to demand civic and political inclusion.

Contemporary Latino politics is founded on generations of prior struggles for inclusion. These struggles have been organized around a consistent set of demands – ones that make the ongoing Latino struggle for civic and political inclusion a very American one – for equal protection of the law and the ability to participate equally in American society regardless of race or ethnicity. At the same time, like other racial/ethnic communities who are largely built on immigration, Latinos, particularly Latino immigrants, have sought to maintain transnational ties to their communities and countries of origin. This ongoing transnationalism among some immigrants has not diminished Latino efforts for inclusion in United States politics. Rather, transnational engagement often provides skills and networks that add to the resources for demanding inclusion in the U.S.

In the current essay, I will mostly focus on Mexican Americans and Mexican American organizations, particularly in the discussion of the historical roots of Latino struggles for inclusion. Mexican Americans were present in both larger numbers and higher concentrations than other Latino communities earlier in U.S. history. The pool of issues set by these early Mexican American organizations served, in part, as the foundation for pan-ethnic Latino organizing in the 1960s and beyond.

I will also focus primarily on collective efforts for inclusion; it is this collective demand and voice *as Latinos* that defines the Latino politics discussed in this essay. Prior to the contemporary era, collective efforts primarily took the form of community-based, civic, and trade union organizing. In the current era (the period after the civil rights revolution of the 1960s), electoral politics and voting added to the palette of collective political activities. This focus on collective activities is not to minimize the role of key individuals. Instead, it emerges from the recognition that the story of Latino political inclusion stems from diverse efforts across the country and across Latino national origin groups to build a collective and inclusive political voice that could be sustained (and expanded) over time.

Colonial and Immigrant Roots of Latino Demands for Political Inclusion

Latino collective organizing to achieve a civic and political voice is a largely 20th and 21st-century phenomenon. While the Latino presence in the U.S. pre-dates these 20th-century accomplishments, prior to the current era, Latino communities lacked the group resources, leadership, and organizations to demand equal rights in U.S. society. Consequently, demands were primarily individual rather than collective. Why was this the case? The story varies somewhat by region, but the primary answer is found in the form of colonial incorporation of

early U.S. Latino populations.[1] In the Southwest, for instance, the former Mexican subjects who became U.S. citizens at the end of the U.S.-Mexican War had few resources that could be used for political organization.[2] Population concentration was low and most of the residents of the Southwest lived in a state of agricultural peonage. In the years just after the end of the U.S.-Mexican War, the former Mexican elite of landholders and civil servants could have served as an ethnic leadership. To some extent, this now Mexican American elite did share in the political leadership of the new states and territories of the U.S. Southwest, but their numbers were small. In addition, conflict quickly emerged throughout the Southwest between the former Mexican subjects and Anglo populations, many of whom were new migrants after the end of the war and who viewed the Mexican American population as racially subordinate.[3]

"The most common forms of civic engagement in Latino communities...are voting, organizational activity, charitable activities, and school-based activities."

Louis DeSipio, Latino Civic and Political Participation

Consequently, in the years that followed the end of the U.S.-Mexican War, the economic and social status of much of these pre-conquest elite severely declined. Many lost their lands; others intermarried with Anglo migrants leading to the loss of ethnic identity within a generation or two. By 1900, there were few Mexican American leaders outside of the territory of New Mexico and the Mexican American community was almost entirely made up of agricultural workers and urban laborers. Neither had the resources to organize collectively nor to make more than sporadic political demands.[4]

New Mexico proves an exception to this pattern of declining political influence of pre-war elites and their children. European-descended whites did not migrate to the territory of New Mexico in the same numbers they did to other parts of the Southwest. As a result, the Hispano population of the territory continued to dominate state politics into the 20th century. The presence of the Hispano state leaders and their insistence on maintaining New Mexico's bilingualism, however, slowed the admission of New Mexico (and Arizona) as states.

The addition of Puerto Rico to the U.S. in 1898 did not lead to a beheading of the pre-existing elite comparable to the Mexican American experience in the Southwest.[5] Upon the U.S. invasion of the island, Puerto Ricans lobbied for a wide range of political demands, including U.S. citizenship, admission to the union, self-government, and to a lesser extent, independence. The Jones Act of 1917, which granted a limited form of U.S. citizenship to residents of Puerto Rico, and Public Law 600, which led to limited self-government in 1952, met some of these demands. These struggles, however, did not result in the full incorporation of Puerto Ricans into the U.S. They were largely fought from Puerto Rico during this period and involved few Latinos in the U.S.

Despite the fact that there was little *collective* action to demand civic inclusion in Mexican American and Puerto Rican communities in the late 19th century, there were efforts by individuals to highlight inequalities and obstacles. Mexican Americans in the Southwest, for instance, used the federal and state courts to assert their citizenship rights. Issues before the courts included the right of Mexican immigrants to naturalize (*In re Ricardo Rodríguez* [1897]), to hold public office (*People v. de la Guerra* [1870]), and to serve on juries or to be tried by juries that included Mexican Americans (*George Carter v. Territory of New Mexico* [1859]). The courts were also the locus of Mexican American demands for the enforcement of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo's protections

of the property rights of Mexican Americans who had owned land in the Southwest before the U.S.-Mexican War.

During this period, local political machines also courted Latino voters. This form of organization existed in New Mexico and South Texas; the New York Democratic machine intermittently sought the votes of Puerto Ricans in some elections and excluded them in others as late as the 1950s. For the most part, however, these machines engaged Latino communities to serve the ends of the political parties and Latinos had little influence on the people their votes elected. In the early period of Mexican American presence in the Southwest, some unions organized Latino workers, particularly the mining unions and the anarchists. This union outreach was the exception rather than the rule, however, and did not add to the community's public leadership. Because of their concentration and the relatively lower share of whites, Mexican Americans in New Mexico (*Hispanos*) had more collective voice in this period than did Mexican Americans in other states. Several of the territorial governors were Hispano as were many members of New Mexico's 1910 Constitutional Convention (which preceded New Mexico's 1912 statehood).

First LULAC Convention, Corpus Christi, Texas, 1929 (LULAC)

Organized Latino Voices for Civic Inclusion in the Early 20th Century: Initial Steps

At the turn of the 20th century, Latinos started to organize more broadly to meet their collective needs, including the creation of insurance pools to meet end-of-life financial needs, but these efforts were largely apolitical. Early Latino civic organizing took on a more explicitly political dimension in the late 1920s and 1930s. This era saw the formation of the first regional Mexican American civic organizations as well as labor organizing that included the first "national" Latino political movement. It was these efforts that laid the foundation for post-World War II civic and political gains. The two organizations that formed in this era, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and *El Congreso de Pueblos que Hablan Espãnol* (The Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples) also refered to as El Congresso, represented different segments of the Latino community, but they shared a vision for a nation in which Latino voices were not muted by discrimination and exclusion.

LULAC was established in 1929.[6] Its founders included the small Mexican American middle class – largely small business owners – that had emerged over the previous 20 years in small towns in Texas. The goals of the organization were both revolutionary and assimilationist. Their leadership sought to challenge and reverse the discrimination that had characterized the treatment of Mexican Americans in the Southwest since 1848. They used the tools available to them as U.S. citizens, particularly the courts, to challenge the largely unquestioned position of whites and the long-dominant policy of anti-Mexican discrimination. Their core claim was equal protection as U.S. citizens under the law.

LULAC members did distinguish themselves, however, from recent immigrants of Mexican ancestry by limiting membership to U.S. citizens and conducting meetings in English. The organization offered assistance to Mexican immigrants seeking to naturalize, but did not believe there was a political or civic equality

between non-naturalized immigrants and U.S. citizens. In the 1930s, LULAC conducted voter registration drives, encouraged members to support candidates who spoke to Mexican American concerns, organized to end the poll tax, and used the courts to challenge discrimination, particularly educational discrimination. Soon after its formation, LULAC sought to organize Mexican American women. In the early 1930s, several chapters formed Ladies' Auxiliaries. In 1938, the LULAC President established the position of National Organizer for Women, which was later changed to the National Vice President of the organization.

Despite their somewhat narrow focus and the middle-class status of the early members, LULAC chapters quickly emerged throughout the Southwest making it the first regional Latino organization. Moreover, LULAC's leaders developed a political alliance with Lyndon Johnson who was beginning his national rise in this period.[7] This alliance represented the first steps in building a Latino voice in national politics.

A decade after the formation of LULAC, Southern California union activists Luisa Moreno, Josefina Fierro de Bright, and Eduardo Quevedo established El Congreso.[8] It too represented a necessary step in the Latino demand for civic and political inclusion. Its membership was more urban, more working-class, and arguably more Latino in that it included more non-Mexicans than LULAC. It also offered a new model for Latinos of tactical alliances with other excluded groups in U.S. society. El Congreso also recognized women as organizers and leaders in a more central way than LULAC.[9] In addition, El Congreso was more short-lived. Yet, its membership and the issues that it articulated were closer to the majority of Latinos in the 1940s and beyond. Its rhetoric was more activist than that of LULAC, in large part based on its roots in the labor movement and labor's internationalism and ties to labor movements abroad in this era. The issues that it focused on – particularly the equal treatment of immigrants and citizens before the law – were ones that would have long-term resonance for Latino activism and that anticipated long-term changes in non-Latino attitudes in the post-war period.

At its core, however, El Congreso shared LULAC's demand for the end to anti-Latino discrimination and the elimination of barriers that denied Latinos an equal voice in U.S. society. El Congreso's vision extended to the elimination of barriers that limited civic, political, and economic opportunities for non-U.S. citizens. In addition, neither LULAC nor El Congreso was a mass organization. For most Latinos in the pre-civil rights era, the barriers that had long characterized the opportunities for Latino civic and political voice remained. Yet both organizations laid the foundation for the flowering of Latino demand making that would follow. They demonstrated that despite generations of discrimination, Latinos not only wanted a political voice, but also had the resources within the community to translate these demands into successful organization.

The 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s saw a rapid expansion in Latino demand making and the formation of diverse paths to political organizing.

Latino Civic and Political Organizing in the Civil Rights Era

The 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s saw a rapid expansion in Latino demand making and the formation of diverse paths to political organizing. It also saw the foundation of Latino electoral influence. As was the case in the African American community and its civil rights movement in part of this period, leadership emerged from new segments of the population, including returning World War II and Korean War veterans and college educated young adults.[10] Contesting social inequality and con-

tinuing the fight against discrimination became central to the nascent Latino political identity of this era. Many of the organizations that formed in this period adopted a more confrontational rhetoric than had LULAC or El Congreso. These movements were not just united by their styles. Each was motivated by a rejection of unequal treatment based on race/ethnicity. In each case, anger over state-sanctioned discrimination and denial of rights was at the core of their mobilization efforts. As will be evident, these movements appeared in all parts of the country with concentrated Latino populations. Although they did not form a national Latino movement as we understand it today, their recognition of the shared experiences of Latinos nationwide laid the foundation for the pan-ethnic Latino politics that emerged in the post-civil rights era.

La Raza, Vol.1 No. 1, August 1970
(Creative Commons by Christina Cherie)

Early post-World War II activism transitioned Latino politics from civic organizing to electoral mobilization. Anger over the failure of Latino candidates to be elected to local offices in California and Texas led to the formation of community organizations focused on candidate recruitment, voter registration, and voter mo-bilization.[11] The result was a series of electoral "firsts" in which Latinos were elected to a specific office for the first time.

Latino youth, primarily U.S.-born young people, were among the most active. Their activism reflected Latino-specific concerns over discrimination and disparate outcomes, but also the anger of young adults in general in this era over the war in Vietnam.[12] Resentment over discriminatory public education spurred a series of walkouts (blowouts in the rhetoric of the era) in Los Angeles high schools. These spontaneous movements coalesced in organizing to reform the delivery of education and in anti-war mobilization under the auspices of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO).[13] Similar efforts appeared in other areas of Latino concentration in the Southwest. The Crusade for Justice, formed in Denver, focused its energies on youth more broadly including young adults in schools and in (and out of) the workplace.[14] At its 1969 conference, the *Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* was presented publicly for the first time. The Plan is the founding document of the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanos de Aztlán* (MEChA) and called for Chicano self-determination and ethnic pride. MEChA is the only national Latino student organization on college and university campuses during this period still active today.

Young adults also led new movements to challenge white-dominated political institutions. They sought election to local offices in rural Texas, demonstrated that Mexican Americans could be mobilized, and use their numbers to challenge electoral discrimination.[15] These local efforts in the 1960s (and the national attention they drew) led to the formation of a regional Mexican American political party – *La Raza Unida* – that convened a national convention in 1972 and ran candidates for local and state offices throughout the Southwest.[16] Arguably, the presence of a Raza Unida candidate on the ballot reduced the Democratic vote sufficiently to elect the first Republican governor of Texas since the Civil War. Raza Unida candidates won local and a few state offices in this period.

Young Latino adults also mobilized in Puerto Rican communities, which had grown dramatically after World War II.[17] Because of the Jones

Act, which provided U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans, and the increased demand of cheap labor after the war, hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans made their way to New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Chicago, and other cities. Puerto Rican migrants who seized this opportunity tended to be unskilled laborers and, later, rural migrants pushed off the land as Puerto Rican agriculture industrialized. Like the Mexican residents of the Southwest in the years after the U.S.-Mexican War, early 20th-century Puerto Rican migrants had few economic resources and were the targets of racial and ethnic discrimination.

"Justice is Our Creed and the Land is Our Heritage."

Slogan of Alianza de Pueblos y Pobladores

Perhaps the most prominent of Puerto Rican youth groups of this era was the New York-based Young Lords, which had a different emphasis than the social movement organizations in the Southwest. Puerto Rico's colonial status ensured stronger ties to the homeland than existed among most Mexican Americans in this era. As a result, The Young Lords organized around a two-prong strategy. In New York and Chicago, they challenged discriminatory practices that denied Puerto Ricans the protections of their U.S. citizenship focusing on education, public health, public safety, and representation. They also sought, ultimately less successfully, to build a new independence movement on the island and build bridges between Puerto Ricans on the Island and the mainland.[18]

Civil rights era activism did not just appear among young adult Latinos. In New Mexico, the *Alianza de Pueblos y Pobladores* (The Alliance of Towns and Settlers) confronted federal and state authorities to enforce land claims by the descendants of Mexican residents of the state that had been largely neglected for the century since the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.[19] Activists seized the ethos of the era to reinvigorate these claims using new and much more confrontational strategies, including the occupation of a federal courthouse. The United Farmworkers made the cause of California's primarily Latino agricultural labor force into a national issue and introduced non-Latinos in many parts of the country to the second-class status routinely experienced by many Latinos.[20] Combating high dropout rates in Puerto Rican communities was the focus of ASPIRA, formed by Antonia Pantoja and a group of Puerto Rican educators in 1961.[21] ASPIRA leaders recognized that the only way for Puerto Ricans (and, later, all Latinos) to achieve their leadership potential was to ensure educational opportunities.

The frequently confrontational style of these newly emerging organizations in this era – and their new generation of leaders – should not obscure the core of their demands. They sought full inclusion in U.S. society as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and saw, as the primary strategy to achieve that goal, the opportunity to elect the candidate of their choice to office. Although their rhetoric sometimes focused on the distinct experiences of Latinos and separateness, their demands and goals focused on the equal ability to compete in the civic and political world. In this, their pluralist demands were similar to those of other excluded groups in U.S. society seeking an equal voice.

The new opportunities for Latino civic organizing in the civil rights era were also not limited to challenging existing political structures from the outside. This era also saw the foundation of Latino voices within the major political parties and social institutions as well as the formation of Latino-led institutions to research, document, and articulate the Latino condition.

It was in this era that the "Latino vote" entered the rhetoric of the national parties and some elected leaders (it would be the 1980s before

discussion of it became more common). John F. Kennedy relied on Mexican American votes in Texas to win the presidency in 1960; he earned these votes and probably increased the size of the Mexican American vote by running a well-financed campaign targeting Mexican Americans.[22] Richard Nixon made the first Republican claims on Latino votes nationally. He made some half-hearted efforts to reach out to Mexican Americans while his re-election campaign secretly funded La Raza Unida in an effort to reduce the Democratic vote. The Nixon campaign, and Republicans in general, were much more successful at winning support from Cuban Americans based in part on their strong opposition to Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba.[23] Each of the parties and many state parties established Latino outreach offices in this era.

Building on the organizational efforts of community-based voter mobilization efforts, Latinos began to elect co-ethnics to office, including national offices, in this period. Members of Congress elected in this era – Henry B. Gonzalez (TX), Edward Roybal (CA), Kika de la Garza (TX), Herman Badillo (NY), Manuel Lujan (NM), and Baltasar Corrada del Río (Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico) – ensured a Latino presence in Washington and in national policy making that didn't exist before. These Latino Representatives institutionalized their presence with the formation of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in 1976.

Latinos also built their first national advocacy institutions in the civil rights era. Most prominent among these was the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) (formed as the Southwest Conference of La Raza). This alliance of Latino community-based organizations nationally had a twin mission. First, it provided capacity building to ensure that local Latino organizations could grow and expand service provision at the local level. Second, it sought to amalgamate the needs and issues identified by these member organizations into a regional and, ultimately, national Latino agenda that would serve as the foundation for Latino advocacy at the state and national levels. This organizational Latino voice provided an external resource for Latinos and non-Latino officeholders seeking to serve Latino needs. NCLR's advocacy targeted the legislatures and executive branch agencies.[24]

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) formed in this same period and with some of the same philanthropic supporters as NCLR targeted its energies on the courts. MALDEF and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund (PRLDEF), founded four years later, ensured Latino communities would have the institutional talent to challenge discriminatory laws and practices. MALDEF's scope was broad, but it focused much of its energy on discrimination in schools, in public and private employment, in contracting, in the delivery of government services, in housing, and in employment as well as in voting rights and districting.[25] MALDEF's litigation on voting rights and districting ensured that Latinos could exercise their right to vote and that their votes would routinely have the opportunity to elect the candidate who received the most Latino votes. Over time, MALDEF has increasingly litigated on the rights of immigrants (a theme I return to later). ASPIRA also litigated a series of cases to ensure Puerto Rican and Latino educational access.

NCLR was by no means the only national Latino civil rights organization that formed in this era, although it probably had the broadest scope. The growing pool of Latino officeholders established the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). Activists in Texas who had become dissatisfied with some of the rhetoric of Raza Unida formed the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project to challenge barriers to Latino registration and voting and to register Latinos to vote, initially with a focus on urban areas

where the largest concentrations of Latinos resided.[26] Latino business owners created the National Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. Although it often took more conservative positions on economic issues than other Latino civil rights organizations, it too challenged discrimination and barriers to the equal participation of Latinos in U.S. society. MANA, a National Latina Organization to empower Latinas through leadership development and advocacy was formed in 1974.[27] LULAC and the G.I. Forum, which formed after World War II to fight discrimination experienced by returning Mexican American troops, continued to serve as voices for Latinos in this era and became more national in scope. They focused their resources on battling educational discrimination and litigated a number of important court cases.[28]

The national civil rights organizations that were founded in this period were not exclusively pan-Latino. Some organizations, formed initially to serve Mexican American communities such as NCLR or MALDEF, quickly expanded their focus to civil rights of all Latinos. Local organizations were more likely to focus primarily on the policy concerns of specific national origin groups. In the case of Puerto Rican and Cuban American communities, these community-level concerns included homeland issues as well, such as the status of Puerto Rico for Puerto Ricans or the vicissitudes of U.S.-Cuban relations for Cuban Americans.

The national Latino civil rights organizations that formed in this period reflected a new position of Latinos in U.S. society that would not have been possible had the more activist organizations not challenged local and state power structures that had denied Latinos equal protection of the laws. The national organizations were more explicitly pluralist in their rhetoric and operations, but they and the more activist organizations shared a vision of Latino empowerment by challenging barriers and expanding the Latino electoral and economic voice. Occasional activist rhetoric aside, the demands of the civil rights era focused on ensuring that the language of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution became the practice as well as the law of the land. The new national organizations ensured a new and permanent institutional resource to articulate the demand for Latino civic and political inclusion.

The Continuing Struggle for Latino Civic Inclusion in the Contemporary United States

Despite the breakthroughs of the civil rights period, struggles for Latino inclusion continued in the post-civil rights era. These contemporary efforts are, in some significant ways, different from those that preceded the 1960s. The major legislative legacies of the civil rights era were federal commitments to enforce the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing equal protection of the laws and equal access to the ballot box. Civil rights and voting rights legislation created a new playing field for Latino demands for civic inclusion; the advocacy organizations that were established in the civil rights era and the steadily growing number of Latino elected and appointed officeholders ensured that Latino voices would be heard on issues of importance to the community.

The demography of the community also changed. Changes to national immigration law as well as higher than average birth rates ensured that the Latino population grew more rapidly than other groups. By 2012, Latinos numbered more than 50 million and made up more than 16 percent of the national population (compared to approximately 6 million in 1960 who made up over just 3 percent of the U.S. population). The composition of the Latino community also diversified. Dominican populations migrated in large numbers to New York and the Northeast. Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrants moved in large numbers to Southern

California and Texas. Florida saw large migrations from throughout the Americas; New York became home to many Columbian, Peruvian, and Mexican migrants as well as smaller populations of migrants from throughout the Americas. The geography of Latino migration also changed with large numbers of Latinos migrating to the South and rural parts of the Midwest where Latinos had not resided in large numbers. This changing Latino demography created the potential for greater divisions in the Latino political agenda. Potential cleavages include nativity and immigrant generation, national origin, region of residence, income, and education. It also put Latino communities into contact and potential conflict with non-Hispanic white populations who had not previously encountered many Latinos in their daily lives.

Rally in San Francisco, California, 2006 (Creative Commons by Todd Lappin)

The Latino fight for civic inclusion thus continues. The contemporary barriers merge long-standing discriminations with newly emerging obstacles. Most important among these is the high share of non-U.S. citizens in the Latino population. Certainly, immigrants have always been more common in Latino than in white or black populations and non-naturalized immigrants have often faced exclusion from some forms of civic and political participation. What are new, however, are the high share of non-naturalized immigrants in the Latino (and Asian American) population and the growing share of immigrants made up of unauthorized immigrants who do not have a path to naturalization. It is, of course, difficult to present precise estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population. Yet, the best estimates suggest that of the approximately 11.5 million unauthorized immigrants resident in the U.S. in 2011, 8.9 million were Latino.[29] Whereas in the past, unauthorized migrants have been able to regularize their status over time, partisan polarization in Congress has prevented a compromise that would allow for a widespread legalization. This policy intransigence has spurred a new form of Latino civic activism among young adult undocumented migrants who migrated with their parents as young children. They have banded together as "Dreamers" tapping the nomenclature of the DREAM Act, which would offer a path to legal status to young adult unauthorized migrants who attended college or joined the U.S. military.

The future of Latino civic inclusion is not, however, just a story of ensuring that long-term unauthorized migrants are able to regularize their status (and eventually naturalize). Many long-term legal immigrants eligible for naturalization and interested in becoming U.S. citizens have not naturalized.[30] Again, there are no exact numbers, but the best estimates suggest that as many as five million Latino immigrants are eligible for naturalization, but have not naturalized. An additional 1.4 million will attain naturalization eligibility over the next five years (a population that will be continually replenished through new immigrants to permanent residence).[31]

The growth of both the legal permanent resident and unauthorized immigrant populations over the past 40 years has ensured that the share of the Latino population made up of non-naturalized immigrants grew as the number of immigrants increased in the 1970s and 1980s and will remain high for the foreseeable future. In 2008, for example, 37 percent of Latino adults were not U.S. citizens – and not eligible to vote – compared to 2 percent of non-

Hispanic Whites and 6 percent of non-Hispanic blacks. In the era before high Latino migration, the immigration- and citizenship-related barriers to immigrant political voice were less absolute. Half the states allowed non-citizens to vote. The status of "unauthorized immigrant" didn't exist until the early 20th century, when Congress began to define categories of potential immigrants who were ineligible to enter the U.S.[32] Increasingly, the fight for Latino civic inclusion unites immigrant and U.S. citizen Latinos in a shared agenda that seeks to protect the rights and opportunities of immigrants, regardless of status, while providing encouragement for naturalization-eligible immigrants to naturalize and vote.[33]

"Our voice is our vote! We are the political force" poster, 2012 (Voxxi)

The rapid growth in Latino migration in the contemporary era has created a new venue for political voice and activism. Immigrants have long sought the opportunity remain engaged in the civic life of their communities and countries of origin. Examples of these transnational connections can be found throughout the Latino experience in the U.S. (as well as those of other émigré populations). The long-standing immigrant desire to be involved in both the U.S. and the country of origin, however, is much easier to implement in the current era. Telecommunications and air travel are much cheaper than they have been in the past. The internet reduces communication costs further. Approximately 30 percent of Latino immigrants have engaged in the civic and political worlds of their communities and countries of origin, whether through membership in transnational organizations in the U.S. or through direct participation in the civic or political worlds of the country of origin. A higher share follow the politics of the country of origin.[34] These transnational connections diminish considerably in the second and later generations. Despite political transnationalism's roots in the long-standing immigrant desires to maintain a foot in the country of origin and the U.S., transnationalism as a mass phenomenon is relatively new. Countries of origin are seeking to promote long-term relationships with their émigrés.[35] To the extent that these efforts are successful, immigrant and perhaps second-generation transnational engagement will likely be a growing phenomenon in the future.

At the same time, the contemporary struggle for Latino civic and political inclusion is not simply a battle for immigrant rights.[36] U.S. citizen Latinos continue to face barriers to participation, some of which pre-date civil rights era reforms. Voter registration requirements, for example, were originally implemented to dampen the political power of turn-of-the-twentieth-century European immigrants.[37] They were effective then and continue to have a disproportionate and negative impact on young, poor, and less educated adults in U.S. society. Latinos are more likely to have high shares of the population in each of these categories. The colonial legacy of Puerto Rico denies the vote to the nearly four million residents of the Island. Constitutional design features also limit Latino influence. Both the U.S. Senate and the Electoral College weight the political influence of small states over large states; Latinos are more likely to live in the large states. The legacy of past discrimination remains in legislative district designs, at-large election systems, weekday elections, and in individual biases among non-Latino voters against Latino candidates. Few Latinos are elected from non-Latino majority or plurality

districts while many Latino plurality/majority districts elect non-Latino candidates.

New and arguably more subtle forms of discrimination have emerged in the post-civil rights era. At present, the most insidious of these is voter identification requirements that many states are imposing. Latinos otherwise eligible to vote are less likely to have the required forms of identification and, consequently, will be less likely to vote. Requirements such as these that require implementation in multiple sites also raise the specter of unequal application of the law, which will further dampen Latino voting.

Latinos continue to engage with old and new challenges, and in the process contribute to the renewing of democracy in the U.S.

The organizational infrastructure that emerged in the post-civil rights era continues to advocate, litigate, and organize to address these issues and to expand the Latino political voice. Latino representation at all levels of elective office has increased steadily over the past 30 years. It has also become more diverse.[38] Latinas make up a higher share of Latino officeholders than do white women of white officeholders. Latino officeholders increasingly also include Latinos who trace their ancestry to the countries of Latin America that began to send large numbers of migrants to the U.S. after 1960. Two Latinos serve in the U.S. Senate and twenty-four serve as voting members in the U.S. House of Representatives. Of the House members, seven are Latinas, which represents a higher share of women than for Congress as a whole. The "Latino vote" is now routinely sought in national and many state-level races. A new generation of Latino campaign professionals has emerged to ensure that any candidate who wants to seek Latino votes can reach Latino voters. The national Latino organizations have banded together since 1988 under the rubric of the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda to articulate an agenda of the issues that unite Latino communities. Latino organizations also more continually offer support for Latinos seeking to naturalize. Voter registration efforts routinely expand prior to national elections. A particular target of these efforts is young adult Latinos. Voto Latino has been particularly effective at reaching young adults through popular culture. Latino community organizations and social service organizations have also expanded considerably in the post-civil rights era. Increasingly, Latino organizations and leaders are also able to use coalitional politics to achieve collective goals. These coalitions often include non-Latinos and non-Latino organizations around areas of common concern, such as immigrant rights with Asian American and Jewish organizations, civil rights and affirmative action with African American organizations, and pocketbook issues such as access to health care with unions and progressive Democrats. The size and growing political savvy of Latino communities ensures that these coalitions can be both effective at securing policy outcomes that benefit Latinos and providing the foundation for Latinos to develop leadership skills and seek elective office.

Conclusions

Despite changes in the structure of U.S. politics and the opportunities for Latino civic and political voice in the post-civil rights era, it is important to observe what has remained the same. The philosophy motivating mainstream Latino demands continues to be one of equal access to political rights and responsibilities. Latinos continue to need to challenge barriers to make their demands on political institutions. In 2006, in response to legislation passed in the U.S. House of Representatives making unauthorized immigrant status a crime, as many as five million people, most of whom were La-

tino, peacefully protested nationwide. The marchers included immigrant and native Latinos. The legacy of these marches included policy outcomes – criminalization was rejected by the Senate – and political gains. The rate of growth of the Latino electorate increased in 2008, at least in part in response to post-march drives to translate protest into votes. The Latino community was able to respond so quickly and, arguably, so effectively because institutions and organizations existed to channel anger and frustration into collective political voice. With growing numbers and increasingly sophisticated organization, Latinos continue to engage with old and new challenges, and in the process contribute to the renewing of democracy in the U.S.

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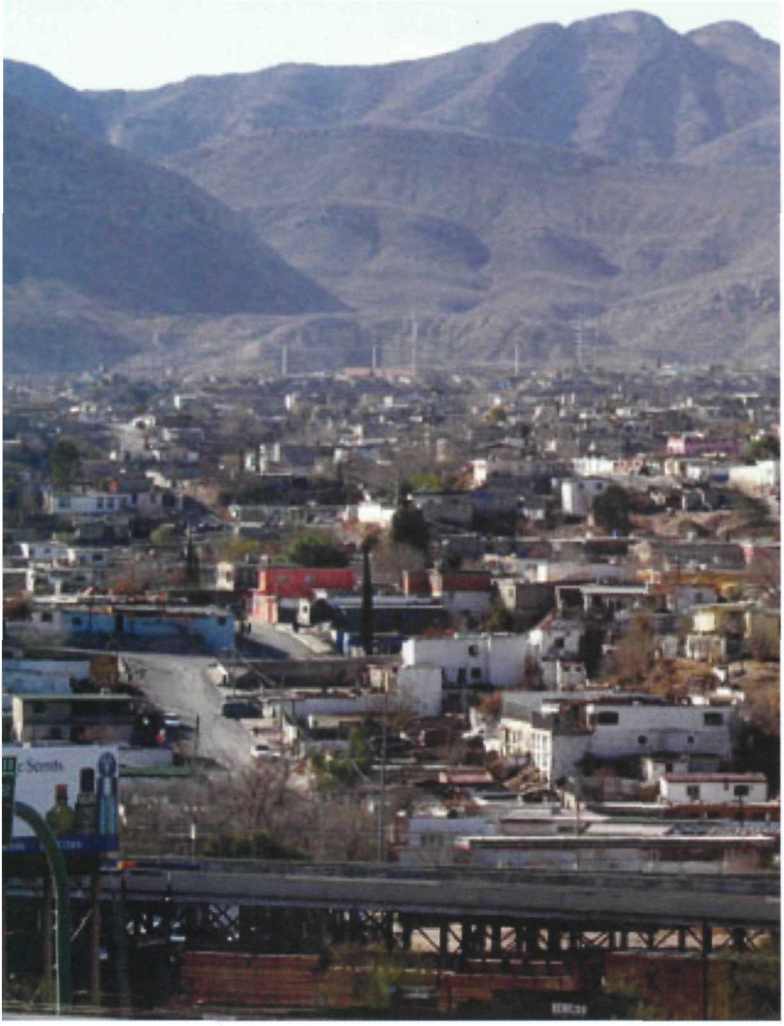

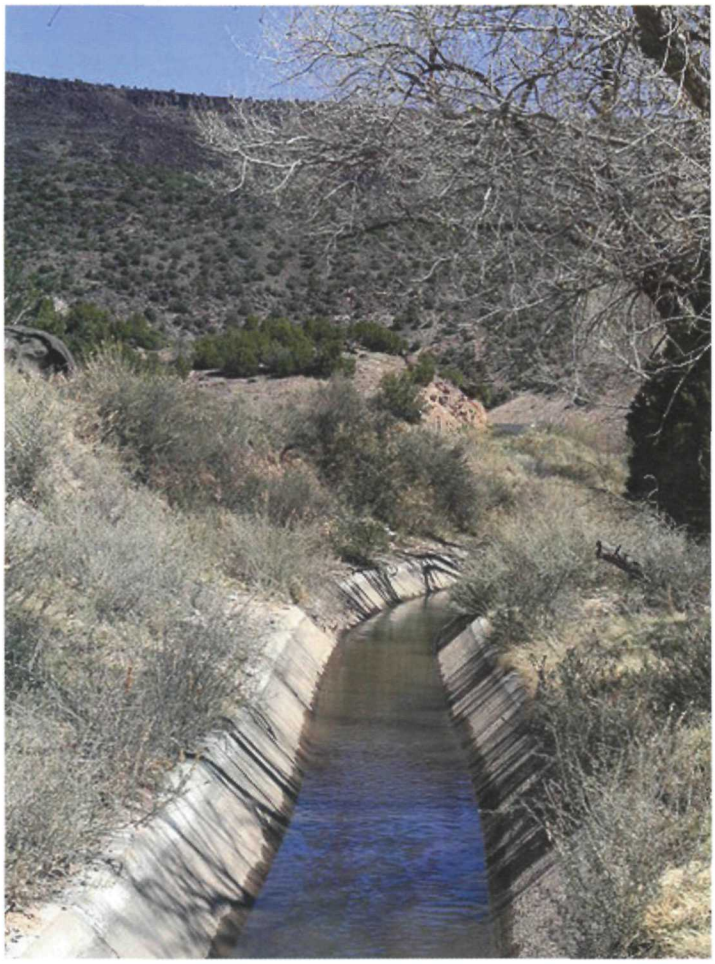

Clockwise from top left:
Colonia neighborhood, South Texas (Affordable Housing Institute); "Water is Life" banner, New Mexico (New Mexico Acequia Association); "Land or Death" sign, 1967, Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico (National Museum of American History); Rancho Jamul, a Mexican land grant owned by General Henry Stanton Burton and his wife, María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Rancho Jamul Ecological Preserve, California (California Department of Fish and Game); La Canova acequia, near Velarde, New Mexico (Creative Commons by Markabq, 2008)

Latinos and the Law

*Margaret E. Montoya**

The United States is a society that is criss-crossed by law, legality, and illegality. Law—with its legal structures, such as courts and legislatures, its strictures about social norms and values, its stilted jargon and rigid hierarchies about who or what matters and who or what doesn't—determines many borders and boundaries of our lives, just as it did for our *antepasados*, our ancestors. Historically, in the U.S. law is revered as a force and an instrument for emancipation, justice, autonomy, and equality. Paradoxically law must also be recognized as a force and an instrument for oppression, injustice, subordination, and inequality. For example, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granted federal citizenship to thousands of Mexicans who gradually gained full citizenship through the admission of the various states. The conquest of half of Mexico's territory in 1848 is both a story of an unjust war and one of new beginnings for many who became U.S. citizens and whose children and grandchildren lived to enjoy lives of opportunity and improved fortunes.

Law constructs the multiple identities that constitute the Latina/o mosaic and help make up this "American" democracy.

The push and pull of justice and injustice, these contradictory tensions in the law, deepen our understanding of what it means to make a democracy, the broader theme for this essay about Latinos and the Law. On the one hand, making a democracy has nation-building dimensions exemplified by the consolidation of the landmass comprising the transcontinental federation of states. On the other hand, making a democracy also encompasses the project on cultural citizenship, which, in the words of Professors Renato Rosaldo and William V. Flores, is the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes.[1]

Making a Democracy: Latinos' Demand for Cultural Citizenship

Latinos, like other racial, ethnic, color, and language minorities, have struggled over the decades to have a say on issues and take part in shaping the common destiny of the nation while asserting, winning, and maintaining cultural citizenship, thus, transforming the characteristics of the polity and diversifying the faces that are emblematic of the larger society. Latinos have fought for the same economic, political, and social rights and freedoms as others enjoy and often have done so while also fighting to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage. The courts have often interpreted Latino cultural differences through the discourse of racial inferiority. For example, once the U.S. became an explicitly imperial power with the possession of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the issue of the constitutionality of colonialism, and specifically the applicability of the Bill of Rights within the territories, was answered in *Downes v. Bidwell* (1901)[2], one of the *Insular Cases* (1901-1904). The Supreme Court concluded those possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us and thus belong to the U.S. but are not a part of it. Therefore, Puerto Ricans would be denied cultural citizenship, i.e., denied constitutional protections because of the racial and cultural differences of its people. To this day, Puerto Rico has neither representation in the Congress nor votes in the Electoral College.

A brief overview of the wins and the losses by Latinos over many decades, legal claims usual-

ly decided through the courts, illustrates this quest for cultural citizenship.[3] One fundamental right that is integral to citizenship is voting, and literacy tests have been used to limit access to the ballot box. The Supreme Court decided two New York cases challenging literacy tests in 1966 pursuant to the Voting Rights Act. New Yorkers who sought to continue to exclude Latino voters brought *Katzenbach v. Morgan* (1966). In the companion case, *Cardona v. Power* (1966), the Court discarded such tests and secured the voting rights of Puerto Ricans and other language minorities with limited English skills, a ruling that eventually led to bilingual ballots. Language differences have continually raised barriers for full democratic participation and compromis[ed] the right to belong, in the words quoted above of Professors Rosaldo and Flores. One such barrier is the ability to speak, read, and write English, a requirement for naturalization as a citizen. Another barrier is so-called English Only laws, declaring English the official language, passed by over twenty states since the 1980s.

When the U.S. Supreme Court decided Hernandez v. Texas, the Court extended the protections of the 14th Amendment to Latinos.

Making a democracy entails the preparation of citizens for civic engagement through public education and open political debate as well as immigration and naturalization processes for entry by newcomers into the society as full citizens. Because Latinos are seen as different, their right to belong fully as citizens remains at issue. The U.S. Supreme Court in deciding that unequal financing of public schools did not violate the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973) also concluded that education is not a fundamental right under the Constitution. Even so, language-minority children won the right to equal educational opportunity in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), a case dealing with Chinese students that was the basis for *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools* (1974), extending the right to Spanish-surnamed children in New Mexico. Another important case involving both education and immigration is *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) in which the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that Texas could not deny free public education to undocumented school-age children. The Court relied upon the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment and found that the Texas school district had violated the rights accorded to undocumented aliens under the Clause.

Two intertwined rights—the right to be different and the right to belong and exercise political agency—are at the heart of the cultural citizenship concept. In 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Hernandez v. Texas*, the Court extended the protections of the 14th Amendment to Latinos. In doing so, the Court had to contend with the legal status of Mexican-Americans as racially white (which is explained at greater length below) but nonetheless subjected by the local community to Jim Crow-like mistreatment as a group. This case is precisely about the denial of cultural citizenship, a situation in which Latinos were seen as different and consequently were not allowed to belong or participate in democratic processes, in this instance as members of local juries. Judicial opinions contain stories about the dispute involving the parties, the court picks through the facts to create a narrative that reflects the judge's or judges' worldview as well as a logical argument about social norms and collective values. What follows is part of the story told by the Supreme Court about Latinos in Texas in 1954.

> *The petitioner, Pete Hernandez, was indicted for the murder of one Joe Espinosa by a grand jury in Jackson County, Texas. He was convicted and sentenced to life im-*

prisonment. He alleged that persons of Mexican descent were systematically excluded from service as jury commissioners, grand jurors, and petit jurors, although there were such persons fully qualified to serve residing in Jackson County. [R]esidents of the community distinguished between "white" and "Mexican." The participation of persons of Mexican descent in business and community groups was shown to be slight. Until very recent times, children of Mexican descent were required to attend a segregated school for the first four grades. At least one restaurant in town prominently displayed a sign announcing "No Mexicans Served." On the courthouse grounds at the time of the hearing, there were two men's toilets, one unmarked, and the other marked "Colored Men" and "Hombres Aqui" ("Men Here"). 14 percent of the population of Jackson County were persons with Mexican or Latin-American surnames, and that 11 percent of the males over 21 bore such names. The County Tax Assessor testified that 6 or 7 percent of the freeholders on the tax rolls of the County were persons of Mexican descent. The State of Texas stipulated that "for the last twenty-five years there is no record of any person with a Mexican or Latin American name having served on a jury commission, grand jury or petit jury in Jackson County."[4]

By claiming distinctive identities and invoking culturally salient expressions of rights, the Latino communities have made a major contribution in expanding the public imagination with respect to democracy and its embrace of those outside of the dominant majority. These contributions have often been led by community activists and facilitated by lawyers steeped in the cultural norms and sharing the worldview of the Latinos/as involved in these legal disputes. The transformation of the legal profession has been championed by legal organizations such as MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund) and LatinoJustice PRLDEF (Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund); legal academics such as Professor Gerald López who espouses a form of "rebellious" lawyering on behalf of underserved communities;[5] and legal academic organizations such as LatCrit, Inc.[6] (Latino/a Critical Legal Theory) that, over 15 years, has developed a community of multiracial progressive scholars and educators that use Law to expose and end the subordination of communities of color.

These contradictory tensions in the law, the just and unjust outcomes alluded to above, are revealed when we briefly examine aspects of Latinos' historical and contemporary encounters with the law and its treatment of land, water, and housing as well as the forces the law has brought to bear on the identities of Mexican-American people as one illustration of the law's treatment of different Latino subgroups. (About two-thirds of all Latinos are Mexican-Americans, by far the largest of the Latino subgroups, and much of the law affecting Latinos has developed from disputes involving Mexican-American individuals and/or communities.) The section on land begins with the U.S.-Mexico War that, as mentioned above, ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and concludes with a description of the marital property rules corresponding to the ten community property states, which are also a vestige of the Spanish and Mexican civil law systems.

The section on water briefly describes the raging disputes over the rivers in the west and the corresponding compacts and agreements to divide the scarce water in a region that is largely desert. This section on water and law also describes the *acequia* culture of New Mexico, a quasi-legal system of irrigation ditches and water management that has persisted and proven resilient, since the earliest days of the Spanish occupation.

The final section on law and housing briefly examines the mortgages that were made available under the G.I. Bill after World War II and the extent to which Latino veterans were benefited. Recently, many immigrants have been forced to live in border communities called *colonias* that lack basic utilities, blighting the lives of workers and their families. On the other hand, the last decades saw millions of Latino families reach for the American Dream by moving into the ranks of homeowners. However, when the financial system collapsed in 2008, the subprime mortgage debacle fell heaviest on Latino and African American communities that had been targeted by the megabanks with predatory lending practices.

Note to the reader: In 1999 there were 241 Latina/o law professors in about 184 law schools throughout the country. As of 2009, Latinas/os comprised 337 or 3.1 percent of total number of law professors.[7] One of the key contributions we have made to development of legal knowledge is the use of stories, *cuentos y recuerdos*. In this essay, I write in two different voices: I use a neutral voice to describe the legal environment. I use a more localized storytelling voice in the sections that are in italics to describe the ways in which the law has constructed the cultural and racial identities of the Mexican-American community. I identify as Mexican-American and my racial/ethnic identity has been informed by stories situated in that reality, history, and heritage. The stories that I tell are meant as placeholders for the many stories that can be told from other Latino/a perspectives.

Latinos, Law, and Land: Expanding the Meaning of "America" and "American"

Historically, for Latinos, land has been livelihood—land allows for the growing of food and the space for cattle and horses, land contains minable resources and supports train tracks, highways, and ports. For Latinos, land is also about place, about *raices*, our roots of identity, family, faith, and community. Land and place are about belonging (¡*De donde eres*? we are asked by *los ancianos* (Where are you from? old-timers ask). Over time, land acquires sacred meaning as ancestral burial grounds and as it is traversed by religious processions and political marches. Land, the location for wars, struggles, births, and dreams becomes inscribed with story and counter-story.

President James Polk agreed with the concept of Manifest Destiny and in March 1846, gave orders to General Zachary Taylor to invade Mexico for the purpose of seizing its northern lands. Taylor marched his 4,000 troops from Corpus Christi at the mouth of the Nueces River, which Mexico claimed as its northern border, toward the Rio Grande, which President Polk claimed was the border. The disputed boundary provided the pretext for this armed intervention that led to the U.S.'s eventual conquest of 525,000 square miles, including what is now California, Nevada, Utah, most of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, as well as parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

The War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which gave Mexican citizens one year to choose U.S. or Mexican citizenship. Approximately 115,000 people chose to remain in the U.S. and become citizens by conquest. Almost immediately, controversies developed over the content of the treaty that were only resolved through further negotiations in the Senate and subsequently with Mexico. Article IX, dealing with the granting of U.S. citizenship to those who remained in the ceded territory, was revised and Article X, pertaining to the Spanish and Mexican land grants, was excluded altogether from the treaty by the U.S. Senate and then replaced through the Protocol of Querétaro.

The ceded territory was divided into California and New Mexico. California would quickly become a state, mostly because of the discovery

of gold. New Mexico, however, would remain a federal territory and be carved into several states but would not enter the Union for 64 years. Latina/o scholars, such as Professor Laura Gómez, attribute the delay to New Mexico's racial make-up, given that Congress acquiesced in the collective grant of *federal* citizenship to Mexicans.

Mexico and the United States, disputed boundaries between 1836 and 1848 (Mexicanhistory.org)

In 1897, a federal judge in Texas decided *In Re Rodriguez,*[8] a case in which a Mexican was seeking naturalization. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans (including mestizos with varying Indian ancestry) were collectively naturalized—even though naturalization after the Civil War was limited to whites and persons of African descent. The outcome in the case turned on the Court's conclusion that Rodriguez (although not strictly scientifically, anthropologically White) was nonetheless "white enough" in Professor Gómez's terminology, to fit within the allowable racial category and therefore was eligible for naturalization. This legal precedent, that Mexicans are white persons under the law, was greatly influenced by the Treaty's interpretation. A recently discovered case from 1935 concluded that a person with half Indian and half Spanish blood was not entitled to naturalization under the federal code, and it wasn't until the person was determined to have "only 2 percent Indian blood," that he was granted citizenship.[9]

These legal precedents would continue to have great significance, even until today, because Mexicans and their progeny, while legally white, would frequently not be treated as equal to Whites in social, economic, and political terms and be subjected to *de jure* and, more often, *de facto* segregation. (Although there were social and sometimes familial prohibitions to marriages between whites and Mexicans, especially if the Mexican was poor and dark skinned, the anti-miscegenation laws that applied to Blacks, Malays, Asians, and American Indians criminalizing such unions typically did not apply to Mexicans, although some southern states also proscribed whites from marrying mestizos.[10] The 1948 California case of *Perez v. Sharp* pertained to a Mexican female who identified as white and an African-American man who were denied a marriage license based on the anti-miscegenation laws. The California Supreme Court ruled this unconstitutional.[11]) Ultimately, the Mexicans who became U.S. citizens would be denied the more important status of *state* citizenship until the territories were carved into smaller areas and admitted as states but only after more English-speaking Whites had moved in.

> *The effect of the law (in the form of judicial decisions, naturalization statutes, bureaucratic forms, etc.) on the individual and collective identities of Latinos cannot be over-emphasized. The 1930 census was the only one in which the U.S. Census Bureau used "Mexican" as a category for race or color. I have recently been researching the story behind my given name, Margaret Elizabeth Montoya. Because I was named for my maternal grandmother, I set out to find my grandparents' census documents to see whether my grandmother's name was listed as Margarita or Margaret, knowing that she was one-quarter Irish but culturally nuevomexicana.*

What I learned from the Census documents is that race resides in the transitory categories of the government perhaps as well as in the mind of the bureaucrat. Twelve families, with names such as Flores, Carrillo, Bustos, Lopez, and Kerker are listed on the same page as my paternal grandparents (the Montoyas) from Santa Rita in southern New Mexico. All are shown as belonging to the Mexican race or color; the census taker is named Mrs. Russell S. Enos. Sixteen families, with such names as Chavez, Aragon, Padilla, Bustos, Montoya, are listed on the same page as my maternal grandparents (the Alarids) from the northern New Mexico town of Bernalillo. All are shown as belonging to the white race or color. The census taker is named Romelia Garcia. It is hard to know without more probing who decided to identify some nuevomexicano families as racially Mexican and others as racially white. This government document does however offer some explanation for the chaos of the racial and ethnic categories applied to Latinos, Mexicanos, Hispanos, nuevomexicanos as well as the complex choices available to today's Latinas/os in their expression or performance of identity.

I was surprised to learn that my grandmother's name was listed as Margaret. I had always known her as Margarita and assumed that my parents had anglicized my name in their own back-and-forth struggles with assimilation and the resistance to assimilation similar to those of other families with outsider identities.

Spain and later Mexico encouraged the settlement of sparsely populated and remote lands by offering lands to individuals and groups of grantees. The Spanish crown bestowed land grants from about 1750 until 1810, and the Mexican government followed suit between 1810 and 1836. Although Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed the property rights of Mexican citizens, the status of land grants would remain disputed, even to the present day. The U.S. government instituted programs (such as the Homestead Act) to populate the land, which hampered the ability of the land grantees to preserve their claims. Land ownership under the laws of Spain and Mexico were markedly different from those of the U.S. One of the most difficult questions involved determining what land was within the public domain and thus available to be redistributed.

The Tejon Ranch from the Tehachapi Mountains Crest
The California ranch is made up of four Mexican land grants
(Creative Commons by RangerX, 2009)

Just after the end of the U.S.-Mexico War, the population of California grew exponentially because of the discovery of gold; some of the best farmland was held as *ranchos* under Mexican land titles. Grantees were given two years under the California Land Act to have their claims confirmed and patented; otherwise the land would fall into the public domain and be open to preemption by settlers. The legal proceedings were expensive and ruled by local custom rather than by law. Moreover, the meanings ascribed to land were deeply cultural and therefore differed between Californios and Euro-Americans, so-called Anglos.[12] Californio claimants were largely cattlemen who saw the land as their livelihood with religious significance while Anglos saw the land in terms of its sale value. Ultimately, Californios and Mexicans

lost most of their land through the technicalities of the patenting process coupled with a relentless market for salable land.

The land grant confirmation process was more rigorous in New Mexico than in California. In the New Mexico territory, Congress adjudicated the land claims after receiving a report from the Surveyor General. This case-by-case legislation process could take decades and proved so unwieldy that, by 1891, the Congress created the Court of Private Land Claims. The Court heard claims involving over 36 million acres but less than 10 percent were confirmed. These percentages are contested; the 2004 Government Accountability Office (GAO) report concluded that 55 percent of the land involved in New Mexico claims was awarded, compared to 73 percent in California.[13] Despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, most grantees were ultimately unable to prove their ownership because of faulty documents, varying land measurements, and outright fraud by lawyers and other officials. One particular problem involved the ownership of community grants, which under Spanish and Mexican law were collectively owned by the grantees, but under U.S. law such lands would become, through decisions made by the Court of Private Land Claims and later the Supreme Court, the property of the "sovereign," in this case the U.S. Over 13 years, the courts considered 282 claims to land grants in New Mexico but confirmed only 82 of them.

Sign relating to still prevalent land grant issues in the Tierra Amarilla area of northern New Mexico (Creative Commons by Carptrash)

The resistance to the loss of ownership and control of the land grants was not confined to legal avenues. *Las Gorras Blancas* ("the white hoods"), nightriders who cut the barbed wire fences that enclosed the common land in Las Vegas, New Mexico, was one of the most effectively organized resistance movements.[14] From 1889 through 1890, the local Mexicano population, greatly outnumbering the Anglos, as well as the younger Anglo politicians and businessmen supported the rebellion of *Las Gorras Blancas.* This success led to the emergence of a political party, *el Partido del Pueblo Unido* ("A United People's Party") that, in 1891, was able to pass legislation protecting the land grants. Despite the resourcefulness, persistence, and organization of the land grantees, by 1902, the common lands had fallen into the hands of speculators.

This resort to extra-legal means would happen once again in 1967 when Reies Lopez Tijerina led the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (the Federal Alliance of Land Grants) in a raid of the Rio Arriba County Courthouse in northern New Mexico. Tijerina sought to make a citizen's arrest of the district attorney for usurping Hispanic land grant properties. Tijerina's armed rebellion ended after a pursuit by the National Guard, the FBI, and New Mexico State Police.[15]

Legal battles have continued into the 21st century over the ownership of the land grants. The GAO issued a report in 2001 concluding that there still exist 154 community land grants in New Mexico out of a total of 295 that were studied, including the 23 grants given to the indigenous pueblos. In 2004, the GAO issued a second report concluding that the procedures used to decide ownership of land grants in New Mexico complied with statutory and constitutional requirements. Moreover, the government did not owe a fiduciary duty to the

claimants (which it does owe to the Indian pueblos) who lost over 5.3 million acres after the confirmation of 84 non-pueblo community grants through voluntary transfers, tax foreclosures, contingency fee agreements with lawyers, and lawsuits to break up the community grants into individual shares.[16]

Over the ages, Latino land grantees struggled to retain their lands embedded with both the secular meaning of ownership and the sacred meaning derived from a collective identity imbued with place and displacement, with faith and experience. Religious rituals, such the processions that sanctify the earth as it is traversed by the praying faithful, as well as the *descansos*, the crosses that mark fatalities on roadways, connect the land to the people, and provide venues for family and group narratives across generations. Land and place contribute to identity-formation for Latinos, whether it is the desert southwest or the Caribbean islands.

El Rito Ranger District, Carson National Forest, New Mexico (US Forest Service)

The contemporary quality of these claims can best be illustrated by this dispute described in a lawsuit filed in Federal Court in New Mexico on January 20, 2012, contesting the use of federal lands controlled by the U.S. Forest Service, and specifically land designated by Congress for special treatment for the benefit of the local communities. The lawsuit involves the loss of grazing permits issued by the Forest Service.

> *The plaintiffs in this case are Hispanic stockmen whose families have been grazing livestock in this area for many generations. Grazing livestock is integral to their existence and a central part of life in the villages of Northern New Mexico. Sebedeo Chacon, Michael Peña, Juan Giron, Gabriel Aldaz, Arturo Rodarte, Thomas Griego, Donald Griego, Joe Gurule Jr., Diego Jaramillo, Lorenzo Jaramillo, Jeffrey Chacon, and Gloria Valdez are permittees on the Jarita Mesa Allotment. Plaintiffs Thomas Griego, Donald Griego, Carlos Ortega, Leon Ortega, Daniel Rael, Horacio Martinez, Ronald Martinez, Fernando Gurule, Jerry Vasquez, Jerry Vasquez Jr., and Alfonso Chacon are permittees on the Alamosa Allotment and former permittees Steve Chavez, Vangie Chavez and John Valdez. Prior to the U.S. exercising sovereignty over what is now Northern New Mexico in 1848, most, if not all, of the land which now constitutes the El Rito Ranger District of the Carson National Forest, including the land where the Jarita Mesa and Alamosa Allotments are located, was community land grant land that supported the local communities. Ownership of most or all of the common lands of the grants passed to the new sovereign, the United States of America. The Department of Agriculture was placed in charge of administering these lands, which were made part of the National Forest system.*
>
> *The Hispanic people of Northern New Mexico, along with the Hispanic people of the San Luis Valley in Colorado, constitute a unique, distinctive culture in the U.S. and as such are an important cultural resource for the entire nation. The Forest Service policy recognizes the dependence of Northern New Mexico communities on forest resources and declares the Spanish-American/Hispanic culture of the area to be a "resource" in much the same sense as Wilderness. The Forest Service's continuing*

policy of reducing the livestock permits granted to the permittees has served to destabilize and degrade the cultural/social fabric of the communities in which Plaintiffs reside. Reductions to the grazing permits were motivated by a racial animus and an outrageous bias against Hispanic culture and its traditional agro-pastoral way of life. The lawsuit asks the Federal Courts, inter alia, to compel the Forest Service to follow its regulations and protect the local culture and restore the grazing permits.[17]

Gender relations were also deeply affected by land and its cultural significance. Even before the Mexican cession in 1848, economic alliances between wealthy Mexican women – Californianas, Tejanas, and Nuevomexicanas – and Anglos were facilitated through racial intermarriage. In California (and the Latino southwest,) these unions, according to historian Antonia Castañeda, would add complexity to the state's gendered, racial, and social history as well as the identity narratives constructed within this period.[18]

El agua es vida, Defiende tu vida

(Water is life, Defend your life)

Yet another vestige of Spanish and Mexican civil law, going back to the Visigoths, is the community property regimes applying to marital property, both real and personal, in ten, primarily western, states (plus Wisconsin.) In these states, with distinctive provisions in their respective codes, property acquired during the marriage (except for gifts or inheritances) is owned by both spouses and is divided when the marriage ends by divorce, death, or annulment. By definition, this means that there can be separate property owned by only one of the spouses.

The justification for community property is that both spouses make equal contributions to the marital estate (working *hombro a hombro* or "shoulder to shoulder.") One of the stark differences between the civil law system and the common law jurisdictions is that the husband and wife are treated as equal economic partners, giving the wife some agency as a separate legal person. In the common law system, the husband and wife became one legal person under the law. Another significant difference is that title to property does not determine whether the property is deemed community or separate property as between the two spouses; it is the source that determines classification.[19] In California, an important justification for the maintenance of community property system was the desire by the California constitutional convention to protect women and families from the wild speculation that occurred as a result of the gold rush and to shield the family's resources against the husband's overly zealous creditors. In general, as compared to common law systems, community property regimes benefit women and engender their independence.

Latinos, Law, and Water: Borders, Scarce Resource, and *Acequias*

*Agua es vida (*water is life) is a widely known *dicho* or aphorism throughout Latin America and the Spanish southwest. Latinos have special concerns about water for several reasons: 1) the water of the Rio Grande has weighted meanings and contested claims along the U.S.-Mexico border, especially in the *colonias*, communities of largely immigrant Latinos that lack basic infrastructure; 2) water is a scarce resource in a prolonged drought in southwestern cities that have large and growing concentrations of Latinos, and, 3) like land, water has ancestral resonances.

Water in rivers marks the southern border drawn from the Rio Grande to the Colorado River through the Continental Divide to the Pacific Ocean; water in dams and aqueducts cre-

ated the conditions for the development of the Denver, Phoenix, Las Vegas, and Los Angeles metropolises; water as weather periodically displaces and relocates large populations, including the thousands of Hondureños who lived in or near New Orleans when the failure of the levees after Hurricane Katrina destroyed the city in 2005; and water in *acequias,* the centuries-old irrigation ditches that have greened deserts, meadows, and valleys, can be a source of identity, community, conflict, and cohesion.

Water law is largely based on precedents that harken back to the English or Spanish settlers. In the eastern U.S., state law that incorporates the English system of riparian rights, which assumes river water is regularly replenished by rainfall, regulates the use of water. Thus, landowners along rivers and other water sources have the right to use the water since upstream users are not likely to harm downstream users. In the arid west, state law melded riparian rules with Spanish and Mexican water law principles including prior appropriation, which is often summed up in the saying, "first in time, first in right." In other words, whatever is left after the first user is available to the next, on down the line. These hybrid state law systems applying to surface waters exist next to both federal and Indian water rights. Underground and atmospheric water also have different sets of legal rules.

Sign for acequia water rights, New Mexico (New Mexico Acequia Association)

The allocation of water in the western rivers, such as the Colorado, Platte, and Rio Grande, created controversy even when the western states were sparsely populated. As major population centers developed and as climate change has created new rainfall patterns, the cross-border claims on river water have intensified. For example, from 1848 until 1970 the U.S. and Mexico signed seven agreements providing for the location of the international border and the equitable distribution, the environmental protection of the waters of the Rio Grande and the Colorado River, and the creation of the International Boundary and Water Commission. Even though this Commission has become an international model for dispute resolution, conflicts over surface water and groundwater (shared aquifers) continue to the present day.[20]

Climate change models are predicting an extended period of drought in the western states, which will affect agri-business, by far the largest water user, and drive jobs away from what are now irrigated lands. Because Latinos often gain entry into the workforce through farming and reside primarily in the arid west, changing climate conditions and the claims on water sources will burden Latino communities. Latino advocates and policy-makers are already responding to these conditions. For example, since 2007, the California Latino Water Coalition has been promoting legislation to address the state's water supply and infrastructure. In 2011, the National Latino Water Conservation Campaign was launched to protect the Colorado River from the effects of drought and climate change. In 2011, the Latino Sustainability Institute conducted a survey of 500 New Mexican Hispanic voters who expressed high levels (over 90 percent) of concern about water scarcity and increased forest fires.[21]

Water rights, as they pertain to land grants, are of particular importance to Latinos in rural ar-

eas. Under Spanish and Mexican land grants, water rights were granted according to the category of land use. For example, grazing lands usually did not come with water rights and often the question of water was not mentioned, resulting in disputes that were resolved by the various states in different ways. The most long-lasting feature of the water rights and usage system established under Spanish and Mexican rule is the *acequia* system of irrigation, which depends on communal control and maintenance.

In southern Colorado and New Mexico, *acequias* continue to be community institutions with effective water use norms and customs. As anthropologist Sylvia Rodríguez reminds us, *acequias* began as a colonizing project in which the Spanish Conquistadores used subordinated Indigenous workers to dig the first ditches. Over centuries, this system of water movement and water management was transformed into an infrastructure that incorporated agro-pastoral, religious, and quasi-legal aspects. A body of law and custom emerged that melded the structures and practices of the Indigenous Pueblos with the structures and practices that had passed from the Moors to the Spaniards who arrived in the Upper Rio Grande Valley. For millennia, local *acequia* associations comprised of *parciantes,* the water right owners and irrigators, have elected a *mayordomo* and commissioners to oversee the maintenance of the ditches and allocate water. The *mayordomo,* perceived as a highly respected community leader, is entrusted to secure the water and adjudicate the conflicts that arise. As we consider how a democracy is made, the *acequia* culture represents the fusion of local democratic structures with contemporary issues regarding the allocation of scarce resources.

To limit the description of *acequia* culture to water management would distort one's understanding of the multiple functions served by these institutions. As explained by Sylvia Rodríguez, water in an arid society and its uses become ritualized, embedded with norms of *respeto*, and emblematic of other features of the moral economy. Consequently, the *acequias* involve many aspects of religious ceremonies, such as processions, masses, special hymns, and patron saints. Particularly in rural areas, *acequias* are identity-constructing structures as they connect groups of Latinos to each other through shared experiences and collective narratives told from specific places with reference to common customs, consensual decision-making, and an organic leadership.

Latinos, Law, and Housing: An Illusive American Dream

In the U.S., the location of housing is correlated with access to such social resources and public accommodations as jobs, neighborhood schools, health care, grocery stores, public utilities, and religious and cultural institutions. Through most of the last century, housing was a primary target of policy makers who were intent on the separation of races. Consequently, residential segregation was widespread and written into law. Even after such laws were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and responded to by Congress with major legislation,[22] Latinos and other communities of color were subjected to and continue to suffer from the lingering effects of different forms of housing segregation and discrimination.

Attorney Christopher Arriola described the social separation of Anglos and Mexicans in El Modena, California, the setting for *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946),[23] one of the leading cases on school segregation:[24]

> *It was more common than not during the 1920s for southern California towns to be segregated. Segregation in the citrus society encompassed many harsh and unjust realities, from segregated housing and public places, to inferior social status and politi-*

cal and economic exploitation. Mexicans and Anglos lived in truly separate worlds...

This type of segregation was institutional and was visible in all aspects of daily life. Two common examples of segregation were the movie theaters in the larger towns and the swimming pools in almost every community. The five theaters in downtown Santa Ana were segregated. Oscar Valencia remembered that, "the bottom [the main floor of the theater] was for the Americans, the top [balcony] was for the Mexicans. They had all kinds of segregation." The "plunge," as the swimming pool in nearby Orange was called, had a "Mexican Day" on Mondays. It was the only day Mexicans were allowed to swim. The pool was drained that night and was closed on Tuesday for cleaning and re-filling...

The Plunge, Orange City Park, California (Orange County Historical Society)

The town became two separate worlds in one place. Mexicans were sold "miserable little houses" on cheap lots in the center of town "for a good profit," according to a long time resident. Anglos left the downtown area as more and more Mexicans arrived until the town was virtually all Mexican. Most Anglos in the community lived in small family- owned or rented citrus or walnut ranches in the plots adjacent to the town. El Modena had developed a doughnut shaped segregation. The Mexican community resided in the middle, clustered into the town, and the Anglos surrounded them living dispersed on the various nearby farms.

The separation went beyond the type and location of the houses. Mexicans and Anglos lead separate lives. They went to different churches, Anglos attending the Friends Church on the main street of Chapman, while Mexicans attended makeshift Catholic services in each other's homes until the first Catholic church was established. Mexicans had a different cultural life. The Mexican/Chicano community in El Modena brought in "teatro" groups from Mexico, had their own dances, ran their own restaurants and small stores, and organized mutual aid societies which sponsored both Mexican and American patriotic organizations.

Communities of color were largely excluded from the mortgages that were available to returning veterans after World War II. These mortgages (with the GI Bill's college benefits) helped anchor a predominantly white middle class that expanded in the 1950s and 1960s as homeownership in segregated enclaves became the hallmark of social and economic ascendancy, the symbol of the American dream. Homeownership also became the most important asset of most American workers; the only wealth that most parents could hope to pass on after death.

During the early 21st century, another generation would suffer from blatant racial housing discrimination as Latinos (and African-Americans) were disproportionately targeted by the banks' predatory lending practices during the subprime mortgage debacle. Housing boom jobs drew many immigrants from Mexico and Central America. In 2007, before the housing bubble burst, Latino workers made up 30 percent of the construction workforce; 25 percent were foreign born (including undocumented workers), and most of them (62 per-

cent) did not speak English or did not speak it well.[25] Many immigrants, driven north during the 1990s because of worker displacements caused by globalization and trade arrangements such as NAFTA as well as changes in the *maquiladora* (Mexican assembly plant) workforce, were having difficulty finding adequate housing. Thus, thousands of Latino immigrants located along the four-state border with Mexico are living in abject poverty in *colonias* that lack electricity, fuel sources, running water, fire and police services, and paved streets. Latinos were deeply engaged at different points of the housing crisis as construction workers, subprime mortgagees, and colonia residents.

In 1977, Congress passed the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) to counteract redlining and other discriminatory banking practices. When the housing bubble burst, many would unfairly blame the CRA as well as families of color for the housing crisis rather than the banks for blatantly fraudulent practices. Latinos were twice as likely to receive a subprime loan and three times as likely to refinance with a subprime lender.[26] By 2010, nearly 8 percent of Latino homeowners, compared with 4.5 percent of Whites, had lost their homes and another 17 percent were at imminent risk of foreclosure.[27] Latino communities lost over $177 billion.[28] More seriously, these Latino families lost their foothold in the middle class and the opportunities that better neighborhoods afford residents in terms of access to better jobs, schools, childcare, health care, and a cleaner environment. The burden of the subprime mortgage crisis fell particularly hard on communities of color, thwarting the mobility of Latino families, destabilizing home prices, and exposing homeowners to the risk of foreclosure and the attendant loss of creditworthiness for years to come.

Houses in a colonia, San Juan, Texas, 2012 (Vanderbilt University)

The structural difficulty of finding adequate and affordable housing is most acute in the border communities of mostly Mexicano immigrants known as *colonias*. By 2010, Texas had the largest number of colonias, about 2,300 with some 500,000 residents.[29] Since the 1990s, the *colonias* have proliferated and resulted in many challenges both for the inhabitants and for the governmental entities due to the lack of water and sewer systems, which pose public health and environmental dangers.[30] The Texas State Energy Conservation Office (SECO), like agencies in other states, has a number of projects addressing such *colonia* issues as schools, water and sewer access, and land title protections. Often the residents own small plots of land or are in the process of paying off land contracts usually sold by speculators. Latino residents have proven to be highly resilient, and many have organized locally to improve their living conditions and gain opportunities for their children. One such example is the Colonias Development Council of southern New Mexico established in 1994. Inequality has found its way into the global consciousness through the efforts of the Occupy Movement (a protest movement begun in 2011 against social and economic inequality). The Latino families in the border *colonias,* the so-called Forgotten Americans,[31] are one of the most deplorable examples of inequality and grinding poverty in the richest nation that ever existed in the history of mankind.

Conclusion

This essay is an overview of the way that Law forms, deforms, and transforms the lived experiences of Latino/a individuals and communities over the centuries. This examination of the effects of law on Latinos is also an exploration of Latino identity and how identity is a social as well as a legal construction. The theme "Making a Democracy" is examined by juxtaposing descriptions of the processes and effects of law with stories that elucidate the struggles of Latino communities to exercise full citizenship while retaining their cultural norms. Specifically, the stories about the mistreatment of Mexican Americans in Texas, the challenges to the reduction of grazing permits by the national Forest Service, the imposition of racial categories by the Census Bureau, and the struggle against residential segregation are examples of the Latino communities re-inscribing the meaning of democracy and expanding its embrace. Like other racial and ethnic minorities, Latinos' moral and legal claims upon the larger society have resulted in a more perfect union to use the phrase popularized by President Barack Obama.[31]

A number of issues raised in the essay remain unresolved. The 2004 GAO report on the New Mexico land grants identifies the options available to Congress, including the transfer of federal lands to grantees, should it decide to vindicate further the rights secured by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Water rights will become increasing more contentious as the effects of global change intensify. We can hope that the economic disparities and social inequality that are summed up by the taunts of the Occupy Movement against the so-called one percent will bring renewed focus on the burdens borne by Latino communities in the boroughs of New York as well as the *colonias* along the border.

Latinos have engaged with many different legal structures and legal debates, and in so doing have been actively involved in key developments related to borders, education, immigration, citizenship, women's rights, and civil rights. Such involvement has increased over the last century as the Latino population has grown and diversified. And these group histories—and the personal stories that echo them—can be found, and remembered, in many different places throughout the U.S.—court houses, schools, acequias, law offices, and more, some of which should be of interest to historic preservationists committed to addressing the absence of Latino landmarks in many states and locales. Finally, I have stretched the boundaries of the essay format to include auto/biographical stories as a way of creating niches for other voices to provide details about how Law constructs the multiple identities that constitute the Latina/o mosaic and help make up this "American" democracy.

*Warmest thanks go to Ernesto Longa, a University of New Mexico law librarian, for running down books, articles, and obscure sources. I could not have written this essay without his able assistance."

Endnotes

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[2] Downes v. Bidwell, 182 U.S. 244 (1901).

[3] For an overview of the legal issues pertaining to the various Latino communities, see Richard Delgado, Juan F. Perea and Jean Stefancic, *Latinos and the Law: Cases and Materials* (Eagan, MN: West, 2008) and Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *The Latino/a Condition: A Critical Reader* (New York: NYU Press, 1998.)

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[8] In re Rodriguez, 81 F. 337 (W.D. Tex. 1897).

[9] Michael Olivas, "In the Matter of Timoteo Andrade," Institute for Higher Education Law and Governance website, at http://www.law.uh.edu/ihelg/andrade%2Dfiles/, accessed April 4, 2012.

[10] LovingDay, "The Legal Map for Interracial Relationships, 1662-1967," at http://lovingday.org/legal-map, accessed April 4, 2012.

[11] Perez v. Sharp, 32 Cal. 2d 711, 198 P. 2d 17 (Cal. 1948).

[12] Antonia, Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," *California History* 76, no. 2/3 (Summer-Fall 1997): 230-259. Castañeda explains that Californio has both upper class (*gente de razon*) and settler significance.

[13] See Wikipedia contributors, "United States Court of Private Land Claims," *Wikipedia,* at http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=United_States_Court_of_Private_Land_Claims&oldid=499686413, accessed July 30, 2012; and United States General Accounting Office, *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: Findings and Possible Options Regarding Longstanding Community Land Grant Claims in New Mexico.* (Washington, DC, June 2004).

[14] Robert J. Rosenbaum and Robert W. Larson, "Mexicano Resistance to the Expropriation of Grant Lands in New Mexico," in *Land, Water and Culture: New Perspectives on Hispanic Land Grants*, eds. Charles L. Briggs and John R. Van Ness (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987): 288-291.

[15] David Pike, *Roadside New Mexico: A Guide to Historic Markers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.)

[16] Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: Findings and Possible Options Regarding Longstanding Community Land Grant Claims in New Mexico, 11.

[17] Jarita Mesa Livestock Grazing Association, et al v. The U.S. Forest Service and Diana Trujillo, Case: 1:12-cv-00069 (D.N.M. filed Jan. 20, 2012).

[18] *Id.* at 242.

[19] Caroline Bermeo Newcombe, "The Origin and Civil Law Foundation of the Community Property System, Why California Adopted it; and Why Community Property Principles Benefit Women," *University of Maryland Law Journal of Race, Religion, Gender and Class* 11, no. 1 (2011).

[20] Christopher Sherman, "Drought Sparks Water Dispute with Texas and Mexican Farmers," *HuffPost Latino Voices*, April 16, 2012, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/04/17/drought-sparks-water-dispute-texas-mexican-farmers_n_1430950.html, accessed July 27, 2012.

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[22] See Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948), the Fair Housing Act, and The Community Reinvestment Act of 1977.

[23] The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals' decision in the *Mendez* case that the school segregation schemes in Orange County, California affecting Mexican and Mexican-American children were unconstitutional helped develop the arguments for Brown v. Board of Education, 347. U.S. 483 (1954), which would be decided by the Supreme Court seven years later. See Mendez v. Westminster School District, et al, 64 F.Supp. 544 (C. D. Cal. 1946), aff'd, 161 F.2d 774 (9th Cir. 1947) (en banc).

[24] Christopher Arriola, "Knocking on the Schoolhouse Door: Mendez v. Westminster, Equal Protection, Public Education, and Mexican Americans in the 1940s," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 8, no. 2 (1995): 166, 171-172. (Footnotes omitted.) Quoted in Margaret E. Montoya, "A Brief History of Chicana/o School Segregation: One Rationale for Affirmative Action," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 159, 163-4.

[25] The Center for Construction Research and Training, "Hispanic Employment in Construction," *CPWR Data Brief* 1, no. 1 (2009), at http://www.cpwr.com/abstracts/2004-2009_sdong2.html, accessed July 27, 2012.

[26] Delvin Davis, "Here Today, Gone Tomorrow: The Impact of Subprime Foreclosures on African-American and Latino Communities," Poverty & Race 16, no. 3 (May/June 2007), at http://prrac.org/full_text.php?text_id=1131&item_id=10533&newsletter_id=93&header=Housing&kc=1, accessed April 6, 2012.

[27] Debbie Gruenstein Bocian, Wei Li, and Keith S. Ernst, Foreclosures by Race and Ethnicity: The Demographics of a Crisis. (Durham, NC: Center for Responsible Lending, 2010,) at http://www.responsiblelending.org/mortgage-lending/research-analysis/foreclosures by-race-and-ethnicity.pdf, accessed April 6, 2012.

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[30] Texas Secretary of State, "Texas Colonias: A Thumbnail Sketch of Conditions, Issues, Challenges and Opportunities," at http://www.sos.state.tx.us/border/colonias/faqs.shtml, accessed April 6, 2012.

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[31] Barack Obama, "A More Perfect Union." Speech, Philadelphia, PA, March 18, 2008. Wikipedia, at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_More_Perfect_Union_(speech), accessed May 3, 2012.

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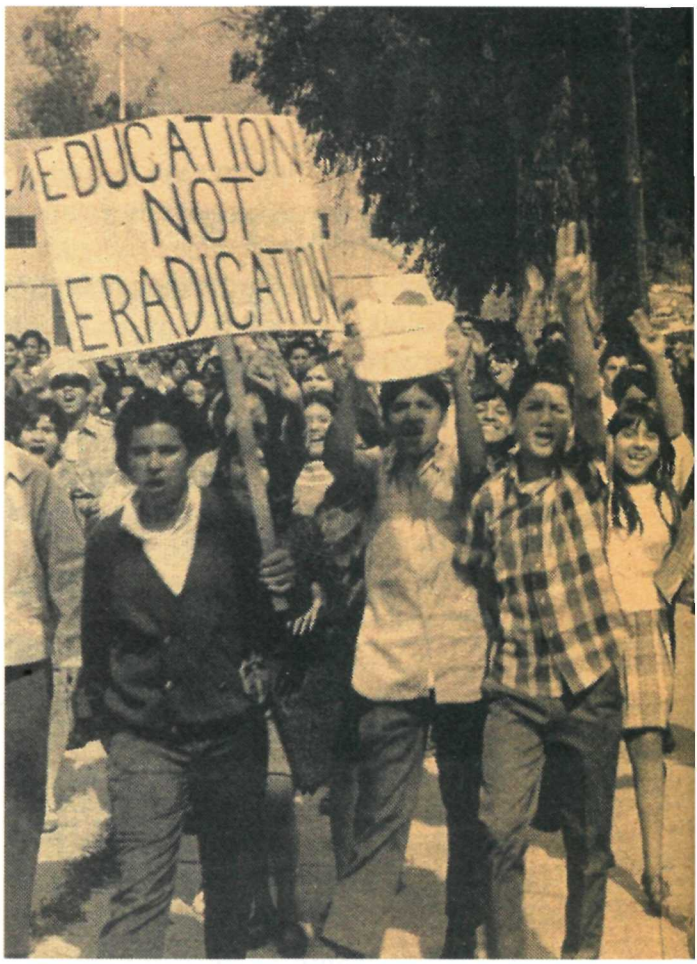
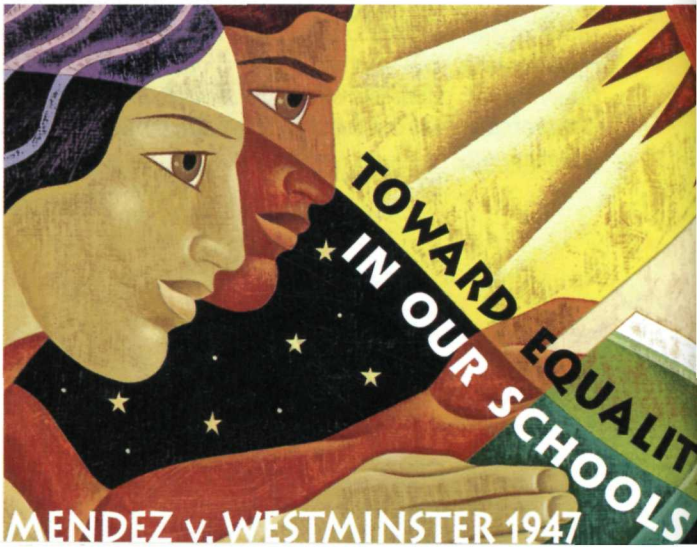


Clockwise from top left:
Roosevelt Tower, University of Puerto Rico, San Juan Puerto Rico (University of Puerto Rico); Students protesting during the East Los Angeles High School Walkouts, 1968, California (Los Angeles City Historical Society); Education Rights Protest led by Concilio de Organizaciones Puertorriqueñas e Hispanas, 1963, New York, New York (The Historical Archives of the Puerto Rican Migration); Mendez vs. Westminster commemorative stamp (US Postal Service); First grade class at the "Mexican" Wilson School, 1943, Orange County, California (Orange County Historical Society)



Demanding their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity

Victoria-María MacDonald

The historical and contemporary purposes of public education in the United States are trifold: to create an educated citizenry for the democratic process, assimilate immigrants to American culture and language, and prepare a stable workforce for a productive economy. As a nation of immigrants, many newcomers, particularly northern Europeans, have been successfully integrated with full citizenship into the U.S. polity. Spanish-descent peoples in the U.S., by contrast, have often had to exercise their First Amendment rights to free speech, peaceful assembly, and to petition for relief from the government to secure equity in schooling. Through consistently and continuously insisting upon treatment as full citizens, Latinos have reminded the nation that "equal treatment under the law" is a democratic concept that is not contingent upon land, territory, country of origin, language, or skin color.

Latinos in the Americas have always placed a high value upon education as a means of economic, political, social, and upward mobility.

Schools have often been sites of political, racial, and linguistic conflict between the majority population and Latino groups.[1] Latinos today are underrepresented in key indicators of school achievement such as high school and college graduation rates, standardized tests, and college entrance examinations. Most experts agree that these indicators are not a reflection of ability; rather, as explored in this essay, Latinos have faced social, economic, and political barriers embedded in their historic presence in the U.S. Despite these obstacles, Latino communities have always demonstrated the capacity to act independently and to make their own choices in the struggle to gain access to quality schooling. Latino parents, students, and communities have fought for education rights and schooling opportunities through the creation of advocacy organizations, the establishment of independent private schools, by enrolling their children in Catholic schools and colleges, through litigation, walkouts, and by leveraging political and economic power for equitable or appropriate legislation.

The Colonial Era

The unique educational histories of the various Latino subgroups in the U.S. are reflected through a historical chronology from the presence of European Spaniards in the 16th century to the later acquisition of Spanish territories through war, colonization, and annexation in the independent United States of America.[2] Latino peoples are the descendants of a complex mix of Europeans, indigenous peoples, and Africans brought to the America's as slaves during the colonial period.[3] During the earliest decades of Spanish colonization in the territories that would eventually become the modern day U.S., three general forms of schooling emerged. As historian David Weber expressed, Spaniards arrived in the New World with the sword and the Catholic cross.[4] The first schools served Spanish children of settlers and soldiers. These settlers' schools represented a cultural and linguistic continuation for Spanish children. Spanish language, religion, and culture were maintained through the school curriculum by teachers and via conformity to religious and political themes reflecting Old World culture. Among the earliest settlers schools established during this era was a Franciscan classical school and preparatory seminary founded in 1606 in St. Augustine, Florida. In 1634, the Spanish crown issued a *cédula* (document or charter) to open a second school in St. Augustine, but historians have not yet discovered records from that institution.[5]

Mission schools often represented forms of cultural and linguistic genocide. Native Americans placed in missions, at times voluntarily to avoid warring tribes, and often involuntarily, were taught Catholic doctrines, the Spanish language, and a curriculum of handicrafts and skilled labor to match Spain's views of the Native American's role as subordinated colonial workers. Initially Spanish priests were ordered to learn native languages and created numerous scholarly works on Native American traditions and language. These bicultural efforts lessened and were eventually abandoned as the result of events such as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Further, as male *mestizo* (Native American/Spanish offspring, sometimes called *ladinos*) were being trained at higher academic levels for leadership or the priesthood, they utilized their educational skills to rebel against the colonizers. Consequently, education for this group was increasingly viewed negatively as reflected in the Spanish colonial *dicho* (saying), "*mestizo educado, mestizo colorado*" (an educated mestizo is a red devil).[6]

Prelude to the Mexican American War: Schooling under Mexican Independence

When Mexico declared independence from Spain in 1821, its many democratic reforms, ironically, narrowed the number of educational options previously available under the colonial regime. The Mexican government's secularization of the missions greatly weakened the Catholic Church's role in schooling. The Mexican government withdrew subsidies for missions and ordered the return of church-controlled lands to the public domain.[7] The Republic of Mexico's 1824 Constitution stipulated public education, but the isolation of the far northern territories, coupled with limited finances and political instability in the new government, compromised the ability of the fledgling country to carry out its democratic educational reforms.[8] Some of the government's efforts, however, were successful. In 1834, for example, the Mexican government sent 20 teachers to open schools in Alta California. In addition, the Young Ladies Seminary in San José, run by The Sisters of Charity and the Church of Saint Francis School in San Francisco were also active.[9] Overall, an estimated one thousand children in California were being educated during the Mexican Era in a variety of Catholic, private, and public schools.[10]

The Republic of Texas, established in 1836 and annexed to the U.S. in 1845, also created ambitious plans for public education, condemning the Republic of Mexico for its failure to establish public schools. Economic difficulties and political instability, however, also constrained Texas from carrying out a concrete or systematic public school system.[11] Overall, the Mexican Era revealed the persistence of Catholic schools as favored educational institutions and the beginning, at least on paper, of public support for schools in the Republic of Mexico and the short-lived Republic of Texas. The long intertwined history of Catholicism and schooling would clash with the more secularized forms of public education introduced when the Southwestern territories became part of the U.S. Furthermore, limited funds for public schooling during the Mexican Era gave Anglo settlers coming from the Eastern part of the U.S. the false impression that education was little valued. These beliefs led to the marginalization and dismissal of alternative forms of education in favor of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant, middle-class, public school reform movement of the mid-19th century.[12]

Americanization and Resistance, 1848-1930s

American society witnessed considerable social, economic, and political shifts during the decades after the Mexican American War, through the Civil War, World War I, and the Great Depression of the 1930s. Westward expansion and immigration from Europe and then from Mexico after the 1910 Revolution, triggered conflicts between more established

European Anglo and English-speaking U.S. citizens and newly arriving groups. The involvement of the U.S. in international imperialism in Latin America, World War I, and concerns over Anglo Protestant "race suicide," prompted xenophobic measures against immigrants resulting in passage of the restrictive 1921 and 1924 Immigration Acts and English-only statutes in schools.[13] Although Mexico was exempt from the strict numerical quotas placed upon other countries, anti-immigrant sentiments resulted in increased measures to segregate Mexican-Americans from so-called "white" public institutions such as swimming pools, parks, schools, and eating establishments.[14]

During the Great Depression, purposeful campaigns to repatriate Mexican Americans, many of whom were U.S. citizens, to Mexico strained the already difficult circumstances of Mexican Americans.[15] As the "common" or public school idea moved West in the 1840s and 1850s, its role as an assimilationist institution clashed with the values of the former Mexican citizens who viewed their Spanish language, land, and citizenship as rights protected through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Politically, socially, and economically the status of elite *Californios, Tejanos,* and *Hispanos* eroded during this period, affecting the ability of the former Mexican citizens to shape and maintain a culturally and linguistically compatible form of public schooling for their children. During the period between 1848 and statehood for the last portion of the former Mexican territories in 1912 (Arizona), contests over language and religion and between local communities and state agencies dominated the era. The widespread and accepted view of public schools as vehicles of Americanization among Anglo-Saxon Protestant education reformers ultimately triumphed in the Southwest but not without decades of compromise, resistance, and fluidity.[16]

A sign in Dimmitt, Texas, 1949 (Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin)

Educational policies during this era varied depending upon the local economic and political power of the Mexican descent population. For example, the new states of Texas (1845) and California (1850) experienced more rapid Americanization and English-only policies from Anglo settlers pushing east and bringing with them distinct schooling traditions and policies. In the remotely settled territories of New Mexico and Colorado, inhabitants identified more with original Spanish settlers and called themselves *Hispanos.* In these territories, Latinos wielded more economic and political power and could more readily maintain bilingual/ bicultural public schools for a longer period of time.[17]

The state of Texas established a permanent system of common public schools in 1854 with the Common School Law. In 1856 and 1858, the law was amended to stipulate, "no school shall be entitled to the [monetary] benefits of this act unless the English language is principally taught therein."[18] The amended law, targeted at both German immigrants and former Mexican citizens, attempted to impose English as the primary language in public schools. Mexican American parents with resources responded to this and the virulent anti-Catholic sentiments that Protestant Anglo settlers brought with them to Texas, by enrolling their children in Catholic schools or establishing their own independent private schools.[19]

Unlike the strict *de jure* segregated schooling for African Americans in the South based upon

race, Mexican American children in Southwestern and Midwestern states such as Iowa and Kansas, were placed in "Mexican" classrooms or schools as a result of "color of the law" or "custom" beginning in the early 1900s.[20] Anglo administrators defended this practice, saying that it was a result of English language deficiencies, although many "Mexican" students spoke only English. Furthermore, Anglo parents objected to their children being schooled with what they called "dirty and diseased" Mexicans. [21] Underlying the rationales provided for separating most Mexican American students from Anglo students was an ideology among the white elite that Mexican American children belonged to a different and lower class system based upon the political economy of the Southwestern agricultural system.[22] Basic levels of education were viewed as a necessity for literacy and workforce skills. Higher levels such as secondary schooling and college, however, would permit Mexican American children access to a segment of society Anglos reserved for themselves.[23] Nomenclature of schools is telling in this regard. Particularly in Texas, schools with mostly white children were called "American" while schools designated for children of Spanish or Mexican descent were called "Mexican."[24]

"In El Paso, the Mexican Aoy Prepatory School boasted the best attendance of any of the city's public schools in the early 1900's."

Victoria-Maria MacDonald (editor), Latino Education in the United States

As will be documented in the following pages, white parents, in particular, were determined to keep "Mexican" children out of their "American" schools, even if these were third generation Mexican American who were U.S. citizens. Not all Mexican Americans, however, were blocked from the upper grades or entrance into the white schools. Rather, porous opportunities existed for a slim segment of Mexican Americans who possessed honorary whiteness.[25] This honorary whiteness was often extended to children with American surnames (typically those with an Anglo father), children possessing light complexions, members of the older "elite" Spanish families in certain locales, and others who possessed economic/social capital or connections with school board members. However, access, even among Mexican Americans with these characteristics, was not guaranteed but subject to school-by-school's or district by district's unwritten practices. As University of Texas professor George I. Sánchez described in 1948, the decision to be placed in either a white or a Mexican school was "arbitrary and capricious."[26]

The Aoy Preparatory School in El Paso, Texas is illustrative of the shift of Spanish language schools to public schools which stressed "American" values. Subsequentally these schools became segregated "Mexican" schools within the public school system. Mexican parents founded the Aoy Preparatory School in 1887 as a bilingual private school for Spanish-speaking pupils and hired teacher Olives Villanueva Aoy.[27] In 1888 the El Paso public school board incorporated the school into its system. The bilingual nature of the school shifted over time, and by 1905 students were sent to the school by directive: "All Spanish speaking pupils in the city who live west of Austin Street will report at the Aoy School, corner of 7th and Campbell, English speaking Mexican children will attend the school of the district in which they live."[28] "Mexican" schools such as this one, originally created to preserve the Spanish language and Mexican culture, were utilized as a means of cultural, linguistic, and social subordination in the Anglo dominant society.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) established that Mexicans in the newly acquired territories of the U.S. would be racially classified

as white.[29] However, the *de facto* exclusion of Mexican Americans from designated white spaces, particularly schools, was widespread, but particularly endemic in Texas. Of the five Southwestern states (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas) only Texas mandated, in its 1876 constitution, that public schools were to be racially separated (black and white) from elementary school through college. Arizona and New Mexico permitted local districts to decide whether they would segregate black and white students, but only at the elementary level. In these two states, black students were integrated at the high school level.[30] California state codes variously included and excluded "Negroes, Mongolians, and Indians" in separate or integrated spaces between the 1870s and 1940s.[31] However, in none of these states were statutes or constitutional measures in place requiring or permitting the segregation of Mexican American students. Instead, the practice of segregating Mexican American pupils was conducted outside of the legal structure, rendering its identification and demise particularly difficult for litigators.[32] As Ruth Tuck observed in 1946, the extra-legal nature of these practices posed a difficult challenge, "rather than having the job of battering down a wall, the Mexican-American finds himself entangled in a spider web, whose outlines are difficult to see but whose clinging, silken strands hold tight."[33]

Satunino Alvarado (Kansas City Kansas Public Schools)

Many Mexican American children were not only segregated in the K-8 level, but also barred extralegally from high schools. One of the earliest examples of *de facto* high school exclusion occurred in Kansas City, Kansas. Many Mexican American *colonias* (communities) formed in the Midwest and West along the railroad lines as people were brought to work the railroads and to work as migratory laborers in the beet fields. Many of these migrants remained and formed permanent communities.[34] In one such community in Kansas City, a high school exclusion incident in 1925 rose to the international level when parents protested both school segregation and high school exclusion. Prior to the founding of civil rights organizations such as The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929, many Mexican nationals and immigrants appealed to the Mexican consular office for relief from discrimination, employment disputes, and other injustices. They also formed mutual aid societies called *mutualistas* in order to have collective voices in matters concerning the community.[35] Thus, the Kansas City incident did not reach the court level; rather it was handled through various Federal Government, Mexican Government, and state offices.

The protest began when four Mexican American students in Kansas City registered for the 1925-1926 school year at the "white" Argentine High School. They were admitted, but white parents immediately began petitions and meetings with the school board to keep them out.[36] Determined to ensure that his sons Jesus and Luz, and the two other Mexican American students, Marcos De Leon and Victorina Perez, would be protected under their constitutional rights as U.S. citizens, Saturnino Alvarado began a campaign to allow the four students to attend the high school. The Kansas City Board of Education offered a separate classroom for the students, with their own teacher. Their parents refused. The Board then offered to pay tuition and transportation for the students to cross the state lines and attend a Kansas City,

Missouri, high school for Mexican American students. The parents again refused. Although it took a year of diplomacy between numerous stakeholders including the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Secretary of State, the Mexican Ambassador and Consul, the Governor of Kansas, and the Assistant Attorney General of Kansas, at the start of the next school year the four high school students were finally admitted as full students and three of them continued to graduation.[37] Historians of Mexican American educational history have identified only a few instances of non-litigated protest earlier than the Argentine High School situation. One such instance occured in 1910, when parents in San Angelo, Texas staged what they called a "blowout" protesting their children's assignment to an inferior and segregated "Mexican" school. The boycott of the school lasted until 1915 without a satisfactory resolution to the Mexican American community.[38] Other such instances may have occured as well, although with no documentation for historians to currently access.

"The case stands as a credit to the Mexican community of Lemon Grove who as immigrants used the public system of justice to test their children's rights as U.S. citizens."

Robert R. Alvarez, Jr., The Lemon Grove Incident: The Nation's First Successful Desegregation Court Case

Laura Muñoz, in her recent documentation of the Arizona case *Romo v. Laird* (1925), brought to light the only formal legal case of the 1920s in which Mexican Americans fought against educational segregation and/ or exclusion in the U.S.[39] In *Romo*, a Mexican American parent sued the Tempe, Arizona school district for placing his children in the Tempe Normal Training School with student teachers instead of fully trained teachers. Judge Joseph S. Jenckes agreed that the school board's practice of essentially segregating Mexican American students without giving them equivalent opportunities to attend the regular public schools violated the students' rights and ruled for the plaintiffs.

As a second-generation Mexican American middle class developed in the Southwest, they accrued sufficient political and economic power to push for their civil rights.[40] Most significantly for Mexican Americans during the decades of the 1920s through the 1940s was the creation in 1929 of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), in Corpus Christi, Texas. LULAC's creation represented a turning point in educational rights for Mexican American children.[41] It spearheaded several school desegregation cases decades before the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. The first case, *Del Rio (TX) Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930), alleged that children were unconstitutionally segregated by the "color of law." The school district had sold a municipal bond to allow the expansion of a "Mexican" elementary school for grades 1-3; however, the student's parents believed that the district's action meant that their children would be permanently segregated into "Mexican" schools. Although the case won at the District Court level, the Texas Court of Civil Appeals overturned the decision. Basing their decision on the right of a school board to utilize "educational reasons," in this case, the language needs of Mexican American children, the court permitted the school district to continue segregating Mexican American students so long as it was not being done for reasons of race or color.[42]

Utilizing the "special language needs" of Spanish-speaking children as a premise for segregation in the lower grades was a practice utilized throughout the Southwest. Influential leaders such as George I. Sánchez at the University of New Mexico utilized research funded by the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1930s to document financial

inequalities between school systems. He stressed the negative impact of state-level decision making without local community input as a particular disservice to New Mexican natives.[43]

In *Roberto Alvarez v. the Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove (CA) School District* (1931), the first Mexican American class action suit, parents fought an attempt to segregate their children from the white children with whom they had been attending school.[44] In 1930, the board of trustees at the Lemon Grove School voted to sgregate the school's students and to provide a two-room building for use by Mexican American students; of the 169 students at the school, 75 were Mexican American. These students were denied admittance to the Lemon Grove School and were instructed to attend the "new" school, an old building eventually referred to derisively as "*La Caballeriza*" (The Stable). Parents of the Mexican American schoolchildren formed a committee, *Comité de Vecinos de Lemon Grove* (Lemon Grove Neighbors Committee), hired lawyers, and successfully brought suit against the school district. Judge Claude Chambers, of the San Diego Superior Court, ruled in favor of the parents and found that school boards had no right under California law to segregate Mexican American children. Contrary to the school board's premise that the segregated school would provide opportunities for English language learning and Americanization, the judge reasoned that these goals could not be accomplished without integration among white non-Spanish speaking pupils.[45]

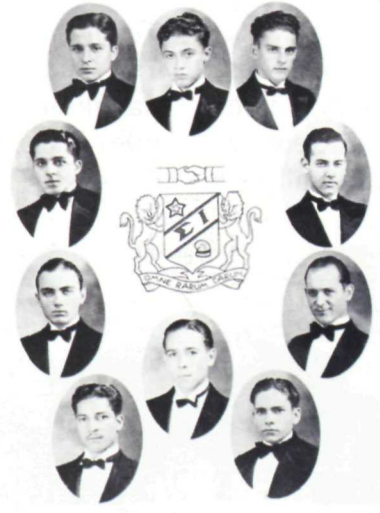
Spanish-American Normal School, El Rito, New Mexico, c. 1910 (Northern New Mexico College)

The lawsuits and community organized protests of the 1920s and 1930s, whether successful or not, demonstrated the esteem in which public education was held among Mexican Americans and their willingness to challenge the dominant community's resistance to integrate them fully as U.S. citizens with constitutional protections under the law. Each of these cases had only local jurisdictional powers; however, they rep-resented the beginning of the long national civil rights journey in the 20th century for equitable schooling opportunities.

During the late 1800s until World War I, college participation in the U.S. among all adults was a small (less than 5%) proportion of the entire population. Among the elite classes of *Tejanos, Californios,* and *Hispanos* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the sons and daughters of the elite (but downwardly mobile) classes often attended private Catholic Colleges. These schools represented a smooth continuity with the Spanish language, culture (sex segregation, for example), and religion distinct from the public universities emerging during this era. Many of these Catholic colleges started first as academies to provide high school preparation before students reached collegiate status and accreditation. The most prominent include Santa Clara College in San Jose, California (1851); Saint Michael's College in Santa Fe, New Mexico (1859), chartered again in 1874 as the College of the Christian Brothers of New Mexico; Notre Dame College in San Jose, California (1868); and Our Lady of the Lake in San Antonio, Texas (1895).

In contrast to the segregated practices in Texas and California carried out by white school officials who viewed Mexican Americans as racially inferior, unclean, and in need of Ameri-

canization, *Hispanos* in New Mexico and Colorado, emphasized their distinct heritage as something to be *affirmed* in the public schools, and extended that power to the newly emerging public teacher training institutions. *Hispano* descent school officials determined who taught and administered, and could shape the nature of social and academic environments.[46] One prominent example of the economic and political clout of Hispanos was the creation of a public bilingual teacher training institution. In 1909, the state legislature of New Mexico founded the Spanish-American Normal School at El Rito. The legislature charged the institution to educate "Spanish-speaking natives of New Mexico for the vocation of teachers in the public schools of the counties and districts where the Spanish language is prevalent."[47] The school continued through the 1930s as a normal school and then was absorbed into the New Mexico higher education system.[48] After several evolutions and levels of schooling, it is now (2012) known as Northern New Mexico College, an accredited baccalaureate institution.[49] Similarly, the New Mexico Normal School, founded in 1893 in Las Vegas, New Mexico, became New Mexico Normal University in 1902 and New Mexico Highlands University in 1941, which it is still named today. [50]



Sigma Iota Fraternity, Loyola University, 1928. Established in 1912 at LSU, Sigma Iota was the first Latino Fraternity in the U.S. (Phi Iota Alpha Archives)

In addition to teacher training institutions, junior colleges, now called community colleges, educated many Mexican Americans during the era of segregation. The first junior college opened in 1901 in Joliet, Illinois and quickly became a popular commuter institution for students as an affordable alternative to four-year residential schools. Parents of Latina girls preferred junior colleges because of the cultural aspect, which permitted their daughters to live at home and study nearby. Some schools were vocational/technical in nature from their beginings and others offered both academic transfer functions to four-year schools and skilled training programs. In Brownsville, Texas, a dominant Mexican American community, many high school students advanced to the Junior College of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, founded in 1926. In 1931, its name was changed to Brownsville Junior College and then Texas Southmost College in 1950, the appellation it utilizes today.[51] In Corpus Christi, Texas, the state founded Del Mar College in 1935 as a vocational/technical school, a role it has continued until the present. Catholic colleges, teacher training schools, and junior colleges/community colleges appear to have educated the majority of Latinos in the pre-World War II era; however, this is an area of research requiring further investigation.

The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 provided monies for each state to open land grant universities for all students. The 1890 Morrill Land Grant Act provided federal funds to southern states to allow designation of separate land-grant institutions for persons of color. Similar to the K-12 public school system, Mexican Americans were not segregated legally from public colleges or universities, but *de facto*, their presence was discouraged. Extracurricular activities were another source of oppression and discrimination. For example, sororities and fraternities at public universities barred students of color from joining, except for a limited few who possessed honorary whiteness. Undeterred, many Mexican American and *Hispano* students formed their own organizations.[52]

Philanthropic organizations, the increasing numbers of middle-class Latinos, and their determination aided admittance to institutions of higher learning in the pre-World War II era. Local customs, the social and political clout of Spanish-speaking citizens, and other intangible factors, however, affected access and the nature of the college experience. Perhaps the greatest factor blocking college entrance was the insufficient number of Mexican Americans who could complete eighth grade and attend secondary schools. For most Mexican Americans during this era (1848-1940), eighth grade was the highest level reached due to segregation, racism, and a political economy based on the inexpensive agricultural labor of Mexicans.[53] The early Latino college students were pioneers. Unlike the late 19th century participation of Latinos from older elite *Hispano* and *Californio* families in higher education, students from middle and working-class Latino families were finally entering college.[54] In the 1930s, for example, the YMCA of Los Angeles provided funds and a social worker in the Mexican American community to provide youth with information about college admissions, scholarships, and networking. As an offshoot of the YMCA club, Mexican American students at UCLA created the first known Latino college student organization in the U.S. called the Mexican American Movement (MAM). Club member and student Felix Gutierrez founded the first Latino student newspaper at UCLA, *The Mexican Voice*, and was its editor from 1938-1944.[55] These pioneering Latino college students would later provide leadership and talent to aid the formation of the Chicano/Puerto Rican civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

The early Latino college students were pioneers.

Participation in Southwestern states' flagship universities was minimal during this era among Mexican Americans. The University of California, Berkeley opened in 1869 with 40 students. Between 1870 and 1872, the university established a college preparatory department for Mexican American and *Californios* students known as the "Fifth Class." Almost two dozen enrolled in the preparatory college program. According to historians León and McNeil, when the preparatory department was abolished two years later, it resulted in the "virtual disappearance of Spanish surnamed students at the University of California."[56] The flagship University of Texas at Austin opened in the fall of 1883 and Manuel García was the first Mexican American to graduate from the University of Texas in 1894.[57] Little is known about other Latinos in the Texas university system during this early era, although by the 1920s only one percent of the undergraduates in Texas universities were of Mexican descent. [58]

The Mexican American War of 1848 brought the first subgroup of Latinos into the American politic; in the Spanish American War of 1898 the U.S. acquired, among other lands, the former Spanish colonies of Puerto Rico and Cuba. The Teller Amendment prohibited the U.S. from establishing permanent rule over Cuba, which became independent in 1902. Puerto Rico, however, has remained a commonwealth of the U.S. to the present day. The U.S. Government continued to believe that U.S. style public schools and the English Language would inculcate American values in Puerto Rico's teachers and youth. To implement these assimilationist measures, Puerto Rican teachers were required to teach all classes in English only and to teach U.S. history and culture. Because so few Puerto Rican teachers knew English, many of these drastic policies were eventually modified. Prior to the creation of the University of Puerto Rico in 1903, the colonial government provided college educations to over five hundred students. Students from rural areas and those who were darker-skinned were directed

to the historically black segregated institutions of Tuskegee and Hampton.[59]

As small numbers of Puerto Ricans began to migrate to the U.S. mainland in the early 1900s, Puerto Rican parents formed organizations to support their children's experiences in the public schools. In New York City, for example, *Madres y Padres Por Niños Hispanos* (Mothers and Fathers for Hispanic Children), was created in the 1930s. Among other priorities, this organization exposed the bias within intelligence testing that confused English proficiency with knowledge of subject matter and channeled Puerto Rican students into classrooms for "backward" children.[60] Granted U.S. citizenship in 1917 through the Jones Act, Puerto Ricans occupied a liminal space as colonized peoples while receiving some advantages of citizenship, particularly the right to travel legally between the island of Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland and to work in either place.

Felicitas and Gonzalo Mendez (Creative Commons by J Milburn)

World War II and its Legacies: Stimulus for Latino Civil Rights

The harsh Depression Era slowly faded in the U.S. with the onset of the military defense industry build up for World War II, bringing with it a wave of patriotism across the country as citizens rallied to combat totalitarianism and fascism. Mexican Americans were integrated into the U.S. military (distinct from African Americans who were still segregated) and numbered an estimated 500,000.[61] The global experiences of Mexican American soldiers serving abroad and fighting alongside white citizens outside of the *de facto* segregated Southwest stimulated a nascent civil rights movement. Veterans who had heroically risked their lives and seen family members' and friends' sacrifices theirs for the larger cause of maintaining democracy abroad, recognized the hypocrisy of homeland discrimination. Imbued with a renewed sense of their rights as part of the U.S. politic, they were proactive in securing improved access to constitutionally protected rights and governmental services. Grassroots community organizing and litigation were particularly utilized in this era for equity and access to elementary, secondary, and higher education.

The first post-World War II victory for Mexican Americans was a constitutional challenge to school segregation. With the support of an a*micus curiae* brief from the National Association of Colored People (NAACP), *Mendez et al v. Westminster School District et al* (1946) was a class action suit filed by Felicitas and Gonzalo Mendez against four Southern California school districts. The plaintiffs demanded an end to the segregation of more than five thousand Mexican and Mexican American students in the various school districts in Orange County. Of particular significance was Judge Paul J. McCormick's finding that the students' rights to equal schooling should be protected under the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[62] The state of California required separate schools for "Negro, Mongolian, and Indian children," but the judge ruled that Mexicans were white and found the segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students to be unconstitutional and ordered that they be integrated into the "American" schools. Furthermore, the judge also ruled that separating Spanish-speaking children from their English-speaking classmates denied them access to learning the English language.[63] In particular, Judge McCormick invoked the democratic spirit of the post-World War II era, arguing that

separating children "fosters antagonisms in the children and suggests inferiority among them where none exists," and that instead "commingling of the entire student body instills and develops a common cultural attitude among the school children which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals."[64]

Encouraged by the success of *Mendez et al,* activists in Texas backed the class action lawsuit of six-year-old Minerva Delgado. *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* (1948) charged that Mexican descent students were routinely barred from attending public schools with other white schoolchildren in violation of the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection clause. One of the primary figures involved in the case was George Isidore Sánchez, one of the most outstanding Mexican American educators, activists, and leaders of the era. One of the key points that lawyer Gus García had to demonstrate in court was that segregating Latino children, although not in statute, was a custom and could be tried in a court of law. Plaintiffs were successful in *Delgado,* although the judge ruled that Spanish-speaking children could still be segregated in the first grade for pedagogical reasons.[65] Although neither *Mendez et al* nor *Delgado* overturned the US Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), thereby ending *de jure* segregation throughout the country, the cases were notable for two reasons. First, they led to the legislative end of school segregation in their respective states of California and Texas. Second, the finding in support of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in *Mendez et al* represented a successful test for the future litigators in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Although these were cases with only district-wide or countywide jurisdiction, they helped, along with *Brown v. Board of Education*, to bring an end to *de jure* segregation in U.S. schools. Even after these rulings, however, historians have found that as late as the mid-1960s Mexican American students in the Southwest were still clustered in predominantly "Mexican" schools.[66]

On the East Coast and in Midwestern centers such as Chicago, Puerto Ricans migrated in increasing numbers from the island to the mainland in search of jobs during the 1940s and 1950s. The number of Puerto Rican children entering New York City schools increased from 29,000 to 300,000 between 1949 and 1968. In response to the influx, the city's Board of Education commissioned the *Puerto Rican Study, 1953-1957.* One of the Study's determinations was that extensive bilingual preparation for teachers and support staff was needed immediately. One response was to hire Puerto Rican women and former teachers on the island as Substitute Auxiliary Teachers (SATs) to assist in the classrooms. [67]

During the 1940s and 1950s, a growing number of Latinos enrolled in higher education. The G.I Bill or Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 provided educational benefits and Latino (majority male) veterans took advantage of these perquisites. Some two-year colleges such as the San Luis Institute (1943) in San Luis, Colorado were created as a result of veterans' demands.[68] At the University of Texas, Austin, Mexican American veterans who were excluded from fraternities formed their own clubs such as the Laredo and Alba clubs and used their status as veterans to advocate for educational and veterans' rights.[69] Furthermore, the American G.I. Forum was established in 1948 to protect veterans who were not receiving benefits they merited. As professionally trained Latina and Latino professor began to teach in the universities in small numbers during the 1940s and 1950s, they served as mentors and role models for the coming generation of activists, further advancing the cause of Latino education.

The arrival of Cuban refugees in the late 1950s and early 1960s into Miami, Florida generated

its own educational policy response. Situated within the context of Cold War politics, school policies towards the refugees departed from the stricter Americanization assimilationist characteristics of earlier eras and permitted more flexibility and openness towards bilingual education. Through the creation in 1961 of the Cuban Emergency Refugee Center under the administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), federal funds were channeled to agencies throughout South Florida for the educational needs of newly arrived Cubans. Among the most notable creations (with assistance from the Ford Foundation) was the Coral Way Elementary School in 1963, the first bilingual public school in the post-World War II U.S.[70] Higher educational levels of the first wave of "Golden Exile" refugees from Cuba and generous government-assisted programs contributed to the fast growth of economic, political, and social capital of Cubans in South Florida.

Chicano Student News, 1968 (Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research)

Compared to the largely rural and working-class population of Puerto Ricans leaving the island for cities on the mainland, few resources were available for Puerto Rican youth still under the yoke of semi-colonial rule (Commonwealth status was not granted until 1952). In response to their particular needs, activists such as educator Antonia Pantoja created ASPIRA (aspire) in 1961 to prevent high school dropouts and promote the schooling of Puerto Rican children in New York City.

Fighting for Our Rights: The Chicano and Boricua Civil Rights Movement

The conservative climate of Cold War 1950s American society was slowly rocked, first by the beginning of the African American civil rights movement, then through a firestorm of multiple social revolutions. The Free Speech Movement, launched at the University of California, Berkeley by Mario Savio in 1964, was followed by urban riots beginning in 1965 with the Watts Riot in Los Angeles, anti-Vietnam War protests on college campuses, and a series of ethnic, gender, and racial rights movements that followed the African American civil rights movement for equal rights under the law. Within these tumultuous decades, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, politicized as Chicanos and Boricuans, drew from early developments in the World War II era to spark their own form of protest.

The persistence of subtractive language policies and curricula, few Spanish-descent public school teachers, tracking of Mexican American and Puerto Rican students into vocational classes, and lingering segregation of schools led to the fight for widespread collective and legal rights for Latino educational equity during the 1960s and 1970s. Mostly a youth movement in both high schools and colleges, the new activists were impatient with the slow pace of reform begun by the World War II generation and organizations such as LULAC. As Juan Gonzalez explained in *Harvest of Empire*, these young activists concluded that the solution lay with "massive protests, disruptive boycotts, strikes, and even riots."[71] Among the most famous civil rights activities were the 1968 Los Angeles high school walkouts (also referred to as "blowouts"). During the spring of 1968, Chicano students at four East Los Angeles high schools staged massive walkouts, demanding better guidance counselors for college, Latino teachers, Mexican American history classes, smaller classes, bilingual classes for those who needed them, and parental advisory boards. Although the walkouts elicited a negative response from

the Anglo community, resulting in arrests and crackdowns, the city of Los Angeles eventually gave in to some of the demands and parents formed their own Mexican American educational committee to monitor reforms. [72]

In response to community protests and agitation, private foundations and government agencies provided funds and official recognition and legitimacy to Mexican American and Puerto Rican demands. One of the broadest and most symbolic improvements was federal recognition of Mexican Americans as an identifiable ethnic group. With the election of Texan Lyndon B. Johnson to the U.S. Senate and his rise to the presidency after President John F. Kennedy's tragic assassination, Mexican Americans hoped that their needs would be recognized along with African Americans under the many programs created for both the War on Poverty and Afirmative Action.[73] An early significant piece of legislation was the U.S. Congress' passage in 1968 of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), the first piece of federal legislation that recognized the needs of Limited English Speaking Ability students. Intially participation in BEA by school districts was voluntary. With the 1974 U.S. Supreme Court case, *Lau v. Nichols,* however, the provision of educational services for English Language Learners, of any nationality or ethnic background, was mandated.[74]

United Bronx Parents, New York, New York, c. 1965 (United Bronx Parents, Inc.)

While the level of federal recognition was initially slow, Latinos were able to garner political power through electoral means. The Mexican American Legal Defense Education Fun (MALDEF) was created in 1968 with the assistance of the NAACP and funding from the Ford Foundation. Similarly, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Education Fund (PRLDF) was created in 1972 and centralized community activists, providing more resources and funds to hire lawyers and file lawsuits against schools and other institutions that were denying Latinos equitable educational opportunities.

The U.S. Supreme Court first recognized Mexican Americans as an identifiable ethnic group in *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954). Significantly, before Mexican Americans could seek relief against discrimination in court, *Hernandez* affirmed that the Fourteenth Amendment extended "beyond the racial classes of white or negro."[75] This ruling opened the way for *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi (TX) Independent School District* (1970). As historian Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. pointed out, when school districts attempted to utilize Latino children to achieve racial balance in Black schools, the original strategy of Mexican American lawyers classify students as "white" finally backfired.[76] In *Cisneros*, the judge ruled that Mexican Americans were "an identifiable ethnic minority group," and could thus benefit from *Brown v. Board of Education* school desegregation cases. In a subsequent ruling, *Keyes v. School District Number One, Denver, Colorado* (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court stated that Mexican Americans had the constitutional right to be recognized as a separate minority. The work of Chicano activists in the Southwest had a parallel among Puerto Rican leaders in the Northeast and the urban Midwest. Building on the work of pre-1960 groups such as the Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Fund (1957), community-based organizations such as the United Bronx Parents, Inc. (1965) pushed for bilingual schools and teachers.

The outcome of the civil rights movement among Puerto Ricans and Chicanos affected

most areas of society, including higher education. One tangible result was the creation of Chicano and Puerto Rican studies and research centers on college campuses. Scholars organized to ensure that social science research on Latinos was included in traditional research agendas and that more Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other Spanish-descent faculty were hired.[77] The Latino experience is now a legitimate field of study and there are academic journals, courses, and university departments devoted to research on Latino history and culture. The Ethnic Studies Department (encompassing African/Native American/Asian and Raza Studies) at San Francisco State University is generally considered the first such entity in higher education history, established in 1969.[78] Before 1970, the number of Latino youth entering college was disproportionately smaller than that of white or African American youth.[79] Latinos took advantage of greater access to higher education during the 1970s, pouring into community colleges, state universities, and Ivy League campuses. The first generation of Chicano and Puerto Rican Ph.D. scholars entered the academic field in the early 1970s, teaching Mexican American and Puerto Rican history classes and writing books from a culturally specific perspective.[80] The number of Latino faculty at the nation's universities remained small at the turn of the 21st century (less than four percent), but should increase as new generations of Ph.D. students matriculate and enter the academy.

Post-Civil Rights to the Present

In the post-Civil Rights era, Latinos have had to maintain vigilance to avoid a rollback of the hard won advances of the 1960s and 1970s. At least two broad factors have negatively affected educational progress for Latinos in the post-1980 era, although none have brought Latinos back to a pre-1970 level. First, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (Hart-Cellar Act) which removed national origin numerical quotas in place since the 1920s and favored reunification of family members and workers with needed skills, led to the second largest wave of immigration to the U.S., particularly of persons from Latin America and Asia. Second, after decades of liberal reforms, economic and political pressures ushered in a new wave of conservatism in the U.S., represented by the election of President Ronald Reagan for two terms from 1981 to 1989. Under the Reagan Administration, severe cuts in taxes and government agencies resulted in reduced support for student grants, among other beneficial programs, and the number of Latino students in college began to level off after years of gains in the 1960s and 1970s.

These two macro societal shifts, coupled with economic stagnation and debt from the long Vietnam War, resulted in negative repercussions towards Latinos, whether new arrivals or long time descendents of Spaniards. In Miami, Florida, angry individuals fought against the federal government's decision in 1980 (under President Jimmy Carter) to permit additional Cuban refugees, "*Marielitos*," to enter the U.S. Approximately 125,000 Marielitos were allowed to enter. Distinct educationally, socially, and economically from the earlier "Golden Wave" of Cuban exiles admitted during the height of the Cold War, the new refugees were viewed as inferior, possessing few skills, and possibly criminals or mentally ill.

Latinos also experienced forms of backlash through English-Only movements, which sprang up at the local, state, and federal levels throughout the country. For instance, in 1983 Senator S.I. Hayakawa of California formed an organization called U.S. English calling for English to be the official language of the country. In other forums, non-Hispanic individuals and groups argued that bilingual education programs were merely employment agencies for Latino teachers and launched other accusations based upon nativist sentiments rather than documented information. In Texas, the

state's attempt to pass legislation which would deny public school entrance to undocumented children was successfully challenged and stopped by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Plyler v. Doe* , 457 U.S. 202 (1982). As of 2012, *Plyler v. Doe* remains the law of the land, despite recent efforts in several states to challenge the Supreme Court case.

As the number of Latinos grew dramatically between the 1990 and 2010 censuses, not only in historically familiar states, but also into the American South, the Far West, and the Mid-Atlantic, anti-immigrant groups fueling nativist rhetoric passed exclusionary legislation. Voters in 1990s California, for example, eradicated bilingual education in the state and also voted for measures requiring teachers to report students whom they believed were undocumented to federal immigration authorities.[81] Latinos responded to these measures with several counter efforts learned through a long history of demanding their rights. Communities marched in rallies during the 1990s and early 2000s, asserting their rights as citizens in a democracy to be in this country, have their children receive English language services without denigrating home languages, and resist marginalization at all levels of school and university systems. Organizations such as MALDEF and the National Council of La Raza, in existence since the 1960s, were able to quickly file lawsuits against discriminatory legislation. In newer areas of the country, Salvadoran immigrants in the Washington, D.C. area founded advocacy organizations such as Casa de Maryland in 1985. In a parallel move, organizations that had previously identified with only one Latino sub-group, such as the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Education Association (now LatinoJusticePRLDEF) have changed their names and orientation to be more inclusive of all Latinos and also leverage collective action.

Spanish-descent peoples in the U.S.. have often had to exercise their First Amendment rights to free speech, peaceful assembly, and to petition for relief from the government to secure equity in schooling.

The latest challenge to educational opportunities and access for youth resides in the phenomenon of children brought to the U.S. as babies or young children who remain undocumented. As they reach high school age, and discover that they are not documented, they see little future for themselves and are at risk for deportation along with their undocumented parents. In order to offer hope and opportunities for these children, the Development, Relief, and Education of Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was introduced in the U.S. Senate in 2001. The DREAM Act would allow these minors to enroll in college or enlist in the military and have a pathway to permanent residency. In most states, the DREAM Act also permits undocumented students to pay in-state vs. international student tuition, a significant savings. The requirements for the DREAM Act are lengthy and strict. Currently (as of 2012) 13 states have passed their own forms of the DREAM Act, but the U.S. Congress has failed to pass the bill despite attempts since 2001.

From the earliest days of their arrival in the Americas—Anglos, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other members of the Latin American diaspora—have placed a high value upon education as a means of economic, political, social maintenance, and upward mobility. Equitable opportunities and access to quality educational facilities have posed a formidable challenge to Latinos throughout U.S. history. The Latino community has displayed persistence, courage, sacrifice, and heterogeneity in its response to discrimination. Whether the issue concerns undocumented students' ability to receive in-state college tuition, if Spanish can be utilized in the schools without punish-

ment, or resisting the eradication of Mexican American history courses (such as has recently happened in Tucson, Arizona), Latino communities have never taken for granted their constitutional rights. Through collective action, lawsuits, lobbying, petitions, and other measures, they have not remained silent, but reminded the U.S. that all of its citizens, not only a select few, must be a part of the polity in order for a healthy democracy to function.

Endnotes

1 In this essay, "Latino/os" will be utilized to reference both male and female genders. When there is a specific reference to girls or women, "Latina" will be utilized. If a specific reference is to boys or men, then the word will be prefaced with the appropriate indicator.

2 J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

3 Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

4 David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

5 Records on colonial schools in Florida include, "Royal Orders Establishing Schools in Spanish America," trans. Carlos Castañeda and Mattie Austin Hatcher, in Frederick E. Eby, *Education in Texas: Source Materials* (Austin: University of Texas Bulletin, no. 1824, April 1918), 4-7; "Cedula of March 12, 1634," in *Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860*, vol. 1, Edgar Knight, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 666. Cedula of March 12, 1634 from *Statutes Relating to Florida in the Diocesan Synod Held by his Majesty's Command*, by the Right Rev. Dr. John Gareidae Palacios, Bishop of Cuba, June 1864, John Dawson Gilmary Shea, trans; and "Rules of a School in St. Augustine, 1786," in Knight, *Documentary History of Education*, 728-732.

6 For example, according to records from the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, a mestizo named Frasquillo, trained to read and write both Spanish and Latin, turned on his mentor, "When the conspiracy was formed and the day for the massacre was fixed, this precocious boy entered ardently in it." Rev. J. A. Burns, *The Catholic School System in the United States,* 209-210. For discussion of "ladinos" and other aspects of this era see James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Bernardo P. Gallegos, *Literacy, Education and Society in New Mexico, 1693-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), and Richard C. Trexler, "From the Mouths of Babes: Christianization by Children in 16th Century New Spain," in *Religious Organization and Religious Experience* , J. Davis, ed. (London: Academic Press, 1982), 122-123.

7 Jerome J. Martinez and J. C .L. Alire, "The Influence of the Roman Catholic Church in New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-1848." In *Seeds of Struggle/Harvest of Faith: The Papers of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe Cuarto Centennial Conference: The History of the Catholic Church in New Mexico*, Thomas J. Steele, Paul Rhetts, and Barbe Awalt, eds. (Albuquerque: LPD Press), 329-344.

8 Max Berger, "Education in Texas during the Spanish and Mexican Periods," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 51 (1947): 41-53.

9 Martha Menchaca, "The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Racialization of the Mexican population," in *The Elusive*

Quest for Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education, ed. Jose F. Moreno, (Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 1999), 3-29.

[10] "Historical Sketch of the Public School System of California," in First Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of California for the School Years 1864 and 1865. State of California. (Special Collections, Monroe C. Gutman Library, Harvard Graduate School of Education).

[11] Max Berger and Lee Wilborn, "EDUCATION," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/khe01), accessed May 13, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[12] Victoria-María MacDonald, "Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, or 'Other'?: Deconstructing the Relationship between Historians and Hispanic-American Educational History," *History of Education Quarterly* 41 (2001): 365-413.

[13] Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*; Carlos K. Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

[14] David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[15] Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*; Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974).

[16] Victoria-María MacDonald, *Latino Education in the United States, 1513-2000: A Narrated History* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2004).

[17] Rubén Donato, *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities, 1920-1960* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); Lynn Marie Getz, *Schools of Their Own: The Education of Hispanos in New Mexico, 1850-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); and John Nieto Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

[18] Frederick E, Eby, comp., *Education in Texas: Source Materials.* Austin: University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1824 (April, 1918), 336; H. P. N. Gammel, comp., *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (Austin, TX: The Gammel Book Company, 1898), 998-999.

[19] Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *"Let All of Them Take Heed:" Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Education Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

[20] According to David Montejano, the first segregated "Mexican school" was established in 1902 in Central Texas (Seguin) but this point has not been confirmed. See *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 160.

[21] Guadalupe, *"Let All of them Take Heed."*

[22] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans,* 178.

[23] David G. Gutiérrez quotes Texas Congressman Olger B. Burtness stating in 1928, "I am not going to stand here and tell you that [Mexicans] are the best people on the face of the earth, or that they will have made wonderful citizens or that in a few years their sons and daughters will be graduating from our high schools...If they were going to do that I don't know that we would want them," *Walls and Mirrors,* 50.

[24] Ngai, *Impossible Subjects.*

[25] López, *White by Law*, 152.

[26] George I. Sánchez and Virgil Strickland "Spanish Name Spells Discrimination." *The Nation's Schools* 41, no. 1 (January 1948): 22-24.

[27] Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. *"Let All of Them Take Heed:" Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Education Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), p.11.

[28] *Reports of the Public Schools of El Paso, Texas, 1903-1904 for the Scholastic Year Commencing September 6th, 1903, and ending May 20th, 1904*, 13-14. ; and *Report of the Public Schools of El Paso, Texas, for the Scholastic year, Commencing September 4, 1905, and Ending May 5, 1906*, 35-36. Monroe C. Gutman Library Special Collections, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

[29] Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

[30] Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 634-635.

[31] Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 108-123.

[32] To date (2012) no court cases in the pre-1954 era have been identified concerning segregation and high schools. Richard Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

[33] Ruth Tuck, *Not with the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946), 198.

[34] Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletarians of the North: a history of Mexican industrial workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and Dionicio Nodín Valdés, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

[35] Francisco E. Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929-1936* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1982); and Francisco Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza!: Violence, Justice, and Mobilization among Mexico Linda Immigrants, 1900-1936* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1999).

[36] A detailed account of this case may be found in Victoria-María MacDonald, "The Fractured Pipeline: Mexican American Access to High Schooling, 1920-1954,"

manuscript submitted for publication, April 2012.

[37] MacDonald, "Fractured Pipeline," and "Saturnino Alvarado," History of the Public Schools of Wyandotte County," www.kckps.org/...arg-salvarado.html, accessed May 6, 2012.

[38] Arnoldo De León, "Blowout 1910 Style: A Chicano school boycott in West Texas," *Texana* 12 (2001): 125-140 cited in Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 10.

[39] Laura K. Muñoz, "Separate but equal?: A case study of *Romo v. Laird* and Mexican American Education." *OAH Magazine of History*, 15 (2001): 28-34; and Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 13-15.

[40] Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); and George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford Press, 1995).

[41] MacDonald, *Latino Education in the United States, 1513-2000*, 119-20.

[42] Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: the Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: New York University Press, 2008),15-18.

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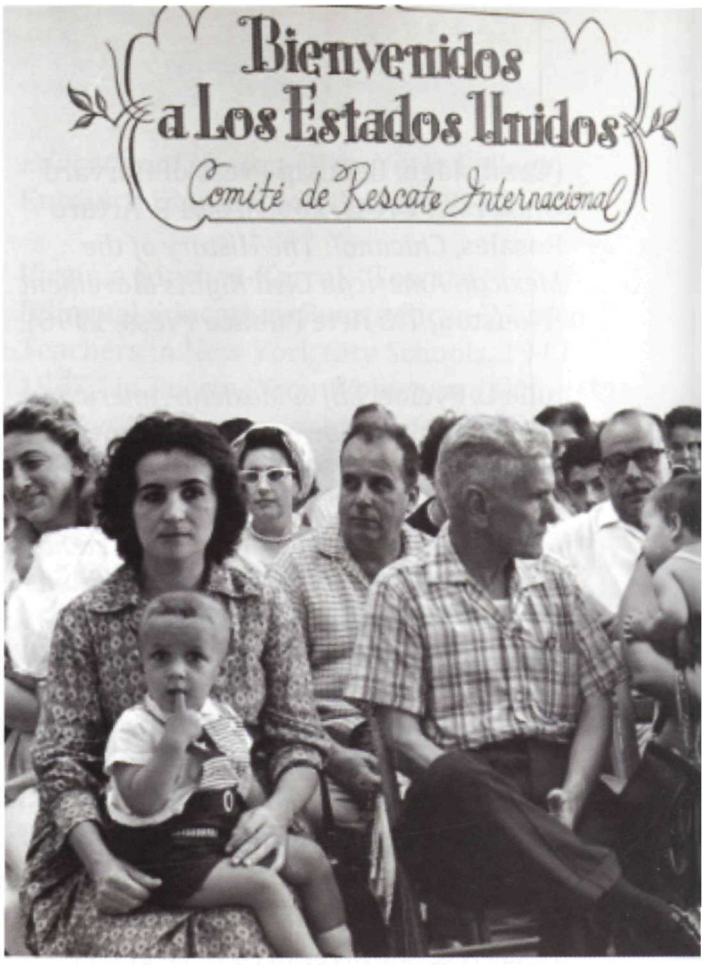


Clockwise from top left:
Freedom Tower, Miami, Florida (National Park Service); International Rescue Committee waiting area, the Cuban Refugee Center, c.1965, Miami, Florida (University of Miami Libraries); Salvadoran child soldier [gorilla forces], El Salvador (Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen); Villagers fleeing Salvadoran military aerial bombing raids (Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen); Wall in Guatemala City with missing [disappeared] persons flyers, Guatemala City, Guatemala (Product Etcetera)

Late-20th Century Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy: Forging Latino Identity in the Minefields of Political Memory

Lillian Guerra

This essay illuminates the often dramatic differences in political perspective and general "visibility" in U.S. culture that characterize Cold War Latinos by exploring the ways in which U.S. policy toward Central American and Caribbean regimes shaped the economic and political possibilities open to these countries before and after the Cold War. It also reveals the hidden challenges that many survivors of Cold War violence faced upon arrival in the United States as they and their children struggled to make sense of their experiences and find their place in a society that frequently denied, confused, or ignored their reasons for being here. Although most Central American refugees arrived as undocumented refugees in the 1980s and subsequently spent years legalizing their status in order to improve their economic standing and gain greater political representation, Cubans who arrived in the 1960s and early 1970s became known for their unprecedented economic success compared with other Latinos and presumed unity behind unchanging U.S. foreign policy toward Castro's Cuba. However, even though Cubans have continuously benefitted from U.S. support for their immigration as part of a long-standing strategy to weaken the Communist regime in Cuba, Cuban communities have also become much more diverse than they are popularly perceived, especially since the 1980s and 1990s when tens of thousands of Cubans who experienced revolutionary Cuba brought more nuanced understandings of it and the Cold War with them to former enclaves founded by early wave "exiles" such as Miami.[1] Indeed, these exiles' success in South Florida has made it a haven for Cubans of all generations, transforming Miami from a city dominated by white Southerners (who constituted 79 percent of the population in 1970) to a cultural mecca for all Latinos and the city with the highest proportion of foreign-born residents nationwide, including thousands of Central Americans and Haitians.[2]

U.S. policy toward Central American and Caribbean regimes shaped the economic and political possibilities open to these countries before and after the Cold War.

Differences in U.S. government support for Caribbean and Central American refugees undoubtedly affected their respective ability to consolidate a cultural and political presence on the public stage. Yet with or without this support, it is clear that refugees of the Cold War have successfully forged distinctive Latino identities based on historically meaningful memories of trauma, survival, and resilience that continue to transform political institutions, federal policies toward disadvantaged groups, urban landscapes, and cultural understandings of what it means to be "American" in countless ways.

Ironically, however, many foreign policies ultimately responsible for the creation of new Latino communities from Central America and the Caribbean in the U.S. were meant to have the opposite effect. One of the best illustrations of this can be found in President Ronald Reagan's famous nationally televised address on U.S. foreign policy toward the region, delivered on May 9, 1984. Portraying the emergence of revolutionary movements across Central America as the result of Cuban-Soviet machinations rather than any homegrown political or economic factors, Reagan warned that "Cuban-supported aggression" had already "forced more than 400,000 men, women, and children to flee their homes. And in all of Central America, more than 800,000 have fled..." Pinning the

blame for Nicaragua's recent revolution against the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship on Cuba's Fidel Castro, Reagan predicted that the refugee crisis would only worsen if the U.S. once again allowed Castro to "deceive Western public opinion" by fooling citizens into believing that any revolution against the authoritarian regimes of Central America would *not* automatically lead to Communism. "Communist subversion," Reagan argued, "poses the threat that a hundred million people from Panama to the open border of our South could come under the control of pro-Soviet regimes," jeopardizing the U.S. way of life and hemisphere as a whole. In short, Reagan declared, "America *is* Central America."[3] The speech left little room to doubt either the logic or the merits of Reagan's primary goal: renewal of U.S. funding for military dictatorships in Central America with few, if any, conditions attached.

Students for a Democratic Central America, 1984 (Duke University Archives)

At that very moment, the U.S. Congress was seriously debating Reagan's demands with respect to El Salvador's military-dominated government.[4] In the wake of Reagan's speech and the well-timed appeal of visiting Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte, the U.S. Congress approved $196.6 million in funding for El Salvador in the fiscal year of 1984 alone, a sum two and a half times greater than the year before; moreover, U.S. aid was no longer contingent on democratic reforms.[5] Yet despite Reagan's promises that increasing aid would staunch the flow of refugees, his policy of providing unconditional support to a military regime best known for ordering wide-scale massacres of unarmed civilians and selective assassinations of Catholic clergy had the opposite effect: not only did U.S. aid to El Salvador promote the state terror that led hundreds of thousands of civilians to flee across Mexican and U.S. borders, but U.S. aid also ensured that rampant corruption among Salvadoran officials continued to go unchecked.[6] By the late 1980s, the combination of war and graft had so crippled El Salvador's economy that President Duarte sent a personal appeal to President Reagan that he *stop deporting* thousands of undocumented Salvadoran refugees who found sanctuary in the U.S. Without the hundreds of millions of dollars in remittance payments that these refugees sent their families every year, Salvadoran society would have ceased to function.[7]

Today, it is clear that the consistency of U.S. support for military regimes and dictatorships across the region of Central America and the Caribbean played a major role in the creation of diaspora communities across the U.S. that can trace their origins to the Cold War, a period that spanned the end of World War II through the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Cubans and Salvadorans compete for the top spot in terms of sheer numbers of Cold War era communities, with each community hovering around 1.7 million nationwide. At slightly over 1.4 million members, Dominicans come in third place, with Guatemalans and Haitians close behind. Nicaraguans and Hondurans constitute the smallest of Latino communities who can trace their foundations to the effects of the Cold War in their home countries, numbering approximately 350,000 and 630,000 respectively. Although the vast majority of Cubans, Dominicans and Haitians settled in only one city (Cubans and Haitians in Miami; Dominicans in New York), Salvadorans, the second-largest group of Cold War Latinos can be

found in almost equal numbers in Los Angeles, New York and our nation's capital, Washington DC. *[See Table this page]*

Salvadorans, Cubans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans send billions of dollars annually to relatives and friends in their homelands. Contrary to expectation, the amount sent per group does not necessarily correspond to its numeric size or relative wealth. Indeed, Cubans, whose population and capital far exceeds that of Dominicans, Guatemalans, and Haitians, send roughly the same amount home: about one billion dollars a year since the mid-1990s. In all cases, national governments of these countries now count remittances as an important part of their countries' GDP, or Gross Domestic Product; without it, their economic and political stability would inevitably suffer.

Nonetheless, most U.S. Americans, regardless of generation, remain profoundly unaware of how dramatically U.S. Cold War policy disrupted the lives and livelihood of these millions of Latinos from Central America and the Caribbean. As Juan Romagoza Arce, a former doctor who suffered torture and detention without charge at the hands of the Salvadoran military recalls of his arrival in the U.S., "I was surprised by how little people knew about what was happening outside their [borders]. People didn't know too much about the war in Central America – all they knew were 'communists' . . .That was a shock. Because I suffered the consequences" of U.S. policies."[8]

Indeed, the rhetoric and logic of U.S. policies, as typified by Reagan's 1984 speech, still represents how much of the U.S. public continues to understand the violence that consumed the countries of Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic from the 1950s to the mid-1990s. Fleeing "Communism" and *not* state terror or the generalized climate of repression created, in part, by U.S. policies in the region, also remains the way in which most Central American and Caribbean communities are arguably perceived by the average U.S. American. Seen as indirect victims of *Soviet* aggression rather than refugees of the U.S's alliance with *national* aggressors, Central Americans' and Caribbeans' complex, sometimes contentious views of their new adoptive home of the U.S. are often not only missed but also *dis*missed by journalists, politicians, teachers, and neighbors as confused, inaccurate or worse, "un-American."

Group (Ranked by Size)	*Total 2010 U.S. Population*	*Largest Concentrations*
1. Cuban	1,785,547	1. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (919,486) 2. New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (134,519) 3. Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL (77,366)
2. Salvadoran	1,648,968	1. Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA (387,401) 2. Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV (211,844) 3. New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (180,810)
3. Dominican	1,414,703	1. New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (796,166) 2. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (88,843)

		3. Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH (87,167)
4. Guatemalan	1,044,209	1. Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA (235,555) 2. New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (90,818) 3. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (50,351)
5. Haitian	881,488	1. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (267,958) 2. New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (214,387) 3. Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH (56,709)
6. Honduran	633,401	1. New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (89,326) 2. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (77,503) 3. Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX (50,642)
7. Nicaraguan	348,202	1. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (122,459) 2. Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA (40,741) 3. San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA (28,243)

All figures from 2010 U.S. Census. The author gratefully thanks Christopher Woolley for his assistance in crafting this table.[9]

Living History: The United States' Long Cold War in Central America and the Caribbean

For contemporary U.S. diasporas of Central America and the Caribbean, the most burdensome legacy of U.S. Cold War policy may be *living with the knowledge of that history itself and not knowing what to do with it*—how to fit one's country and one's personal experience into larger narratives about U.S. democracy, its commitment to human rights, the "American Dream," and the victorious outcome over the Soviet Union in the Cold War that saturate the popular culture and mainstream discourse of today's U.S. There are several reasons for this disparity. One is simply that most U.S. educators and public historians rely on history books that represent the Cold War as a triumphalist process that glosses the aim of U.S. foreign policy as simply containing Soviet designs.[10] The denial of the U.S.'s record in Latin America is particularly poignant for the children of Latinos from Central America and the Caribbean who frequently encounter total silence in schools, museums, and the media on the relationship between the U.S.'s role in stoking the violence that gripped their home countries and the conditions that provoked their families' flight to the U.S.

Thirsting for knowledge of their countries' past and a way of relating it to the democratic values and struggle for cultural dignity that define them as U.S. Latinos, students at Los Angeles' Belmont High School recently developed a popular (and free) on-line video game called Tropical America. Their goal was to teach themselves and others the lessons and legacies of surviving hundreds of years of Spanish colonialism as well as dozens of non-representative republican governments, many of which cooperated with foreign investors and U.S. corporations, before and after the Cold War, to prevent tangible democratization.[11] While these first-generation Latinos invented their own video game to explain the complexities of the U.S's Cold War in Latin America, most U.S. teenagers

and young adults preferred the simpler story told by "Call of Duty: Black Ops", a widely marketed commercial video game in which players compete to reverse the U.S.'s Cold War "losses" in Cuba and elsewhere through missions such as assassinating Cuban leader Fidel Castro. As the game's popularity soared in 2011, many Cuban American parents were patently offended, pointing out that the game does not teach history but amnesia. Ironically, "Call of Duty" marked a rare case in which many Cubans in the U.S. and officials of the Cuban government could—and did—find total agreement.[12]

The "Kill Castro" scenario of "Call of Duty: Black Ops" as well as the game's now blockbuster status speaks volumes about the many factors that distort mainstream views of Central American and Caribbean history as well as the Cold War policies that produced unprecedented spikes in legal and illegal immigration from this region. These factors include the Castro-centric nature of public discourse regarding events in Latin America and the way in which early communities of Cuban exiles lined up their narratives of flight from Communism with the monolithic interpretations that U.S. officials derived from confrontations with revolutionary Cuba.

Fidel Castro addressing a crowd, Cuba, 1959 (Mount Holyoke College)

In part, the astounding ability of what has become known as the "Cuban exile lobby" to restrain changes in U.S. policy toward Cuba even as other barriers to normal relations with formal Cold War enemies like Vietnam collapsed can be traced to the Reagan era. Within a year of its organization, the exile-led Cuban American National Foundation became a primary advisor to the Reagan team on foreign policy toward Latin America, not just Cuba. Thus, Reagan's approach to El Salvador in the May 1984 speech cited above echoed a larger tendency to reduce popular revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean to the influence of one man, Fidel Castro. However, all U.S. Presidents after World War II, with the exception of Jimmy Carter, shared much of this view: that is, they interpreted the nationalist goals of movements that defied the power of local oligarchs and called for reforming economic models of development that benefitted only elites and foreign investors as the first step toward Communism and Soviet control.[13] This was especially true after 1959, when Cuba's revolutionary state launched an unprecedented attack on U.S. investments and the legitimacy of a U.S. role in Cuban political affairs.[14]

Not only did a broadly popular movement force Fulgencio Batista, a U.S.-supported dictator, from power in 1959, but also within three years, the new government overturned the previous six decades of near constant U.S. military occupations, interventions, and U.S. ownership of the most lucrative parts of Cuba's national economy.[15] Standoffs between the U.S. and Cuba emerged almost immediately in January 1959 as the revolutionary government began to try, convict, and execute hundreds of officials and supporters of the Batista regime for "war crimes" associated with the disappearance and assassination of thousands of opponents over the course of the Batista dictatorship (1952-59).

When U.S. officials protested the clear bias of the trials and summary executions, their protests only lent greater validity to the process as millions of Cubans gathered in mass demonstrations to defend "revolutionary justice":

why, Fidel Castro repeatedly asked, had the same U.S. officials not issued similar protests when the tortured corpses of civilians still littered Cuba's streets only a few months earlier and Batista's air force was bombing peasant homes? Indeed, early popular support for repression of opponents facilitated the expansion of such methods and their reproduction over the course of the Revolution's first decade. Similar standoffs with the U.S., a rupture in diplomatic relations and U.S.-direction of the invasion at the Bay of Pigs created the pretext for the subsequent execution of hundreds of counterrevolutionaries and the jailing of tens of thousands more opponents and public critics, many of them former Castro supporters.".[16]

Bay of Pigs Monument, Miami, Florida (Lillian Guerra, 2012)

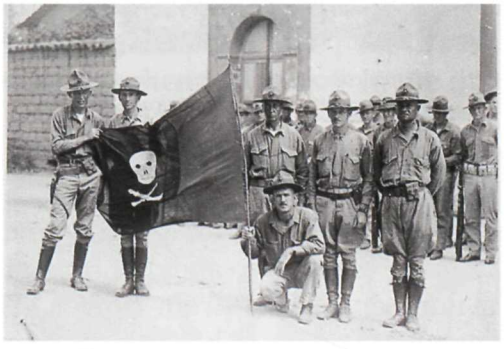
In 1961, Cuba became the only society in Latin America where the U.S. was not present and not welcome. Except among former Batista supporters who had fled to Miami in 1959 and the once supportive Cuban middle class whose exodus to the U.S. reached its peak between 1965 and 1972, Cuba's consolidation of national sovereignty seemed to generate an incalculable degree of empowerment and national pride among the majority of islanders.[17] Even Fidel Castro's eventual embrace of socialism and the Soviet Union only hours before the disastrous CIA-directed invasion at the Bay of Pigs strengthened most Cubans' faith in the Revolution's moral righteousness vis a vis U.S. efforts at subversion. [18]

As historian Thomas Paterson has argued, U.S. officials' unflinching preoccupation with determining if Fidel was a Communist or not rendered them incapable of recognizing the critical role of anti-imperialist nationalism that Fidel tapped among the Cuban people and that he himself came to embody.[19] Subsequently, the primary lesson that U.S. officials drew from Cuba was *not* that dictators like Batista and repeated U.S. violations of national sovereignty promoted radical politics and anti-imperialist sentiment by repressing moderates and discrediting compromise; rather, it was that radical politics and "anti-American" sentiment provoked and justified the repression of moderates and the discrediting of compromise.

Thus, over the next three decades, stagnant and largely ineffective policies of isolating Cuba and attempting to assassinate Fidel Castro went hand-in-hand with unconditional support for "kleptocratic" dictatorships like that of the Duvaliers in Haiti, the Somoza family in Nicaragua, and the Balaguer regime in the Dominican Republic.[20] Periodically, these dictators' talent for embezzling foreign aid often exceeded their propensity to kill or intimidate opponents.[21] Nonetheless, these dictatorships produced just as many immigrants seeking political refuge as Castro's Cuba: indeed, because most opposition activists in countries like Haiti and the Dominican Republic hailed from the middle and educated classes, the first waves of immigrants to arrive in the 1960s coincided with Cuban exiles in terms of timing as well as social background. Where they differed was in their attitude toward the U.S. and the aid they received from federal agencies: Dominicans and Haitians were, after all, fleeing the violence of regimes that the U.S. supported while Cubans were fleeing the U.S's primary enemy, revolutionary Cuba. That most U.S. Americans might have inaccurately perceived Dominicans, Haitians, and other immigrants from Cold War hot spots in the region as "economic refugees" rather than

political refugees on the order of Cuban exiles is not surprising. In many ways, such a view derived easily from U.S. officials' public statements and the belief that if the U.S. supported them, right-wing military regimes opposed to Communism could simply *not* produce political refugees.

At the same time, U.S. Cold War policies of preventing "other Cubas" by supporting authoritarian states—regardless of the means they employed—simply reinforced a deeply embedded pattern in the region that predated the Cold War. Until World War II, U.S. companies operated hand-in-hand with the U.S. government to thwart the possibility that national states might pass laws favoring local capitalists' interests and/or workers' rights to the detriment of foreign businesses. U.S. companies frequently achieved this by securing concessions that gave them monopolies on trade, production, infrastructure, and control over workers on massive estates.[22] Through such means, the United Fruit Company (popularly known as *El Pulpo*, "the Octopus") became a ubiquitous and infamous presence across Latin America as well as the largest landowner in Guatemala, Cuba, and other places.[23] In its efforts to prevent unionization, the United Fruit Company also recruited contract workers extensively across the Caribbean, creating racially and nationally mixed diasporas in plantations from Costa Rica, Panama, and Honduras to Cuba and Jamaica. Galvanized by a work experience that often made them proficient in multiple languages and radical proponents of labor rights, thousands of United Fruit workers made their way to cities such as New Orleans, Mobile, and New York as early as the 1910s. There, former United Fruit workers such as Marcus Garvey championed black pride and social justice, forever transforming the nature and direction of U.S. civil rights struggles in the 20th Century.[24]



US Marines in Nicaragua (1932) with the captured flag of Nicaraguan revolutionary leader Augusto César Sandino. (US Marine Corps)

Often, U.S. investments in Latin America depended on the U.S.'s reliance on military interventions and occupations that protected those investments and often, the local political status quo. Thus, the U.S. carried out military occupations of the Dominican Republic (1916-1924), Nicaragua (1926-1934), Haiti (1915-1934) as well as repeated interventions in Cuba, including two military occupations (1898-1902; 1906-1909) and support for at least two coups by sectors of Cuba's U.S.-trained national army (1933 and 1952). Despite officials' justifications of intervention in the name of fomenting democracy and generalized prosperity, U.S. military occupations did not lead to democratic regimes and more inclusionary national economies. On the contrary, in the countries that experienced them, U.S. military occupations led to some of the longest standing and bloodiest dictatorships in the world, including that of Anastasio Somoza whose family ruled Nicaragua from 1936-1979 and Rafael Trujillo who ruled the Dominican Republic from 1930-1961. Both were star pupils of U.S. Marine training schools and the first chiefs of the "National Guards" that replaced U.S. forces when they withdrew.[25] In Cuba, two-time dictator Fulgencio Batista began his political career in 1933 as the U.S.'s handpicked alternative to a revolutionary government that passed a slate of democratic reforms and repealed the Platt Amendment, a U.S.-imposed constitutional mandate that had allowed the U.S. to intervene militarily on behalf of U.S. interests since 1902.

Needless to say, ignorance about the history of U.S. interventions in the political and economic development of these countries *before and after* the start of the Cold War in 1948 can be astounding to those who live with the legacies of those interventions. Cases in point include that of Guatemala whose democratically elected government was toppled by the CIA five years *before* the Cuban Revolution for attempting to carry out a much needed agrarian reform because that reform targeted U.S. investments, especially the United Fruit Company. The Guatemalan government therefore constituted a "Communist menace," despite its unprecedented electoral validation and popularity in a country where universal suffrage and fair elections had been unknown less than a decade before.[26]

Dominicans in Santo Domingo protesting the U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1965 (amte.com)

One legacy can be tallied in the number of human lives lost to the repressive policies of the dictatorships and military regimes that dominated five of these six countries from the 1950s through the 1990s; another lies in the vast waves of refugees that U.S.-financed policies of state terror and counterinsurgency warfare produced at the same time. Counting just the countries of Central America characterized by U.S.-backed military regimes and outright counterinsurgency wars targeting civilians, the totals are devastating: Nicaragua lost more than 80,000, of whom more than 30,000 died in the U.S.-sponsored Contra War against a revolutionary regime in the 1980s; in El Salvador and Guatemala respectively, 75,000 and 200,000 were killed or disappeared.[27] According to the United Nations' brokered truth commissions, which formed a key part of peace negotiations in all three cases, U.S.-trained armed forces were responsible for the vast majority of deaths and atrocities. In the case of El Salvador, state terror accounted for 85 percent of deaths and abuses.[28] In Guatemala, the commission found the state responsible for 93 percent of atrocities; it also qualified military strategies against Mayan Indians as genocidal because they accounted for 83 percent of all killed.[29] In addition, two million fled Central America, at least half of them settling in the United States.[30]

In Haiti, where the Duvalier dynasty ruled from 1957 to 1986, state terror killed an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 civilians under Papa Doc's reign alone (1957-1971) with an additional 90,000 Haitians seeking refuge in the U.S. from the 1960s through the 1970s.[31] Tens of thousands more would die under Baby Doc as well as the multiple coups and counter-coups that followed his 1986 flight from power. The shattering of democratic hopes and ever-worsening economic conditions in the 1990s eventually produced a diaspora in the U.S. of Haitians that numbers just under one million today.[32]

Dominicans also fled the terror that followed the 1961 assassination of dictator Rafael Trujillo as Joaquín Balaguer, Trujillo's former Vice President, and Trujillo's military struggled to contain the radical impulses of the country's long repressed citizenry. At first, the U.S. Embassy refused visas for Dominicans seeking asylum from the political terror that Balaguer unleashed because of their presumably radical political credentials; however, in 1965, it reversed course. By then, a U.S. military occupation had toppled a popularly installed revolutionary government from power and reasserted the authority of former Dominican military allies, including Joaquín Balaguer. Immigration

visas thus became an additional weapon in the U.S.'s counterinsurgency arsenal because allowing political activists to escape "neo-trujillista" reprisals by Balaguer's death squads acted as a safety valve for radicalization. Ironically, escape to the country most Dominicans blamed for the thirty-year Trujillo dictatorship and the violence that followed helped to dissipate the possibilities for re-organizing revolutionary forces. U.S. officials assumed that any reorganization of nationalist activism would undermine U.S. power and embolden other societies to imitate their example.[33]

In all cases except the Dominican Republic and Cuba where the granting of visas complemented U.S. foreign policy until the early 1970s, most of those fleeing state terror and political violence for the U.S. were undocumented upon arrival. Subsequently, refugees who applied for a legalization of their status encountered pronounced discrimination on the part of U.S. immigration and Naturalization Services [INS] based on the contention that they were economically motivated, exaggerating claims of individual repression or simply unable to "prove" that they would suffer persecution if returned to their homeland, however obvious the condition of generalized violence.[34] For certain groups at the height of conflict, such as Salvadorans and Guatemalans in the 1980s, the political reasoning behind INS denials of claims for asylum had everything to do with U.S. Cold War policy toward their homelands.

Funeral procession for Archbishop Oscar Romero, 1980 (Puerto Rican Cultural Center)

Since the late 1960s, the Salvadoran military had increasingly relied on U.S. training and diplomatic support to prevent any substantive reforms and thereby preserve a tiny elite's control over the national economy through a vast campaign of political violence. [35] By 1980, that campaign had expanded far beyond its original targeting of left-wing guerrillas and unarmed activists to attack thousands of civilians, including students, professors, doctors, international aid workers, a disproportionately high number of peasants as well as dozens of Catholic laypeople, nuns, and priests.[36] Most famously, in March 1980, the head of El Salvador's national security agency ordered the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, a vociferous critic of U.S. aid; the military then fired on the 30,000 mourners who gathered for his funeral, killing dozens.[37] The military went as far as to threaten the entire Jesuit order with "extermination" and famously abducted, raped, and killed four U.S. church women, three of them nuns, on the presumption that their work with the poor made them allies of left-wing guerrillas.[38] In the first four years of Reagan's presidency alone, the military murdered between eight to nine thousand civilians per year; the Salvadoran government ordered not a single investigation of their deaths.[39]

Not surprisingly, as legal scholar Michael H. Posner noted at the time, it was extremely difficult for the U.S. to admit tens of thousands of refugees and "thus acknowledge political persecution by the government of El Salvador, and yet ask Congress to certify more military assistance to that country based on significant human rights improvements of the refugee's government."[40]

Indeed, from June 1983 to September 1990, only 2.6 percent Salvadoran and 1.8 percent Guatemalan asylum seekers succeeded.[41] In the case of Haitian refugees where a related, although highly racialized logic applied, *only eleven* of 22,940 Haitians intercepted at sea were

deemed qualified to apply for political asylum between 1981 and 1990. Three years later, after the Bush administration sanctioned another bloody coup, this time against the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrande Aristide, only 11,000 Haitians of 38,000 who attempted to enter the U.S. were granted the right to apply for political asylum. The U.S. Coast Guard returned the rest to Haiti.[42] Surprisingly, refugees from Nicaragua did not necessarily benefit from INS largesse despite the fact that they were displaced by a civil war that pitted the country's revolutionary government troops against the Contras, an army organized by the CIA, led by former *somocista* National Guardsmen and financed by the U.S.[43] Only 9 to 11 percent of Nicaraguan refugees were granted asylum until 1985-1987 when Reagan's drive for massive aid to the Contras resulted in a spike in approvals as high as 84 percent. Once Congress cut off aid again, however, levels dropped to their previous rates.[44]

By contrast, Cubans or applicants from Eastern bloc countries enjoyed near automatic entrance to the U.S.[45] Cubans, who had benefitted from U.S. State Department visa waivers in the early years of the Revolution, subsequently enjoyed automatic permanent residency status and additional benefits such as food, cash allotments, Cubans-only educational programs, and other privileges never extended to other immigrants or minority groups based on the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act and the two-billion-dollar Cuban Refugee Program that provided unprecedented federal support to individual refugees as well as schools, businesses, and state agencies attending them until 1980.[46] Although Cubans arriving by sea must make landfall to avoid deportation since 1994, U.S. law has continued to consider virtually anyone who wants to leave Cuba a "political refugee," no questions asked. As María de los Angeles Torres explains, "For the U.S. government, Cuban émigrés provided the rationale for continuing a foreign policy aimed at containing communism and expanding the forces needed for battle."[47] On this basis, nearly one million Cubans were admitted, with 20,000 more arriving every year through a U.S.-sponsored visa lottery and thousands of others by land and sea in the post-Cold War era.

Undoubtedly, Cuban exiles and those of more recent migrations struggle with unique traumas associated with living under the domain of a Communist state that has tolerated little if any dissent and an official political culture that, until recently, identified anyone who left or wanted to leave as a traitor, sell-out, *escoria* (scum), and even "*anti-cubano*." Many exiles of the 1960s lived with memories of having suffered public humiliation at the hands of proponents and agents of Castro's popular revolutionary regime. In the weeks before a family departed, government ministries carried out inventories of their home and forced them to pay for any goods that did not appear at the time of the final inspection: they were effectively charged with having "stolen" their own property from "the people". Those leaving after 1962 could no longer take anything with them except $5 and a small suitcase carrying the barest necessities. Years later, the strongest memory that some exiles carry with them is not of leaving their relatives behind but of being treated like common criminals at the Havana airport. Charged with inspecting departing "*gusanos*" for hidden cachés of diamonds or jewels, militia men and women inspected body orifices; for men, this meant the anal cavity and for women, the vagina.[48]

Undoubtedly, Cuban exiles and those of more recent migrations struggle with unique traumas associated with living under the domain of a Communist state.

Caught up in a "class war" for which most exiles felt they were not responsible, Cuban exiles

bonded with one another in the famously all-Cuban enclaves of Little Havana and Hialeah in Miami Dade County, re-establishing the newspapers and small businesses that they had lost in Cuba and refounding the many Catholic schools to which they had sent their children. While the wealthiest exile elite, including a majority of *batistianos* (former Batista supporters), recreated racially segregated institutions like the Havana Yacht Club (renamed the Havana Yacht Club in Exile) and exclusive lily-white neighborhoods like Miramar, working-class and middle-class Cubans killed and roasted whole pigs in their backyards, bought land to grow traditional Cuban foods for local markets, and opened up grocery stores and restaurants for other Cubans.

Yet for Cubans of all social classes, Miami was not necessarily a welcoming place in the 1960s and early 1970s when nearly half a million refugees first arrived. Indeed, the display of "For Rent" signs in Miami that also read "No Children, No Pets and No Cubans" became a legendary example of the hostility that greeted many early refugees.[49] Because Miami's schools, beaches, and public spaces were still racially segregated, thousands of Cubans—whom local whites perceived as non-white however the Cubans themselves may have identified—courageously defied racial and cultural barriers en masse. Indeed, African-Americans "watched in disbelief" as Cuban black and mulatto children attended formally all-white schools, together with their racially mixed and Hispanic Cuban compatriots.[50]

Forced to accommodate thousands of Spanish-speaking Cuban children and hundreds of highly qualified, if uncertified, Cuban teachers, Miami's public schools expanded wildly. Between 1960 and 1965, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare established teacher training programs to jumpstart the certification of Cuban teachers, created the country's first federally funded bilingual schools, opened vocational training courses for adults, launched Cuban-specific college loan programs and found jobs for the hundreds of University of Havana professors who had settled in Miami Dade County.[51] Cubans also received cash relief at levels much higher than native residents and became the first beneficiaries of government-surplus food.[52] Perhaps most ingenious was the "Training for Independence" (*Aprenda y Supérese*) program, targeted specifically at Cuban single-mothers and unmarried women in Miami who depended on relief. Offering intensive English-language classes and job training, the mandatory program was so successful that it became a model for welfare assistance projects nationwide.[53]

Undoubtedly, the symbolic competition between the U.S. and the Soviet bloc during the Cold War inspired much of the creativity and generosity behind these federal programs. Yet their success in aiding Cubans adjust and succeed ultimately helped justify the claims of other minorities, not just other Latinos, for similar kinds of federal support as well as policies that would promote multi-culturalism, not simply assimilation. Indeed, while Cubans were the principal beneficiaries of the Cuban Refugee Program, the hundreds of millions of dollars it pumped into South Florida schools, infrastructure and economy indirectly benefitted the whole regional economy, increasing tourism, and catalyzing a long-term real estate boom. Despite this, Miami's self-described "Anglos" led the U.S.'s first English-only movement in 1980 that eventually amended the Florida Constitution to specify English as the official language of the state in 1988. In response, Cubans mobilized to defeat the Democratic politicians responsible for the amendment by registering to vote. Overwhelming the electorate in sheer numbers, Cubans ultimately overturned the amendment in 1993 and permanently established the character of Florida as a place that values bilingualism and promotes pride in Spanish fluency.[54] As one Cuban writer has put

it, "the Miami of today can hardly be compared to any city in the Cuba we remember. . . [However, in Miami] an exile has a choice to be one, the other, or both [Latino and American], and to communicate using English, Spanish or both languages—this is a key point."[55]

Today, any Latino resident of Miami would likely agree with this sentiment and the reasons extend far beyond Cubans' struggle to preserve their language. While Cubans faced cultural and racial marginalization for the first twenty to thirty years of their settlement in Miami, the most Cuban-identified areas of Miami are now the most culturally integrated by other Latino refugees, especially those from Central America, despite the array of public monuments and markers designating these areas as historically and culturally Cuban. "Calle Ocho" (or Eighth Street) in Little Havana provides a case in point. There, restaurants such as "Fritanga Erika" promise Nicaraguan food with Cuban flare and "Café Latina" advertises Central American fusion alongside authentic Cuban espresso. Even iconic spaces, long ago declared Florida Heritage Sites, have broadened the cultural identities and histories that they celebrate, to include far more than Cubans. For example, a large, painted mural featuring the images of Latin American leaders gathered at a summit in Miami during the Clinton administration flanks one side of the Parque Máximo Gómez, a small park where elderly Cuban men and women have gathered to play dominoes and talk politics since 1976. Calle Ocho also features a Hollywood-style walk of fame on its sidewalk with virtually as many Latin American entertainment stars as Cubans. A few blocks away, Cafetería Guardabarranco's colorful mural also announces the unity of Cubans with other Latinos. One end features the faces of Afro-Cuban musician Celia Cruz, Puerto Rican bandleader Tito Puente, Mexican American Selena and Argentina's Carlos Gardel; the other end highlights the visages of Latin America's most famous nationalists alongside a bustling scene of traditional village life and the phrase, *"¡Viva Nuestra Raza!"* [Long live our race!].

Cafetería Guardabarranco wall mural, Miami, Florida (Lillian Guerra, 2012)

Still, despite these clear signs of solidarity and inclusion, Little Havana remains the symbolic heart of official exile narratives about their place in the U.S.'s Cold War past. Erected through local fundraising efforts and maintained by the combined efforts of city government and vigilant residents, historical monuments punctuate the area. A monument featuring the Virgin of Charity, Cuba's patron saint, announces Miami Cubans' commemoration of the one-hundred-year anniversary of Cuba's last war for independence against Spain with no mention of the U.S.'s fateful intervention of 1898 in the war and Cuban patriots' subsequent struggle to rid the island of a four-year-long U.S. military occupation: indeed, the monument gives the impression that none of these things ever happened. Similarly, Little Havana's monument to Cuban exile "martyrs" at the Bay of Pigs calls the event an "assault" rather than the more familiar U.S. term of "invasion" or "operation." Most bizarre of all is a monument to Manolo Fernández, *"El Caballero del Tango"* [The Knight of the Tango], which features a dedication by its chief funder, Gilberto Casanova, whom a plaque describes as the Secretary of Acción Cubana, or "Cuban Action." Founded in the early 1970s by Cuban exile extremists in protest of what they perceived as the softening of U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America and growing complacency among fellow exiles to-

ward Castro, Acción Cubana claimed responsibility for the bombings of dozens of Cuban embassies and consulates throughout Latin America.[56]

These monuments speak to the minefield of memory in which Cubans of different generations have forged their identity in South Florida. The region's political culture developed in tandem with two, largely unique processes: first, the development of unprecedented programs of covert and overt subversion by national security agencies to topple and undermine the Cuban government led by Fidel Castro; and second, the development of equally unprecedented programs of direct legal, educational, and financial aid to Cuban refugees that no other immigrant or minority group has ever enjoyed. The former initially entailed easy employment in the world's largest CIA station at the University of Miami. Endowed with an annual budget of $50 million a year, the CIA hired a staff of 400 agents and over ten to fifteen thousand informants, saboteurs, and self-appointed political saviors drawn from the early ranks of Cuban exiles.[57] In addition, the CIA's funding of front businesses in Miami ensured that certain Cuban exiles enjoyed a "subsidized" and financially guaranteed version of the American Dream while Anglo-owned businessmen and all others simply had to fend for themselves.[58] Until 1980 when the much darker, much more working-class *marielitos* arrived, Cubans also enjoyed a variety of advantages in their public image thanks to a sympathetic U.S. media that usually depicted them as white, educated, and affluent, all qualities that mattered in a still highly segregated U.S. culture, even though in most cases, Cubans did not necessarily fit the bill. Moreover, their access to public funds facilitated by agencies of the U.S. government ensured that, among other privileges, Cubans gained greater access to federally funded loans in comparison to Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and African-Americans.[59]

Cubans of subsequent generations who grew up in Miami continue to prosper from the historically accumulated advantages that their parents and grandparents' utility to U.S. foreign policy granted them. But Cubans were not just beneficiaries of U.S. policy, they were also its victims. From the 1960s through the early 1990s, paramilitary groups based in Miami not only launched raids on Cuba with the support of the CIA; they also attempted to silence those Cuban exiles who favored dialogue with and travel to the island. The paramilitary groups used selective assassinations, death threats, and bombings of post offices, banks, the airport, an exile-owned art gallery, Miami's FBI headquarters, and other institutions to intimidate their fellow exiles. Testifying to the deep connections that Cuban exiles enjoy at the centers of power, no group or individual was ever charged with these crimes.[60]

U.S. intelligence agencies' willingness to either sponsor or tolerate illegal and criminal methods employed by right-wing exile groups to police the attitudes, public speech, and political positions of other Cubans and Cuban-Americans has played a key role in maintaining U.S. policy toward Cuba on a wartime footing. It has also fomented a culture of political "intolerance" in South Florida, especially Miami.[61] As a result, individual Cubans and Cuban-Americans who disagree with exile points of view on U.S. policy toward Cuba or question key aspects of the exile narrative on the Cuban Revolution (most commonly portrayed as an event that never needed to have happened) often encounter hostility, name-calling, job discrimination, arguments with friends, and relatives as well as overt forms of intimidation.[62] Importantly, Cubans who most disagree with the U.S. embargo and travel ban on Cuba today are not registered to vote.[63] Equally important is the overwhelming support for change in U.S. foreign policy toward Cubans among Florida's Cuban community, despite the public positions taken by Cuban exiles and Cuban American

elected officials, both locally and nationally. According to a Florida International University Cuba Study Group poll, conducted regularly since 1991, the percentage of Cubans favoring the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the U.S. reached 58 percent in 2011.[64]

The contradiction in positions between elected representatives and the Cuban community that elects them on the issue of U.S.-Cuban relations remains difficult to explain. Fear of rejection by one's community as a Castro sympathizer and the apathy that over-politicization of life in *both* Cuba and among Cuban communities in the U.S. undoubtedly play a role. Yet despite the tensions with which Cubans live in the U.S., their numeric concentration in primarily one spot and their relatively high visibility in public consciousness gives Cubans an organizational advantage when it comes to representing their interests and identity at the local and national level.

By contrast, other Latinos who trace their community's origins to Cold War struggles in their home countries find themselves geographically fragmented across multiple cities in the U.S. and far less empowered at all levels, culturally, politically, and economically—in part, because they largely arrived as undocumented refugees. Ignored by the mainstream media or simply "generalized" into the pan-ethnic category of Latino with little analysis of what makes each group's culture and politics different, other refugees from Central America and the Caribbean often feel frustrated by the invisibility of their culture and the Castro-centrism that tends to pervade public representations of the Cold War. Getting beyond this Castro-centrism involves understanding how stories of trauma, survival, and recovery have woven themselves into the process of identity building among these Latino communities and members' everyday lives.

Page from a Guatemalan military intelligence dossier on persons "disappeared" between 1983 and 1985. (National Security Archive, GWU)

Getting Beyond Castro-Centrism: Living the Legacy of Political Violence and Torture among Central Americans

How do Salvadorans or Guatemalans in the U.S. who suffered brutal forms of torture and mass terror at the hands of state security forces in the 1980s and 1990s *talk* about their society's ordeal in a cultural context that fails to recognize that it even happened? How do they explain to their friends and neighbors their fear of visiting their homelands where, for the most part, the military officers responsible for atrocities not only enjoy near-total impunity but have remained critical players in their current government's post-war "democratic" regimes? For years, Juan Romagoza Arce, a Salvadoran survivor of torture, asked himself such questions everyday. One way he responded to them was to courageously challenge the officials responsible for his torment, El Salvador's Minister of Defense and Chief of the National Guard, in U.S. federal courts. Awarded multiple honors by U.S. officials, the generals had retired to South Florida where they led normal lives until Romagoza and two other Salvadorans won their case against the men in 2002.[65] When the court's ruling was repeatedly upheld under appeal, Romagoza then joined new litigants in launching another successful case, this time in Memphis, Tennessee, against Colonel Nicolás Carranza, El Salvador's former Vice Minister of Defense and Public Security who oversaw the National Guard and National Police.[66] These

cases represent enormous symbolic victories for survivors of torture everywhere, as their lawyers at the Center for Justice and Accountability based in San Francisco made clear.

Every case and investigation draws communities in Central America and the U.S. together in a process of survival and healing that helps younger generations share the historical witness that often mark their parents and grandparents' perspectives. While the experience may unite and strengthen Central Americans' transnational identity, it is unclear what effect it may have on uninformed or disinterested mainstream U.S. Americans in the U.S. Judging from the testimony delivered at the time of the Salvadoran generals' landmark trial, not only did plaintiffs have to educate judge and jury as to the nature of their abuse, but they also had to battle the deeply ingrained discourse for which Reagan became so famous, that is, of equating Central American counterinsurgency methods with "freedom-fighting." Attesting to this in the 2002 case, the defense attorney, in his closing remarks, compared the Salvadoran generals responsible for the atrocities civilians suffered to Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.[67]

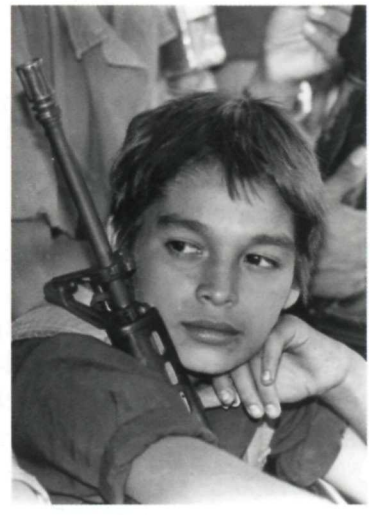
Young guerrilla soldier with two children orphaned by Salvadoran government counter-insurgency raids that destroyed their village. (Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen)

Romagoza and his fellow plaintiffs' victories represent one of many instances where victims of Salvadoran and Guatemalan government atrocities have sought redress transnationally, that is, either in U.S. courts or through the aid of international human rights activists and even historians based in the U.S. These instances, perhaps more than other examples, have helped make the presence and story of Central American migration more visible and relevant to the U.S. public. For Guatemalans who can afford it or have ties to U.S. institutions in the U.S., trying security agents responsible for individual deaths of relatives in U.S. courts has also become a means for contesting the impunity enjoyed by former military officers-turned-politicians, such as General Efraín Ríos Montt, Guatemala's dictator of the early 1980s whom the United Nations accused of genocide.[68] Addressing the Guatemalan military's strategies against largely rural Mayan communities has also entailed transnational cooperation in excavating bodies from massacre sites as well unearthing critical documents. In 2005, historians discovered a secret police archive containing 30,000 files of citizens arrested and disappeared during the 1980s. In its analysis and preservation, Guatemalan historians and U.S. historians of Guatemala like Greg Grandin have played a vital role.[69]

Nonetheless, Central American refugees, such as Haitians, face the daily paradox of having sought refuge in the very society that many blame for the extent of the violence that they suffered in their homelands. Many also face the equally paradoxical reality of having fought deportation from the U.S. for years on the charge that they were not "real" political refugees but economic migrants, seeking jobs not sanctuary in the U.S. Incredibly, hundreds of former generals and other top security officers responsible for war crimes often found easy routes to permanent residency and eventual citizenship. For many, the INS's apparent preference for deporting illegal immigrants from Central America, even if they were victims of human rights abuses, was not only complemented by a willingness to aid and abet known abusers, but a policy of helping them coverup

past crimes.[70] According to Amnesty International, about 400,000 survivors of politically orchestrated torture live in the U.S. and about 1,000 alleged torturers live among them, including many from Haiti, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.[71] During the course of conflict and afterward, solidarity networks linking Catholic-led organizations such as Witness for Peace as well as non-profit Latino organizations such as La Peña in Berkeley and the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center in San Antonio played pivotal roles in helping Cold War refugees find sanctuary, help, and advice in making the transition to life in the U.S.

Violence has nonetheless remained a permanent part of life for many Central Americans who live in poor neighborhoods, especially in Los Angeles where young Salvadoran gang members govern key aspects of the drug trade, just as they do in San Salvador. In explaining the emergence of the gangs, many analysts point to the role played by child soldiers in the Salvadoran war, particularly those forcibly recruited into the state military ranks where they witnessed and carried out torture and corporal mutilation. In order to solve a deficit in the number of recruits, military forces regularly kidnapped individual boys as they were walking to school, running errands or playing; they also raided middle schools, abducting into their ranks whole classrooms or all the boys in particular grades.[72] Of the government's troops, 80 percent were under the age of eighteen, with most averaging 14-15 years old at the time of their incorporation. By contrast, 30 percent of guerrillas were minors.[73] Often orphaned by army offensives, they joined the guerrillas out a desire to avenge their dead family members or because they had no one to care for them and therefore no other choice.[74] Recently, Central American gangs have garnered increasing attention in the U.S. media, especially as former guerrilla commanders, Catholic Church authorities and Homies Unidos, a Los Angeles-based gang intervention project, prepare to broker a truce among gang members from California to El Salvador in May 2012.[75]



Salvadoran child soldier [guerilla forces] (Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen)

Unfortunately, few would contend that knowledge of their wartime roots plays a role in how most young gang members are perceived. The scars that they carry are as invisible as those carried by older immigrants and migrants, despite the fact that in recent years, the U.S. Federal Government has taken remarkable steps to recognize and deal with the trauma that the legacies of torture can inflict on families and communities, often for years. Such steps include the funding of clinics meant to treat torture victims and the Healing Club, a support group in Los Angeles for torture victims and their families. The club forms part of two dozen little-known, federally funded torture rehabilitation programs in the U.S.[76]

The attention of Federal Government agencies and legal victories over human rights abusers clearly have made Central Americans know that they are not alone in burdening the costs and the knowledge of history that they bear. Such a shift forms part of a larger process of empowerment that has clearly emerged in the last fifteen years as the majority of first-wave Central American refugees legalized their status and thereby, increased their political activism on behalf of community needs, fielded candidates for political office, and became key players in transnational efforts to subvert official silences in their homelands.[77] For example, María Tere-

sa Tula, leader of the human rights group known as Co-Madres that Archbishop Romero founded in San Salvador shortly before he was assassinated, came to the U.S. as an undocumented refugee in 1987 despite the fact that Co-Madres had received the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award three years earlier. However, Tula's long-standing ties to peace activists in the U.S. and U.S. academics who sponsored speaking tours in which Tula shared her story ultimately served to bring her and other Salvadorans' struggle to greater public consciousness. A transcript of María Teresa Tula's life history, published in 1999, quickly became and remains a bestselling textbook in U.S. colleges nationwide.[78] Moreover, from her home in the U.S., Tula and the Co-Madres successfully led an alliance of NGOs that pressured the Salvadoran government to create the country's principal war memorial in 2003. Modeled on the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, "The Wall" in San Salvador's central Cuscatlán Park conmemorates the thousands of dead and disappeared at the hands of the Salvadoran military.

"Memory is something that mustn't be lost... To kill memory is to kill the human being."

William Flores

Although even the largest Salvadoran community in Los Angeles does not yet boast its own monuments, it has scored several recent victories in gaining official recognition and support for public sites honoring Salvadoran history and presence. In 2000, the Salvadoran American National Association partnered with Catholic parishes in Los Angeles to commission a replica of the nation's revered sacred image of Jesus Christ, Divine Savior, which normally resided in San Salvador's cathedral. Highly symbolic of so many refugees' own perilous journey, the statue left El Salvador on a pilgrimage through Guatemala and Mexico before finally arriving at the Dolores Mission Church.[79] In 2009, Cal State Northridge, the General Consulate of El Salvador in Los Angeles, and Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen in San Salvador sponsored a series of multimedia events at the Los Angeles Theatre Center called *"Preservacion de la Memoria Historica Salvadorena"* (Salvadoran Preservation of Historic Memory). Meant to address "the civil war's haunting legacy while looking toward the future of Salvador's people, at home and abroad," the program included a photo exhibit, a symposium on historic memory, discussions of Salvadoran writers, and theatrical presentations celebrating indigenous heritage. In explaining his motivations for staging the festival William Flores, director of Olin Theater Presenters, noted, "Memory is something that mustn't be lost . . . To kill memory is to kill the human being."[80]

Salvadorans in Los Angeles have also found new sites to anchor, cultivate, and restore their much ravaged memory and cultural knowledge in a section of Vermont Avenue known designated as the El Salvador Community Corridor. Although it already boasts twenty-five restaurants and eighty other Salvadoran-owned businesses, the area still lacks the murals, monuments, and museums that typify historic districts such as Little Havana's Calle Ocho. Moreover, while a plaza in the corridor was named for the Salvadoran patriot and spiritual hero Archbishop Oscar Romero, it might soon compete with another commemorative space also named for Romero if a group of Salvadoran leaders succeeds in renaming MacArthur Park in the fall of 2012.[81]

As this essay shows, the struggle for greater political representation and prosperity that arguably all immigrants face was notably complicated in the case of Cold War Latinos by the complex and contradictory history that led to their presence in the U.S. Their ability and willingness to forge a public identity and image for themselves has also been undercut by the ways

in which memories of that history remain buried, distorted, or simply unknown to most U.S. Americans. Nonetheless, the political transformation that they have achieved and continue to achieve at the national and local levels is as important as the cultural transformation; one is inevitably linked to the other. Ironically, even as federal programs undoubtedly favored Cubans in important material ways, their ascent as a community undoubtedly served to further other Central American and Caribbean Latinos' self-representation in government, the media, and public space. While much of U.S. Cold War policy in their home countries might have backfired, the unexpected creation of new Latino communities in the U.S. that resulted from this policy clearly strengthened U.S. democracy at home and affirmed the right of all members of our society to pursue justice, freedom, and their own American dreams.

Street in Little Haiti, Miami, FL
(Creative Commons by Marc Averette)

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- Click on Geographies-Metropolitan Statistical Area/select Microstatistical area 2010/select "All Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistic Areas within the United States and Puerto Rico." [click "Add to your selection," Close]
- Click on Topics/select People/select Population Change/select Migration (Previous Residence) [Close]
- Click on People/Type in a race, ancestry, or tribe [e.g. Dominican, Salvadoran, Cuban, etc.] and click "Go"/Population Group Name [select group, click Add, Close]
- Select table BO7204 "Geographical Mobility Within the Past Year for Current Residence—State, County and Place level in the United States"/select View Table

For the group selected, the above table gives the total population for the largest 90-180 U.S. cities to include information on migration. It should be noted that these numbers are derived from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey and are current estimates based on both the 10-year U.S. Census and the Bureau's annual surveys.

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SOUTH MEYER AVENUE
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486 488 489 506 518 520 526 558 564

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American Science, American Medicine, and American Latinos (John Mckiernan-González)

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Struggles for Inclusion

Demanding Equal Political Voice...And Accepting Nothing Less: The Quest for a Latino Political Inclusion (Louis DeSipio)

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American Latinos and the Making of the United States: Essay Authors

Introduction
American Latinos and the Making of the United States

***Frances Negrón-Muntaner*, Ph.D.**, is Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University and director of the University's Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race. She is an award winning filmmaker, whose titles include *Brincando el charco: Portrait of a Puerto Rican* and *War in Guam.* Negrón-Muntaner is also the founder of Miami Light Project's Filmmakers workshop and is a founding board member of the National Association of Latino Independent Producers. Her books include *Boricua Pop: Puerto Ricans and the Latinization of American Culture* and *None of the Above: Puerto Ricans in the Global Era.* In 2005 *Hispanic Business* magazine named her one of the "100 most influential Hispanics" and in 2008 the United Nations recognized as a global expert in Latin/o American studies. She received her M.A. from Temple University and her Ph.D. from Rutgers University.

Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, Ph.D., is Professor Emerita at Brooklyn College, City University of New York. She serves on the Advisory Board of the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, is a founding member of the New York History Academy, and is history consultant at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College. The recipient of the 2012 Inter-University Program for Latino Research Lifetime Achievement Award, Dr. Sánchez-Korrol's publications include *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City*, and the three volume *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*. She heads the *Latinas in History*, interactive website project, and authored the forthcoming historical novel, *Feminist and Revolutionary: The Story of Emilia Casanova*. Dr. Sánchez-Korrol received her Ph.D. in History from Stony Brook University, State University of New York.

Core Essay
The American Latino

Stephen J. Pitti, Ph.D., is Professor of History and American Studies, Director of the Program in Ethnicity, Race, and Migration, and Master of Ezra Stiles College at Yale University. He teaches courses in Latino studies, ethnic studies, Western history, 20th-century immigration, and civil rights. Pitti is the author of *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Race, Mexican Americans, and Northern California* and is working on two books: *The World of Céasar Chávez* and *Leaving California: Race from the Golden State*. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. in American Studies from Stanford University.

Arts
A Panorama of Latino Arts

Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, Ph.D., is an Independent Scholar of Latin American and U.S. Latino arts and culture and is located in San Antonio. He was formerly Associate Director of Creativity and Culture at the Rockefeller Foundation. Prior to that, he was a Professor of Spanish and Portuguese at Stanford University. His major works include *Houston Hispanic Artists: New Views, Modern Chicano Writers: A Collection of Critical Essays*, and *Towards a*

Shared Vision: U.S. Latinos and the Smithsonian Institution. He was awarded the Joseph Henry Medal by the Smithsonian Institution in 1998. In 2007, the Mexican government bestowed "The Order of The Aztec Eagle" on him citing his life work in fostering cultural understanding between the United States and Mexico through the arts and humanities. In 2009, he was named Senior Fellow, Hemispheric Institute at New York University. In 2009-2011, he was Senior Advisor to the Commission to study the potential creation of a National Museum of the American Latino. He received his Ph.D. in Spanish from the University of Washington.

Business and Commerce
Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business & Commerce since the 16th Century

Geraldo Cadava, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor of History and Latina/o Studies at Northwestern University where he specializes in the United States-Mexican border region and Latina and Latino populations in the United States. His forthcoming book, *The Heat of Exchange: Latinos and Migration in the Making of a Sunbelt Borderland,* addresses the rise of cultural and commercial exchanges between Arizona and Sonora as a result of World War II. His next two projects will be about Latino conservatism and the construction of the U.S.-Mexico border. He received his Ph.D. in History from Yale University.

Education
Demanding their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity

Victoria-María MacDonald, Ed.D., is Unit Chair and Assistant Professor of Minority & Urban Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her research examines how historical legacies impact policy, access, and equity for contemporary Latino and African American students. MacDonald is the author of numerous works including *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History, 1513-2000* (2004). Her latest article (with student Benjamin P. Hoffman) is "Compromising *La Causa*?": The Ford Foundation and Chicano Intellectual Nationalism in the Creation of Chicano History, 1963-1977" in *History of Education Quarterly* (May 2012). She received her B.A. in History with honors from Wellesley College and Ed.M. and Ed.D. from Harvard University. A Spencer postdoctoral fellowship from the National Academy of Education supported her research on Latino educational history.

Empires, Wars, Revolutions
The Latino Crucible: Its Origins in 19th Century Wars, Revolutions, and Empire

Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Ph.D., is the Preston & Sterling Morton Distinguished Service Professor in United States History and the College, University of Chicago. His field specialties include race and ethnicity in American Life, Chicano/Latino studies, Indian-White relations in the Americas, social and economic history of the Southwest, and Mexican Immigration. His major works include *Mexican Home Altars*, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*, and *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. His 1993 article, "Community, Patriarchy and Individualism: The Politics of Chicano History" in the *American Quarterly* was awarded the Western History Association's

Ray Allen Billington Award. He received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Wisconsin.

Food
Coming Home to Salsa: Latino Roots of American Food

Jeffrey Pilcher, Ph.D., is a Professor of History at the University of Minnesota. He specializes in the history and culture of Mexico, Latin America, and the Caribbean, and the history and culture of food. His major works include *Planet Taco: A Global History of Mexican Food; Food in World History; The Sausage Rebellion: Public Health, Private Enterprise, and Meat in Mexico City;* and *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. He received his Ph.D. in History from Texas Christian University.

Immigration
An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States

David Gutiérrez, Ph.D., is a Professor of History at the University of California, San Diego, and Academic Senate Distinguished Teacher and Vice-Chair, Academic Affairs. He teaches Chicano history, comparative immigration and ethnic history, and politics of the 20th century United States. His major works include *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans; Mexican Immigrants and the Politics of Ethnicity*; *Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States*; and *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States since 1960*. His current research is focused on immigration, citizenship, and non-citizenship in 20th-century American history and the demographic revolution, 1970s to the present. He received his Ph.D. in History from Stanford University.

Intellectual Traditions
Envisioning and Re-visioning the Nation: Latino Intellectual Traditions

Nicolás Kanellos, Ph.D., is the Brown Foundation Professor of Hispanic Literature at the University of Houston. He is the founder and director of the nation's oldest and largest non-profit publisher of Hispanic literature in the United States, Arte Público Press. He is also director of the major national research program, Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage of the United States, which aims to identify, preserve, study, and make accessible tens of thousands of Latino literary documents written from the colonial period to 1960 in the area that has become the United States. His major works include *A History of Hispanic Theater in the United States: Origins to 1940* and *Hispanic Literature of the United States: A Comprehensive Reference*. He received his Ph.D. in Spanish and Portuguese from the University of Texas.

Labor
Latino Workers

Zaragosa Vargas, Ph.D., is the Kenan Eminent Professor in the Department of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. He specializes in Latino history and American labor

history during the 19th and 20th centuries that covers working class history; work, race, gender, and class; the history of working women; and transnational labor migration. His major works include *Crucible of Struggle: A History of Mexican Americans from the Colonial Period to the Present Era; Labor Rights Are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America;* and *Proletarians of the North: Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933.* He received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan.

Law
Latinos and the Law

Margaret E. Montoya, J.D., is a Professor of Law at the University of New Mexico and Senior Advisor to the Chancellor for UNM Health Sciences Center. Her current work in health sciences focuses on increasing faculty diversity and inclusion through mentoring and leadership programs. She is part of the teaching team in the Cultural Competence curriculum in the School of Medicine. One of her major works is "Mascaras, Trenzas y Greñas: Un/Masking the Self While Un/Braiding Latina Stories and Legal Discourse," which connects autobiographical narratives with legal analysis and focuses on resisting the cultural assimilation that often comes with higher education. She received her J.D. from Harvard Law School.

Media
More Than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States

Félix Gutiérrez, Ph.D., is a Professor of Journalism and Communication in the Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism and a Professor of American Studies & Ethnicity in the Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences at the University of Southern California. His research focuses on racial diversity and the media and "Voices for Justice: 200 Years of Latino Newspapers in the United States." His major works include *Racism, Sexism, and the Media: Multicultural Issues into the New Communications Age* and *Spanish-Language Radio in the Southwestern United States*. His is the 2011 recipient of the Lionel C. Barrow, Jr. Award for Distinguished Achievement in Diversity Research and Education by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. He received his Ph.D. in Communication from Stanford University.

Military
Fighting on Two Fronts: Latinos in the Military

Lorena Oropeza, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor of History at the University of California at Davis. She is author of *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam Era* and Co-editor of the anthology *Enriqueta and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte*. She is currently writing a history of the Alianza land-grant movement in New Mexico employing the theme of memory and history. Convinced that Chicana/o history is a central part of American history, she serves on the editorial board of *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Culture and Politics* where an article she wrote reassessing the role of land-

grant leader Reies Lopez Tijerina appeared in the 2008 inaugural issue. She received her Ph.D. in History from Cornell University.

New Latinos
Late-20th Century Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy: Forging Latino Identity in the Minefields of Political Memory

Lillian Guerra, Ph.D., is the author of many scholarly essays as well as three books, *Popular Expression and National Identity in Puerto Rico; The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba;* and *Visions of Power: Revolution, Redemption and Resistance in Cuba, 1959-1971*. Her creative writings include contributions to the works of renowned photographers Alex Harris and Cathryn Griffith, as well as two collections of Spanish-language poetry, one published in Quito, Ecuador, and the other in Havana, Cuba. The daughter of Cuban exiles who came to the United States in 1965, she has lived, researched, and taught courses in Cuba over the course of 38 visits in the last 15 years. From 1996 to 1998, Dr. Guerra lived in Cuba for the first time and in addition to researching her dissertation, she came to know more than a hundred close relatives in Cienfuegos, Havana, and Pinar del Río. Dr. Guerra taught Latin American history at Bates College for four years and Caribbean history at Yale University for six years. She is currently an Associate Professor of Cuban and Caribbean History at the University of Florida, Gainesville. A graduate of Dartmouth College, she received her Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin.

Religion and Spirituality
Endurance and Transformation: Horizons of Latino Faith

Timothy Matovina, Ph.D., is a Professor of Theology and the Executive Director of the Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He specializes in U.S. Latino theology and religion. His most recent books are *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church* and *Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio, from Colonial Origins to the Present*. He offers presentations and workshops on U.S. Catholicism and Latino ministry and theology throughout the United States. He received his Ph.D. in Religion and Culture from Catholic University of America.

Science and Medicine
American Science, American Medicine, and American Latinos

John Mckiernan-González, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Texas, Austin. His research focus includes Latina/o history, the social and cultural history of medicine, public history, and American immigration histories. His book, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848-1942*, examines how Texas border residents and migrants responded to the ways public health authorities drew medical borders across their communities. He has worked in the National Museum of American History, as well as the HIV division of the Cook County Department of Public Health. Parts of his public history efforts can be seen at the Smithsonian Institution and at the *Onda Latina / Mexican American Experience* web portal. He received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan.

Sports

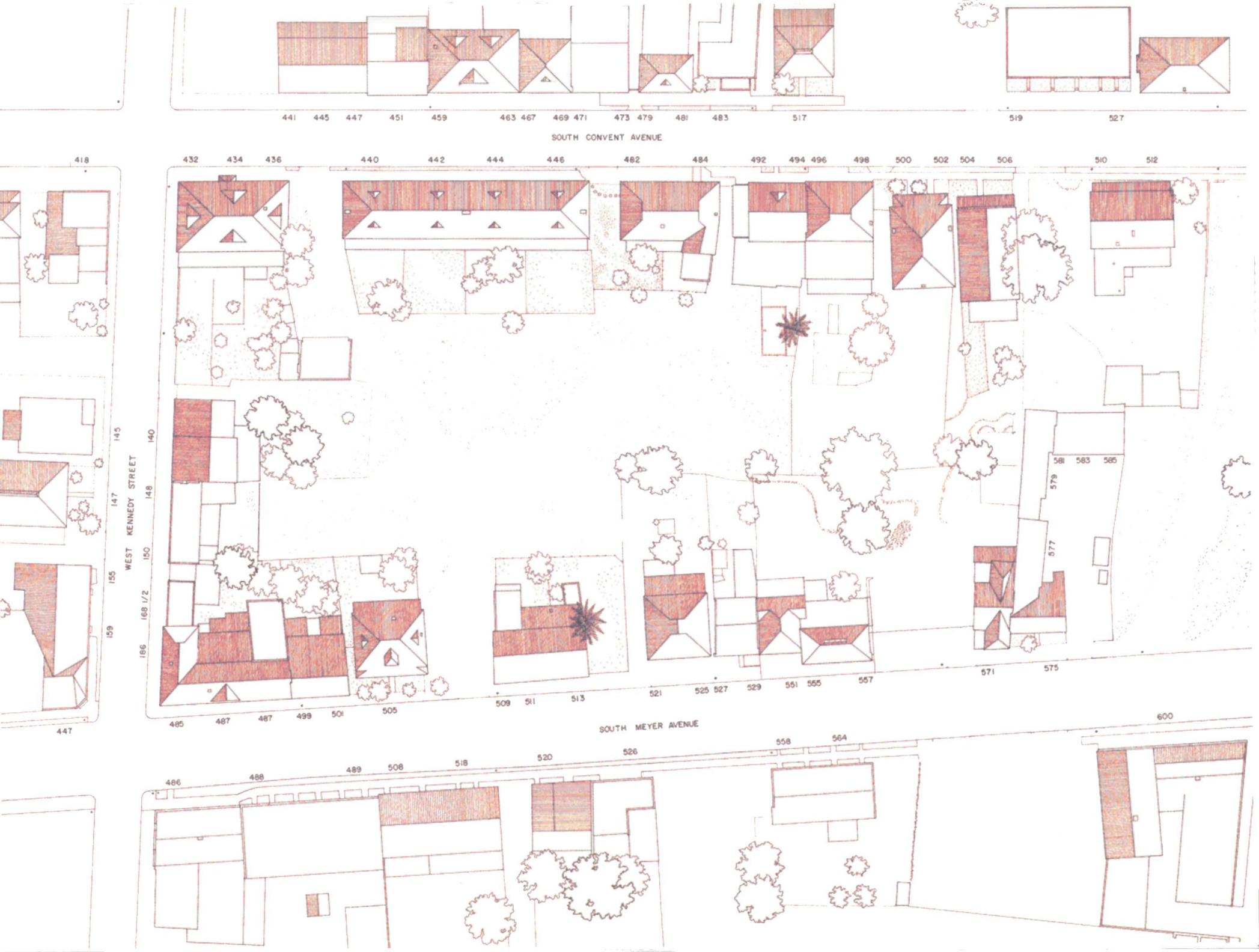
Beyond the Latino Sports Hero: The Role of Sports in Creating Communities, Networks, and Identities

José M. Alamillo, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Chicano/a Studies Program at California State University, Channel Islands. His research focuses on ways in which Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have used culture, politics, sports, and forms of leisure to build community solidarity, construct gender and ethnic identities, and forge inter-ethnic relations with other groups in order to advance politically and economically. His major works include *Latinos in U.S. Sport: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity and Acceptance*, and *Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town*. He received his Ph.D. in the Comparative Cultures Program at the University of California, Irvine.

Struggles for Inclusion

Demanding Equal Political Voice...And Accepting Nothing Less: The Quest for a Latino Political Inclusion

Louis DeSipio, Ph.D., is a Professor of Political Science and Chicano/Latino Studies at the University of California, Irvine. His research interests include how democratic nations, particularly the United States, incorporate new members, especially because international migration has made most democracies home to large numbers of non-citizens just as those countries are seeking to incorporate ethnic and racial populations that were excluded or incompletely incorporated in the past. His major works include *Making Americans, Remaking America: Immigration and Immigrant Policy; Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate; Beyond the Barrio: Latinos and the 2004 Elections;* and *Muted Voices: Latinos and the 2000 Elections.* He received his Ph.D. in Government from the University of Texas at Austin.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American Latino Scholars Expert Panel

Co-Chairs

Belinda Valles Faustinos is a member of the National Park System Advisory Board and was a member of the National Parks Second Century Commission. She was Executive Officer of the San Gabriel and Lower Los Angeles River and Mountains Conservancy for the last nine years of her forty-year career with the State of California. She has been a leader in the development of integrated regional watershed management planning, urban nature parks, river parkway, and interpretive programs. Currently she serves as an alternate California Coastal Commissioner, Land Trust Alliance Board Member, California State Audubon Board Member, and as an Executive Advisor to the San Gabriel River Discovery Center Foundation. She earned her B.A. from Pitzer College and lives in the San Gabriel Valley.

Luis Hoyos, AIA, is Associate Professor of Architecture and Urban Design at California State Polytechnic University in Pomona. He serves as an advisor to the National Trust for Historic Preservation and served as past member and chair of the California State Historical Resources Commission from 2001 to 2006. In addition, he serves on the Board of the Los Angeles Conservancy and as its vice-president for advocacy. As an architect he has received awards for the design of several historic building rehabilitations, including El Pueblo de Los Angeles and the Point Fermin Lighthouse.

Members

Antonia Castañeda, Ph.D., is a retired Professor of History from St. Mary's University in Texas. She previously held appointments at the University of California, Santa Barbara and the University of Texas at Austin. She is co-editor of the *Chicana Matters Series* and of the anthology, *Gender on the Borderlands: The Frontiers Reader*. Additionally, she is the recipient of the 2007 Scholar of the Year award from National Association for Chicano and Chicana studies. Dr. Castañeda received her BA from Western Washington State College, M.A. from the University of Washington, and Ph.D. from Stanford University.

Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Ph.D., is the Eaton Professor of Administrative Law and Municipal Science at Columbia University, Political Science and School of International and Public Affairs. He specializes in ethnic politics and immigration and previously held academic positions at the University of Texas and the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. His extensive list of publications includes *Beyond the Barrios, Latinos in the 2004 Elections*, and *The Future of the Voting Rights Act. Hispanic Magazine* named de la Garza one of the most "100 influential Hispanics" in 1998 and 2002. He is a founding member of the National Association of Chicano Studies and the Inter-University Program for Latino Research. Dr. de la Garza received his Ph.D. from the University of Arizona.

***Frances Negrón-Muntaner*, Ph.D.**, is Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University and director of the University's Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race. She is an award winning filmmaker, whose titles include *Brincando el charco: Portrait of a Puerto Rican* and *War in Guam.* Dr. Negrón-Muntaner is also the founder of

Miami Light Project's Filmmakers workshop and is a founding board member of the National Association of Latino Independent Producers. Her books include *Boricua Pop: Puerto Ricans and the Latinization of American Culture* and *None of the Above: Puerto Ricans in the Global Era*. In 2005 *Hispanic Business* magazine named her one of the "100 most influential Hispanics" and in 2008 the United Nations recognized her as a global expert in Latin/o American studies. She received her M.A. from Temple University and her Ph.D. from Rutgers University.

Stephen J. Pitti, Ph.D., is Professor of History and American Studies, Director of the Program in Ethnicity, Race, and Migration, and Master of Ezra Stiles College at Yale University. He teaches courses in Latino studies, ethnic studies, Western history, 20th-century immigration, and civil rights. Pitti is the author of *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Race, Mexican Americans, and Northern California* and is working on two books: *The World of Céasar Chávez* and *Leaving California: Race from the Golden State*. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in American Studies from Stanford University.

Estevan Rael-Gálvez, Ph.D., is Vice President of Historic Sites at the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Previously, he served as the State Historian of New Mexico, the chairman of the New Mexico Cultural Properties Review Committee, and as the Executive Director of the National Hispanic Cultural Center. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and has received numerous fellowships for his work, including the Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship. Dr. Rael-Gálvez is currently working on his book, *The Silence of Slavery*.

Raymond Rast, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of History and Associate Director of the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton. His work as a public historian focuses on Latino history. He served the National Park Service as historical consultant on the Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study, and he has written National Historic Landmark nominations for the Forty Acres and Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz, both of which are significant for their association with Cesar Chavez. He recently curated an exhibition on the school desegregation case, *Mendez et al. v. Westminster School District et al.* He received his Ph.D. from the University of Washington.

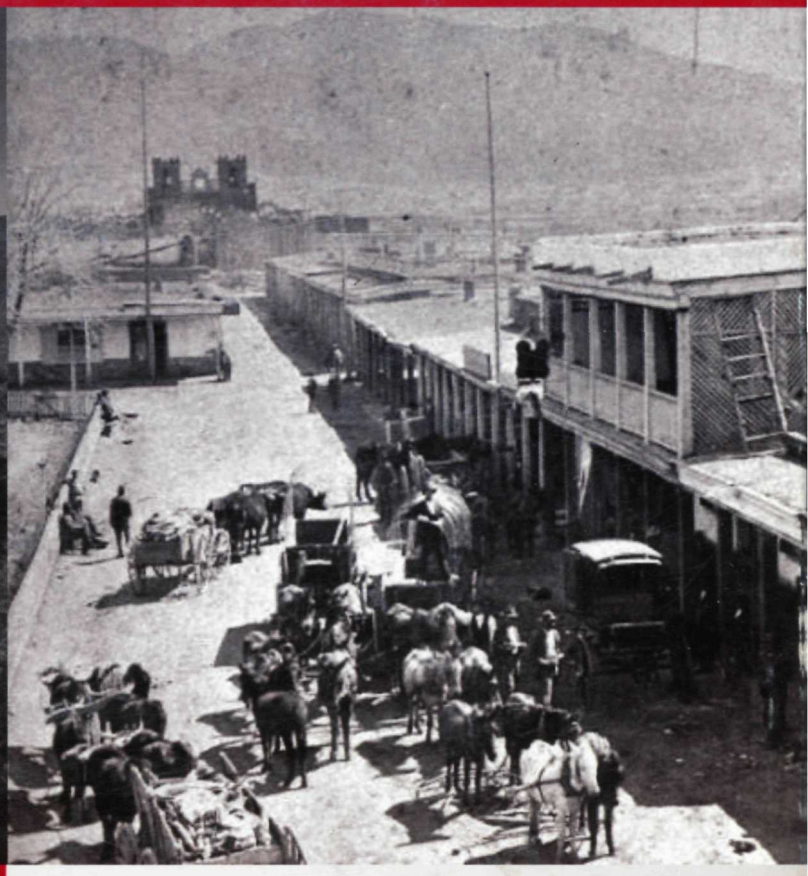
Maggie Rivas-Rodriquez, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of Texas at Austin. She was a journalist for over 17 years and helped organize the creation of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists. In 1999, she founded the U.S. Latino & Latina WWII Oral History Project (now the VOCES Oral History Project) and has directed it ever since. She is the lead editor of four books based on the Latino/a WWII experience and is writing a fifth that examines three examples of civil rights advancements by Mexican-Americans of the World War II generation. Dr. Rivas-Rodriquez received her B.A. in journalism from UT-Austin, her M.A. from the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism and her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Vicki Ruiz, Ph.D., is Professor of History and Chicano/Latino Studies at the University of California, Irvine. She is a member of the National Advisory Board for the National Museum of American History and was President of the American Studies Association and the Organization of American Historians. In 2012 she was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and

Sciences, the first Latina historian to be so honored. She is also an elected fellow of the Society of American Historians. Dr. Ruiz has written extensively on topics including civil and labor rights activists, female cannery workers, and Chicana history. Her publications include *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia, 3 vols.* and *From out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*. Dr. Ruiz received her Ph.D. from Stanford University and in 2009 was inducted into Stanford's Multicultural Alumni Hall of Fame.

Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, Ph.D., is Professor Emerita at Brooklyn College, City University of New York. She serves on the Advisory Board of the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, is a founding member of the New York History Academy, and is history consultant at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College. The recipient of the 2012 Inter-University Program for Latino Research Lifetime Achievement Award, Dr. Sánchez-Korrol's publications include *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City*, and the three-volume *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*. She heads the *Latinas in History*, interactive website project, and authored the forthcoming historical novel, *Feminist and Revolutionary: The Story of Emilia Casanova*. Dr. Sánchez Korrol received her Ph.D. in History from Stony Brook University, State University of New York.

A Publication of the National Park System Advisory Board
American Latino Scholars Expert Panel



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www.nps.gov/latino/
www.nationalparks.org/

Images (*Clockwise from top left):*

Andrew Molera State Park in Monterey, California. The property was part of Rancho El Sur, a Mexican land grant given to Juan Bautista Alvarado in 1834.

Santa Fe New Mexico. Late 19th-century photograph taken next to the Santa Fe Plaza looking towards the Cathedral of Saint Francis of Assisi.

East "Spanish" Harlem, New York, New York. A majority Italian community in the late 19th and early to mid 20th centuries, today East Harlem has one of the largest predominantly Latino communities in New York City.