

# *Provincias Internas:* Continuing Frontiers



Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Phoenix College  
March 28, 2003

*edited by*  
Pete Dimas

The Arizona Historical Society  
Tucson

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Alfredo Jiménez, of the University of Seville, planted the seed for this symposium when he asked me to find out more about the understanding of the concept of continuing frontiers within the realm of borderlands studies in the United States. He also kindly agreed to travel to Phoenix to give the keynote address.

Alan Haffa, then director of the Honors Program at Phoenix College and a colleague in the Liberal Arts Department, agreed to sponsor the symposium as an Honors Program event. By contributing funds from his speakers budget, he allowed us to begin planning the conference.

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The Arizona Historical Society agreed to underwrite publication of the conference proceedings, ensuring the topics a permanence and audience beyond the one-day conference event.

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## Preface

“Provincias Internas: Continuing Frontiers” was a one-day symposium held at Phoenix College in which a group of distinguished panelists explored the concept of frontiers in the region that was previously the northern frontier of colonial New Spain. The Provincias Internas are that region that now comprises the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico. The symposium explored the concept of frontiers within this region over several centuries. Each panelist presented a brief paper, followed by discussion among the panel members and questions from the audience. Each paper is reprinted in this book with the highlights of the subsequent discussion recorded in question-and-answer form at the end of each paper. I hope this captures some of the sense of excitement and interaction of that day.

The Provincias Internas: Continuing Frontiers symposium had its origins as a result of a sabbatical where I spent a semester in Seville, Spain. My intentions were to explore the famous Archives of the Indies in that city and to attend classes in medieval Spanish history at the University of Seville. I did not expect the intensity of research and course work that resulted. In the course of interaction with the faculty at the university, I was fortunate to come to know Dr. Alfredo Jiménez, a distinguished anthropologist and historian of America – the Spanish term for the Western Hemisphere. Very well acquainted with the archives, the repository for the documents of the Spanish Empire in the Americas, Dr. Jiménez engaged in discussions with me and extended the help of his graduate students. Just prior to my departure from Seville, we had an extensive discussion concerning frontiers and his idea that they do not cease to exist; that their legacies continue beyond the delineations of politically established borders. I made a commitment to explore the level of understanding concerning the continuation of frontiers within the region of the former Provincias Internas. The commitment was both professional and personal.

The idea of the continuing frontier, the place where people and

cultures meet, is something that continues within my being. I am descended from people who were on the northern frontier from the late sixteenth century onward. My father's family is from northern New Mexico. My mother's family is from the northern region of Sonora, the region that now encompasses southern Arizona. Up until I entered elementary school, my primary language was Spanish, but in order to survive within the educational system, a conscious decision was made by my parents to not speak Spanish to me. I never lost the understanding, but speaking fluency was constricted until I regained it through Spanish classes, and it was further strengthened because of the everyday employment reality that Spanish is still very widely used in the Southwest. The interesting paradox was that the educational structure insisted on extinguishing the Spanish language within me, but when I went into the world of work, I was expected to speak Spanish because of its utility in communicating with clients.

I have always had an interest in history in order to understand the world around me. My father would always remind me that I was from frontier people, but when I studied history, my family was not there. I was very American, but I was also something more, something that was not generally recognized in American society and academia. In order to understand my family's place in history in the pursuit of my Ph.D., I had to study the history of the Southwest as an extension of Latin American history. Dr. Jiménez's vision of continuing frontiers was inherent in my own pursuit of understanding, and of the doctorate.

What are frontiers? Are they primarily geographic delineations? Are they the intersection of cultures? Who decides when or where a frontier exists? When do they cease to exist? In the region of the former Provincias Internas, one's frontier was already someone else's home. The world of the peoples collectively known as Indians has been impacted upon by two other frontiers. Culturally, there are at least three frontiers within the old Provincias Internas: the Indian, the Hispanic, and the Anglo American frontiers; and

each continues to impact on, and often mix with, the others.

As a result of the commitment to Dr. Jiménez, I found that the search for a concise view of the appreciation of continuing frontiers within the former Provincias Internas was not readily accessible. Gradually, it became clear that the milieu that exists within the region has yet to be cohesively and extensively explored. This is the wellspring of the symposium. The idea took form that the way to come to understand what has evolved in the frontier region was to bring scholars together, not simply to talk amongst themselves, but to also involve the participation of the public, to engage in discussion between scholars and community. The dynamics would accomplish little in the way of understanding should the proceedings not be recorded and published. Even if this came to be, little of lasting import would transpire should the symposium be a singular effort. With the publication of the proceedings, the procedures are in place to have regularly held symposia to not only explore the aspects of continuing frontiers of the region, but more importantly, to enhance the understanding necessary for the continued evolution of our social and political structures.

In his keynote address, “Space, Time, Peoples: Continuities in the Great Spanish North from Its Beginnings to the Present,” Alfredo Jiménez sets the context by defining the notion of frontiers and the extent of the former Spanish, now U.S.–Mexico frontier. He presents a positive view of frontiers as zones of contact and interaction between people of different cultures, places where innovation and cultural rejuvenation occur. In terms of the area variously called the Spanish borderlands, the Greater Southwest, La Gran Chichimeca, or La América Septentrional, Jiménez calls for a broad view in time and space that extends from the colonial period to the present and transcends the present international boundary and the value judgments, occasionally ethnocentrism, of U.S. and Mexican scholars. In comparing the Anglo-American and Spanish frontiers, Jiménez highlights some important differences. Whereas American westward expansion spawned a national myth of heroism and

courage glorified under Manifest Destiny, colonial Spaniards were highly urban oriented, viewing their frontier negatively as an unsettled zone. Even today, these divergent histories affect how the general population on both sides of the border view the borderlands.

Susan Deeds continues the theme of interethnic contact and negotiation in “Missions as Transactional and Transitional Crossroads: A Case from Nueva Vizcaya.” In contrast to the traditional Boltonian view of missions as stable, pious sites spreading civilization to Indian converts, Deeds highlights the porous boundaries of missions and the ways Indians used mission residence for their own purposes. She demonstrates the significant economic ties that existed between missions and surrounding Spanish populations, creating a web of connections among mission Indians, unconverted Indians, and various elements of Spanish secular society. Mission populations fluctuated constantly, as Indians came and went for a variety of reasons, including employment or *repartimiento* drafts, or to practice traditional transhumance patterns. Thus, even in colonial mission times, the borderlands were a site of intercultural and interethnic contact, as well as of constant movement and migration.

Hartman Lomawaima describes a unique project underway at the Arizona State Museum on the University of Arizona campus in “The Hopi Documentary History Project: A Progress Report.” Lomawaima and colleagues have searched the Documentary Relations of the Southwest colonial archives housed at the museum for references to the Hopi people. Relevant documents are being translated and transliterated into modern Spanish, then into English, and finally into Hopi, making them accessible to the Pueblo peoples. By reading the documents to elders in the twelve Hopi pueblos and getting their commentary on the contents, the project staff hopes to tie the documentary history to Hopi oral traditions, validating elements of Hopi unwritten history. They also hope to interest Hopi young people in their own history and in pursuing documentary and archival research.

Philip VanderMeer extends the discussion of frontiers into a twentieth-century urban environment in “Postwar Phoenix: Intentional Change and Essential Continuities.” After reviewing the phenomenal changes that Phoenix has undergone since World War II in terms of growth, political structure, and economy, VanderMeer turns to the less obvious task of identifying continuities. Elements of stability include collective memory and historical preservation, the limits imposed by Phoenix’s place as a desert city near an international border, and the structure of the city as an automobile-dependent urban zone. In addition, despite the claims of boosters, the Phoenix economy remains similar to what it was in the 1950s. VanderMeer concludes that it is important to understand the elements of continuity and change in Phoenix’s past in order to shape its future effectively.

Finally, Edward Escobar examines another urban frontier at the turn of the twenty-first century: Los Angeles and its police department. In “Drawing the Thin Blue Line: Chicano-Police Relations since World War II,” Escobar explores how the Los Angeles Police Department actively polarized communities, particularly communities of color, in order to advance its own interests. Under longtime police chief William H. Parker, the LAPD cast itself as the “thin blue line” protecting law-abiding citizens against crime through the use of aggressive, even violent policing—a war on crime—against minority youths, who were cast as the principal criminal element. In addition, the police professionalism model insulated the department from political oversight, leaving the police to police themselves. The fallout has been deep-seated distrust of the police among communities of color and a series of police scandals, including the Rampart Division scandal and the Rodney King beating that eventually resulted in the 1992 Los Angeles uprising. In order to correct the situation, the LAPD will have to cast aside its institutional culture and begin breaking down the barriers built up in dividing the ethnic communities of Los Angeles.

As this collection of papers illustrates, the topic of frontiers has

almost limitless possibilities in time and space. It is my hope that the idea of symposia bringing together scholars, public officials and leaders, and the general public will take root with resulting publications of proceedings available to wider audiences.

Pete Dimas  
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# Space, Time, Peoples: Continuities in the Great Spanish North from Its Beginnings to the Present

*Alfredo Jiménez*  
University of Seville

This essay is a personal reflection on some assumptions and issues relating to frontiers in North America. (1) The frontier of northern colonial Mexico, or New Spain, was much larger, older, and longer than it is presented in the prevalent U.S. historiography. (2) The history of this frontier should be viewed as an unbroken process, or a continuum, in which the past and the present are linked on a cultural rather than a political basis. (3) The combined effects of popular prejudice and historiographic boundaries erected by historians have produced serious discontinuities and misunderstandings of the whole process. (4) Consequently, wider and more objective approaches are needed to better understand the past and the present of the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico.<sup>1</sup> I begin by briefly reviewing some theoretical and historiographic considerations to serve as a frame of reference for the preceding statements. Some of my assertions may sound blunt, even non-politically correct, but in this chapter I am seeking to be provocative and raise important issues for discussion.

“A world without frontiers” has become a well-intentioned slogan for those who fight sincerely against poverty, sickness, and injustice all over the world. Unfortunately, the elimination of frontiers between rich and poor still seems an impossible goal. In fact, not all frontiers are bad nor should they be eliminated. The term *frontier* has many, sometimes contradictory meanings, but it bears, in

general, a negative connotation. The two basic, opposite meanings: as a line or boundary of separation and as a peripheral or marginal space with respect to the core or heartland of a region.<sup>2</sup> In the first meaning, frontier implies the absolute limit of a political domain, as between two neighboring nations like France and Germany. In its second meaning, frontier generally implies great distance from the heartland, or the metropolis, as well as territorial expansion. In any case, frontiers are areas of interrelationships and negotiation between two or more parties. Some scholars also consider a frontier as a line between civilization and savagery or, at least, between a superior or more developed people and an inferior or less developed one.

At times, frontiers have nothing to do with physical limits or competition for physical space. I call those frontiers that exist only in the mind of an individual or group of people a *virtual frontier*. Such frontiers are revealed through attitudes and actions of discrimination, separation, or exclusion toward people with whom one shares the same physical and social space. Virtual frontiers are the most subtle of all frontiers and the most difficult to erase. One cannot see them, but one can smell them. Virtual frontiers are typically found in multiracial, multicultural, civilized, educated societies, and within an environment of social order based in law.

I like the definition of frontier as a place or land where peoples from different cultures meet and interact.<sup>3</sup> This type of encounter has been a universal phenomenon since the beginnings of human history, which is essentially a history of encounters. In fact, human societies languish and cultures stagnate when they live in isolation. In contrast, contact; communication; and exchanges of people, ideas, and resources across frontiers are usually invigorating and may act as a fountain of social and cultural rejuvenation.<sup>4</sup> I envision a frontier as both a pane of glass, borrowing Carlos Fuentes's metaphor of *la frontera de cristal*, and as a mirror. We look through the frontier and see the Other, realizing that we are different from but not superior to them. The frontier is also like a mirror in which we

see ourselves as we really are. Exposure to frontier situations helps to reveal the best and the worst of our personalities and our deepest feelings. A frontier experience tests our personal beliefs and values, our capacities and limitations.<sup>5</sup>

A society and its individual members usually have a negative perception of their own frontier land and its inhabitants, perceiving that the periphery is less significant than the heartland and is marginal to national interests. Such attitudes are not necessarily accurate. In fact, a frontier has often been the vanguard of an expanding society or a bulwark against invaders or other enemies. Frontiers are lands that usually demand of their residents an extraordinary degree of courage, initiative, determination, and endurance in order to overcome extremely hard conditions.

\* \* \*

Whatever one's definition of frontier, there have been and are many frontiers in North America (defined geographically rather than only as the United States of America).<sup>6</sup> But two frontiers stand out from all others: the Spanish frontier, or the Spanish colonial northward expansion, and the American frontier, or the westward Anglo-American expansion. Both frontiers advanced not over empty lands but over lands inhabited by Native Americans, who should be given full consideration in any analysis of American frontiers. The Spanish and American frontiers largely overlap. They also present many differences and similarities that call for scientific, systematic comparison. The quantity and quality of the literature on the American frontier, that is, the American West, is certainly huge, beginning with Frederick Jackson Turner's seminal 1893 essay.<sup>7</sup> But the history of the American frontier is *domestic*; it is a history written by Anglos for Anglos. When comparisons with other frontiers are made, the references are to Canada, South Africa, Australia, and sometimes to independent Brazil and Argentina.<sup>8</sup>

The history of the so-called Spanish Borderlands is indeed a branch or offshoot of the academic tradition in American frontier

studies, but it immediately became a separate field, never an integral part of western historical scholarship. The Spanish frontier did not enter into U.S. history, perhaps because the early exploration, conquest, and colonization of the U.S. Southwest was a Spanish enterprise, not an Anglo-American one.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the history of the American frontier is written as a testimony to human greatness and endurance. It is the epic of men and women who won the West for the United States. American frontier history is also an exceptional case of glorification of pioneers and frontiersmen to the extent that the conquest of the West became a national myth and was virtually consecrated under the doctrine of Manifest Destiny.<sup>10</sup> The opposite is true of the perception and evaluation of the Spanish North as seen from both within and without. Spaniards and Mexicans never held a positive, sympathetic view of their own frontier, probably because they have different cultural values than Anglo-Americans.<sup>11</sup> Spanish settlers in the New World were very urban oriented. As soon as the heroic days of initial exploration and conquest were over, urban life became the ideal for men and women emigrating from Spain as well as for *criollos* (Spaniards born in the Americas).<sup>12</sup> The countryside was doubtless necessary as a source of food and other supplies. Gold and silver mining in remote areas was a foundation of the colonial and Spanish economies. But farming, ranching, and mining were businesses that primarily benefited the wealthy owners of lands and mines, who usually did not live out in the country, much less in frontier lands. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Anglo-Americans also developed a very negative view of the Spanish-Mexican North. Americans in general and more than a few U.S. academics subscribe to this disparaging view.<sup>13</sup>

But enough of generalities. Let us now move on to specifics of the scope of the Spanish North and how to refer to it. The issue of what we should call this frontier would not be particularly important except that some names are misleading, short-sighted, and even contrary to fact. Therefore, it is relevant to find an appropriate name

for a process hundreds of years long and still going on in many ways. Names may operate as straitjackets or as screens behind which a part of the whole picture is hidden. I believe that dividing the history of the Spanish North into discrete periods of time, and often investigating each as if it were entirely independent, results in several shortcomings in our understanding of its history. I am very much against breaking apart an immense geographical region only because the old Spanish North was later divided between Mexico and the United States.

My own preference among various possible names is Great Spanish North, paralleling the term Great American Desert, which was used in the early nineteenth century to refer to the land west of the Mississippi.<sup>14</sup> By the term Great Spanish North I do not mean to imply a value judgment, only a long, complex process that took place over a huge territory. I usually speak of the Great North for the sake of brevity, and to leave open the door of time to extend beyond the Spanish colonial period. (Incidentally, Great Hispanic North would be an even more appropriate name in order to encompass five hundred years of a cultural tradition.) A neutral term like the Great North is also free—provided the writer or speaker is personally free—from the human and historiographical prejudices commonly attached to the Mexican frontier and to the Spanish Borderlands, as Herbert E. Bolton named in 1921 the “regions between Florida and California.”<sup>15</sup> Spaniards used several descriptive names including *La Gran Chichimeca*, *la tierra de guerra*, *el Septentrión*, and *la América Septentrional*. From an administrative and political point of view, *Provincias Internas* was the most precise term to describe the Spanish domains in the north of New Spain. The history of the Great North can be considered equivalent to the history of the area where Spanish explorers, conquistadors, missionaries, and settlers entered *tierra adentro*, or inland. Whereas the Anglo-American advance was east to west from coast to coast, the Spanish advance was inland toward the north, between two seas and along three major corridors: eastern, central, and western. Their

goal from the beginning was to penetrate as far as possible to the interior of the continent.<sup>16</sup>

I realize that for many Americans it requires a change of perspective to think of a “north” down there as they look at the Spanish-Mexican frontier. But the North that Spaniards contemplated from Mexico City was like the West that migrants from the East faced after crossing the Mississippi. North and West are in both cases names written on the pages of history describing the relative realities of the people who wrote those pages. Early in the course of Anglo settlement, what is now the southeastern United States was referred to as the “Southwest.” [With later U.S. expansion, it became necessary to differentiate the “Old Southwest” (i.e., the southeast) from the new “Southwest.”] There are also significant disagreements among anthropologists and historians about the scope of the Spanish North and of the U.S. Southwest. U.S. anthropologists, in their study of native peoples include northwest Mexico in the so-called Greater Southwest;<sup>17</sup> on the other hand, Mexican anthropologists and historians reject the term *Southwest* as ethnocentric, and obviously, they would not accept the term Greater Southwest for describing a good part of northern Mexico. But many Mexican historians stop at the present international border when dealing with Old Mexico or colonial New Spain. The reason for this is generally not made explicit, but it might be due to a narrow conception of their nation’s history, a sense of delicacy toward their northern neighbor, or an unacknowledged disregard for a land that is not theirs because it was lost after the Mexican War. However, the Aztecs occupy such a prominent space in the national image and in the identity of Mexicans that they tend to overlook not only their Spanish ancestry, but also the history of other native peoples and cultures of Mexico.

In short, there are many academic and political dividing lines that distort history and sometimes make the present difficult to explain. If nature and history created the Great Spanish North, policymakers drew boundaries on maps, while scholars—with

outstanding exceptions—created historiographical frontiers that are evident in research and in textbooks. These frontiers have compartmentalized the region’s history around periods or national boundaries: colonial or Latin American history, Mexican history, American or U.S. history, western history. My own approach to the Great North seeks to be comprehensive in terms of space, time, and peoples. I contend that we must begin with the first Indian-European encounters and march from central Mexico toward the north, following the course of history. By navigating from the beginning along the stream of events, we avoid limiting our picture to the tail of the dog, to use Herbert Bolton’s phrase.<sup>18</sup> Bolton’s warning was and still is justified because in American historiography, the Spanish frontier is usually seen from the top down. I would add that the Rio Grande limit reduces the picture to the tip of the dog’s tail. Such a restriction in space and time ignores the longest and most substantial part of the frontier process.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, this shortened story underrates the Spanish northern advance and colonization, usually described as a “failure” in comparison to the “successful” American western advance.

What do we see when we look at the Spanish North from a full south-north perspective and within a continental, not a national, context? We see an immense territory many times larger than Spain and much larger than the Republic of Mexico. We see an arid, mostly barren land where agriculture and sedentary life were possible only in certain portions of New Mexico and Arizona, and northern Mexico.<sup>20</sup> We see a land inhabited by bands and tribes of nomadic or semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers who maintained a pattern of warfare against their neighbors. We see a land that the Aztecs and other indigenous city-states of central Mexico ignored because it did not offer them the kind of resources they were after—mainly tribute extracted from conquered peoples.<sup>21</sup>

Sedentary and nomadic Indians had been separated for millennia by a natural ecological barrier. Indeed, geography conditioned the history of pre-Hispanic Mexico, the Spanish colonial period,

and independent Mexico, and it still deeply affects the present. In other words, physical environment is the permanent agent in the continuing history of the Great North. A combination of demographic, economic, and international factors—mostly derived from geography—marks the history of the old Spanish North as well as the present U.S. Southwest. That is why I stress that the physical environment is the all-important foundation of the process of “continuing frontiers” dwelt upon in these symposium proceedings. I am not deterministic, but neither can I disregard how much nature conditions human life and the course of history. We have only to mention the kind of warfare hunter-gatherer Indians waged against Spaniards, Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans; the role played in the frontier economy by silver and cattle, and to a lesser extent, agriculture; the role played by northerners, or *norteros*, in the Mexican Revolution; or the socioeconomic imbalance between northern and central Mexico to see nature’s influence. The imbalance is stronger and more dramatic when the two sides of the international border are compared.<sup>22</sup> In pre-industrial times, Indians and Spaniards were forced to adapt to the ecosystem. Spaniards introduced new plants and animals, and applied more efficient technologies, but the environment placed strong limitations on the economy and on social development. In contrast, the Anglo-American advance—coincidental with the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution—progressed side by side with the railway, the telegraph, and the appearance of automatic weapons. These technological innovations are largely responsible for winning the West.

Having acknowledged the influence of physical environment on North American frontiers, I should also emphasize that frontiers are the product of human history, resulting essentially from human action. The Great Spanish North as a historical entity was born right after the fall of the Aztecs in 1521. Inland explorations north of the Valley of Mexico took many routes, while Spanish vessels sailed along the Pacific coast as far as northern California.<sup>23</sup> Thus was born a process that as time passed preserved existing elements while

incorporating new ones via adaptation, transformation, and innovation. It came to be a centuries-long, as-yet-unfinished process, an unbroken chain as resistant as iron yet as flexible as a string of turquoise beads.

A silver strike in Zacatecas in 1546 prompted the first North American mining boom three hundred years before the California gold rush. The search for gold and silver, and the task of Christianizing and educating Indians, whom the Spaniards hoped to put to work, pushed the first conquistadors to cross into the Great North. The Spanish program could hardly be implemented on nomadic Indians, however. The so-called Indian War in the history of the U.S. West was the rule on the Spanish North for centuries. The last Indian wars were actually waged by Mexicans and Americans on their respective sides of the border only a little more than one hundred years ago.<sup>24</sup> But despite wars and rebellions, the settling of frontier lands continued throughout the colonial period. Spaniards from Mexico and Spain slowly but steadily populated the North. Indians from central Mexico also participated in the process, and race mixture, or *mestizaje*, became a characteristic of frontier society. The earliest front of the Spanish advance was as near to Mexico City as Guadalajara and Zacatecas. Other smaller settlements were even closer to the metropolis.<sup>25</sup> With the passing of time, some areas lost their frontier character, in the sense that warfare decreased as crown control increased. But despite the precarious dominion over the Indians, the poverty of the soil, and the ups and downs of mining, the Spanish North was an unquestionable reality in the sixteenth century. An *audiencia*, or higher court of justice, was founded in Guadalajara in 1549. The first bishop of Guadalajara had arrived the year before. The first governor of the huge province of Nueva Vizcaya took possession of his office in Durango in 1562, in the midst of what was then the frontier. The bishopric of Durango was founded in 1621. Its jurisdiction included New Mexico until the U.S. annexation of that province. Finally, jumping across space and time, San Francisco was founded in 1776.

By the late eighteenth century, the Provincias Internas were a well-defined and better-organized political entity. The Spanish crown was in those years strongly determined to defend the Far North from Apaches and Comanches, and from the threat posed by French, English, and Russian presence. The Commandancy General of the Interior Provinces of Northern New Spain was created in 1776, incorporating Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California, Alta California, Durango, Chihuahua, Nuevo México, and Texas. Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander were later added to the Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas. At the time southern Arizona was part of Sonora, while northeastern Arizona was part of New Mexico.<sup>26</sup> The Republic of Mexico inherited this political map, and it remained unchanged until the mid-nineteenth century, when the Texas annexation (1845), the Mexican War (1846–1848), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and the Gadsden Purchase (1853) restructured it.<sup>27</sup> These events belong to the history of American imperial expansion. In any case, my interest is not in summarizing well-known events but rather in showing how political boundaries changed over time while the flow of social life and the social interactions of the diverse population of the Great North progressed along a continuum based on culture rather than politics. As a matter of fact, the demographic and cultural flow that for generations has been running north into the United States is today wider and stronger than ever before. Indians, Hispanics, Mexicans, Chicanos, and Anglos all share a frontier space, defined once again as a land or place where diverse people meet and interact.<sup>28</sup> The old Spanish Far North remains a world of continuing, crossing, crossbreeding, intertwining frontiers. Meanwhile, the U.S.–Mexico border is an increasingly blurred line for millions of Mexicans, American Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Latin Americans in general.<sup>29</sup>

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To conclude, the dual idea of *continuing* frontiers over time and of *contiguous* frontiers within a given space seems to me especially

cogent for a better understanding of the U.S. Southwest—that is, of a substantial part of the old Spanish North—or of the American West, for that matter. My emphasis on continuity does not necessarily imply that either of these two frontiers was static. Indeed, the full history of the Great Northern frontier is composed of a number of phases, some of them coincidental in time and space with the evolution of the American West. The Spanish colonial period can be subdivided into an early phase of exploration and conquest, a time of consolidation, and the Bourbon period with its significant reforms. The short Mexican period of the Far North constitutes another phase of both continuity and change, but it has scarcely been studied and has generally been treated in the United States with ethnocentrism and imbalance. The stories of the more recent past and of the present on both sides of the border also demand more attention in the context of continuing frontiers.<sup>30</sup>

The U.S. Southwest is the theater of a pluralistic society made up of a number of ethnic groups and subgroups. Every Spanish-speaking subgroup shares with all the others a common tradition defined by language, a belief and value system, and a pattern of family relationships; in one word, a culture.<sup>31</sup> The Indian population of the Southwest—Pueblos and Navajos, in particular—also participates in the Hispanic tradition. And so do the Anglos to a certain extent, though many Anglos in the Southwest and beyond are largely oblivious of the Spanish influences in the general culture of the American West. The Southwest is a world of many and diverse types of frontiers.<sup>32</sup> It can be conceived of as a polyhedral figure, with each internal frontier being one face of the figure. Each person living in this pluralistic, multicultural society has more than one face-to-face relationship with another culture; each is exposed simultaneously to several facets, or faces, of relationships in daily life and at all levels of social interaction. Each group, and its individual members, has to weigh and manage the benefits and drawbacks of this kind of society.

If we take a broader perspective on the course of this region's

history, some conclusions become evident. The Great Spanish North was a subsystem of the viceroyalty of New Spain. This viceroyalty was, in turn, the greatest political entity of the Spanish imperial system in North America.<sup>33</sup> The Spanish Borderlands were not just an appendix of the American West—as conventional American historiography generally leads us to believe—but the far north of a continental empire. This historical fact explains the many connections and similarities between the Spanish North—the Provincias Internas—and the rest of Mexico and Hispanic America in general. The Mexican War broke the old Spanish North into two unequal parts, but the Spanish cultural tradition has persisted on both sides of the border. For Hispanics in the American Southwest, however, the new political situation meant a sudden encounter with another frontier, with other people, and a new feeling that they were now living on the periphery of two, not one, American nations—Mexico and the United States. That is why only history, assisted by other social sciences, can explain, for example, why Arizona and New Mexico did not enter the Union until 1912, sixty-two years later than California.

The U.S. Southwest, in its broadest sense, became in the nineteenth century the only region in the Americas where the two great branches of Western civilization—the Hispanic and the Anglo-Saxon—met and brought about a unique frontier land.<sup>34</sup> The overlapping of space, time, and peoples probably accounts for the key traits that define the former Spanish Far North and a good part of the American West as a whole. A candid acceptance of such overlap might help to reduce conceptual and intellectual divergences and historical and thematic discontinuities. David H. Thomas has proposed taking a “Cubist perspective” to gain a more thorough understanding of the Spanish borderlands experience; that is, whereas Renaissance art had a single perspective, cubist artists like Picasso experimented with multiple perspectives.<sup>35</sup> I would propose still another metaphor in any attempt to comprehend the past and the present of the land that stretches from Texas to California. Like

the ancient Roman god Janus, who had two faces back to back, the Spanish North and the American West may be thought of as two faces of one great phenomenon. This dual-faced reality allows for two different though related, complementary yet alternating, perspectives of the past and of the present, neither of which can be ignored or disregarded. Such an interpretation might take us closer to reality, even though historic reality can never be grasped in absolute terms.

A growing phenomenon of immigration and social and cultural interaction is taking place in the Southwest and other areas of the United States.<sup>36</sup> In this respect, the persistence of certain negative perceptions is a serious handicap. U.S. Hispanics in general suffer from a sort of complex because they are viewed as a colored minority, as “foreigners [though] in their own land,”<sup>37</sup> as descendants of colonial, Catholic Spain. This feeling interacts with a lack of knowledge, or a poor knowledge, of English, and consequently with low levels of income, health, and education. But contemporary Hispanics should recognize that they are not responsible for any action, good or evil, committed by imperial Spain. On the other hand, they should be aware of—indeed proud of—being the descendants and legitimate heirs of a cultural tradition as noble as any other European or American national tradition. The Hispanic civilization today is represented by four hundred million Spanish-speaking people in twenty nations. The majority of Hispanics, Chicanos in particular, are connected with the past through Mexico; and all Spanish-speaking groups are also connected with an older European past through Spain, which today operates as a two-way bridge across the Atlantic. This relationship with Spain is analogous to the relationship that Anglos may claim to the United Kingdom, or to Europe for that matter.

However, the first priority for Hispanics—the largest minority in the United States—is their full assimilation into mainstream American society. This is not a goal to be achieved at the unnecessary price of losing their cultural identity, which has been enriched

by a centuries-long interaction with the land and with its Indian peoples and traditions, particularly in the Southwest. Hispanics should be conscious of the importance of being bilingual, to speak the two most common languages spoken today in an increasingly globalized society. Indians, Hispanics, and Anglos have a common responsibility: to preserve this region as a land of continuing frontiers, provided that frontiers mean dignified human diversity, cultural richness, opportunities for all, and attraction of visitors and prospective residents. The diverse population of the U.S. Southwest is facing increasing challenges for peaceful coexistence but also a promising future for human relationships. In fact, history has placed the population of the Southwest in the vanguard of a global process that I hope might bring about a “world without frontiers,” a world where racial and cultural differences are seen as a sign of nothing more than human diversity.

## Discussion

**Q:** One thing I think is interesting about what Alfredo said relates to the whole question of the Turner thesis and the frontier, which is definitely a national myth for us Anglo-Americans. Turner’s idea was that a more egalitarian society developed in the United States because the expanding frontier constantly provided an escape valve. There have been some studies that looked at why the Turner thesis never applied to northern Mexico. Some scholars have tried to apply it, but it didn’t work very well, and David Weber actually has written about that. Alfredo mentioned that a lot of the difference is accounted for by the fact that colonial Spanish society was very urban oriented, where landowners and powerful people in the north didn’t actually live out in the countryside. But I think there are probably some other reasons why the Turner thesis didn’t apply in Mexico. Why didn’t it work there?

**A:** You mean, why were there different perceptions of these

frontiers? Well, there were several elements or factors. There is the time factor. The Spanish enterprise began very early in the sixteenth century, essentially in 1492. The American frontier is a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. Sixteenth-century Spaniards were leaving Spain for glory, richness, and evangelizing Indians. What was the point of emigrating from Extremadura, Andalusia, or Castile simply to farm land in the New World when they had that opportunity in Spain? In contrast, the people who emigrated from Europe from the time of the *Mayflower* through the nineteenth century were seeking freedom. They were farming-minded. They wanted a piece of land to work with their hands—a free land, or an empty land, so they were happy to have that land. Whether *hidalgos* (nobles) or very poor people, the conquerors who came to Mexico dreamed of something else: Only gold and silver could induce them to travel so far from Spain. And the policy of the Spanish crown was to civilize the New World by establishing pueblos for Indians and cities (*villas*) for Spaniards. Colonial Spaniards wanted to retain this kind of community—so traditional in Spain but older than Spain itself, dating back to Greece and Rome—of cities, of communities, of daily communication. So I think the British and the Spaniards had a very different perception or attitude toward life. Even the Spanish governors and bishops sent to colonize the New World went there when they had no other choice but to go. Even friars in certain times preferred to live in Mexico City, Guadalajara, or Puebla, in those places where they had the same kind of life they had had in Spain and were expecting to repeat in the New World.

**Q:** Your comments, especially your last comments, raise the question of how Spanish the settlement of the North really was. I'm a U.S. historian, but I do read in Latin America, and if I remember right, from the very earliest Spanish settlements in the north—I'm talking about Oñate's settlement in New Mexico in 1598—to the last settlements in California, mestizos and Indians

were always a large, if not a predominant, part of that settlement process. So we know that large numbers of Tlaxcalans came with Oñate and followed in the years to come, and helped resettle New Mexico in 1692 in the wake of the Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1680. We know that there was only one Spaniard on the expedition that founded the city of Los Angeles, and they sent him back because they said he didn't work hard enough; they said he was lazy. All the rest were mestizos and Indians. So the question then is, How Spanish was this settlement to begin with? Given that the process happened over hundreds of years and that Mexican cultures were developing there at the time, isn't it something else? I mean, it occurred under the aegis of the Spanish crown, but I think that it's more complicated than that.

**A:** Again, the way the Americans colonized was very different, because in the case of Spain, colonization was a crown enterprise. People came to these lands through a contract with the crown to explore, conquer, and settle. They received some privileges, but with the obligation of founding settlements, and this is what Oñate did as soon as he got as far as he could. This is what Hernan Cortés did when he fled from the domain of the governor of Cuba just to be free to do so in a personal relationship with the crown. He landed where Veracruz is today and founded the city of Veracruz. And settlement meant only to have a cross and draw lines and produce what features will be in plans and buildings and such. This was the policy. It was entirely an official crown political enterprise guided under the regulations of the Laws of the Indies. Actually, Phillip II was even stricter about this than preceding monarchs. Compare this situation with the circumstances of migrants from Britain and Central Europe—free to do whatever they wanted in their land. The law would come later on, but at the beginning, everyone was the master of a piece of land. In contrast, any landownership by a Spaniard was a privilege awarded by the crown as payment for the conquest of the land and the Christianizing of

Indians. The church also has to be taken into account here. Colonization was a crown and a church enterprise. And these two different philosophies explain why the remote lands were not appreciated unless there was silver or other possibilities for profit.

## Notes

1. For practical reasons, in this chapter I will generally use *Southwest* to refer to the land that stretches from Texas to California. On the various names and scopes applied to the Southwest, see below.

2. Several other words are related to the term *frontier*. As Edward Spicer points out, “The term *borderland* is ambiguous enough to encompass both boundary and frontiers. This lack of precision is convenient, since borderlands scholars are sometimes concerned with one and sometimes with the other. *Boundary* denotes a new concept that dates only from the rise of nation-states in modern Europe (Spicer, 1976). . . . *Frontier* denotes a phenomenon as old as differences in societies and cultures.” Paul Kutsche, “Borders and Frontiers,” in *Borderlands Sourcebook: A Guide to the Literature on Northern Mexico and the American Southwest*, ed. Ellwyn R. Stoddard, Richard L. Nostrand, and Jonathan P. West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 16. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron distinguish *frontier* from *border* and *borderland* in the context of three regions: the Great Lakes, the lower Missouri Valley, and the greater Rio Grande Basin, saying, “[W]e seek to disentangle frontiers from borderlands. . . . By frontier, we understand a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined. . . . [W]e reserve the designation of borderlands for the contested boundaries between colonial domains. . . . This shift from inter-imperial struggle to international coexistence turned borderlands into *bordered* lands.” Adelman and Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the People in Between in North American History,” *American Historical Review* 104 (June 1999): 815–16.

3. This definition is implicit in the title of a book edited by David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch, *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994). The editors’ introduction is in itself an essay about concepts and historical developments related to frontiers in the Americas.

4. A classic anthropologist said with regard to culture contact that “in so far as history is more than the story of particular events and particular individuals and deals with social and cultural changes, a large part of all history the world over, possibly more than half of it, deals ultimately with the results of intercultural influencing—that is, acculturation.” Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1947), 425.

5. Mexican Carlos Fuentes authored a collection of short stories under the general title *La frontera de cristal* (Madrid: Santillana, 1996), which is also the title of one story in the book. The Mexican edition (1995) is entitled *La frontera cristalina*.

6. See Alfredo Jiménez, “La frontera en América: observaciones críticas y sugerencias,” in *Estudios americanistas en homenaje al Dr. José Antonio Calderón Quijano*, ed. Justina Sarabia et al. (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos), 475–94.

7. Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” in *Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1894), 199–227. *American frontier* and *American West* basically refer to the same phenomenon. It has long been a matter of discussion whether the American frontier was a place or a process. It may be said to have been both. This dual quality is clearer still in the case of the Spanish northern frontier.

8. Jiménez, “La frontera en América,” 488–89.

9. See Alfredo Jiménez, “El Lejano Norte español: cómo escapar del *American West* y de las *Spanish Borderlands*,” *CLAHR (Colonial Latin American Historical Review)* 5 (Fall 1996): 109–23.

10. See Alfredo Jiménez, “La historia como fabricación del pasado: la frontera del Oeste o *American West*,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 58 (2001): 737–55. About and against the myth of the American West, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950); Robert G. Athearn, *The Mythic West in Twentieth-Century America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986); Donald Worster, “Beyond the Agrarian Myth,” in *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, ed. Patricia N. Limerick, Clyde A. Millner, and Charles E. Rankin (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991); Gerald D. Nash, *Creating*

*the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890–1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

11. For a general, one-volume history of Spain in the New World, see Guillermo Céspedes, *La América hispánica, 1492–1898* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1983). See also James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

12. Though the circumstances are different, the contemporary migration within Latin America in general, and into the United States in particular, is from rural areas to cities, even megalopolises. Urban frontiers appear to have replaced the wilderness, or empty, free lands, of old times. The urban milieu is not only the destination for millions of people in the Americas, but is supposedly serving as the “safety valve” that the American West was in the nineteenth century, in terms of offering opportunities to escape from poverty.

13. See, for example, Weber, “‘Scarce More Than Apes’: Historical Roots of Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans in the Border Region,” in Weber, *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 153–67. On hispanophobia and hispanophilia see also Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 353–60.

14. “It was widely rumored in the early nineteenth century that a vast, sandy, and essentially worthless tract of Sahara-like land lay somewhere in the trans-Mississippi River Region. This area was denominated the ‘Great American Desert’ by the Stephen H. Long expedition of 1819–1820, which was a part of the ambitious Yellowstone expedition designed to establish an American presence in a frontier region only vaguely known, but allegedly infiltrated by avaricious fur traders of other nationalities.” Terry L. Alford, “The West as a Desert in American Thought Prior to Long’s 1819–1820 Expedition,” *Journal of the West* 8 (1969), 515. Walter Prescott Webb spoke of “the Great Frontier” in reference “to all the new lands discovered [by Europe] at the opening of the sixteenth century.” Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952), vii.

15. For an enlightening discussion about names, see David J. Weber, “John Francis Bannon and the Historiography of the Spanish Borderlands:

Retrospect and Prospect,” in *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 55–88; Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921). Bolton’s body of work has been the subject of intense criticism for his emphasis on official Spanish institutions—the presidio and the mission—and for his sympathetic view of Spanish colonization. For a balanced historiographical synthesis of Bolton and his students, placed in context, see David J. Weber, “Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands,” and “John Francis Bannon,” both in *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest*, 33–54 and 55–88, respectively.

16. The Royal Road of the Interior Lands, or El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, was the main axis of the Provincias Internas, connecting Mexico City with Santa Fe, New Mexico, a distance of 1,800 miles. See Gabrielle G. Palmer, comp., *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, Cultural Resources Series No. 11 (Santa Fe: New Mexico Bureau of Land Management, 1993); María Luisa Pérez-González, “Royal Roads in the Old and the New World: The Camino de Oñate and Its Importance in the Spanish Settlement of New Mexico,” *CLAHR* 7 (Spring 1998): 191–218.

17. See the volume organization and individual contributions in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Southwest*, vol. 10 of *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1983).

18. “With a vision limited by the Rio Grande, and noting that Spain’s outposts within the area now embraced in the United States were slender, and that these fringes eventually fell into the hands of the Anglo-Americans, writers concluded that Spain did not really colonize, and that, after all, she failed. The fallacy came, of course, from mistaking the tail for the dog, and then leaving the dog out of the picture. The real Spanish America, the dog, lay between the Rio Grande and Buenos Aires. The part of the animal lying north of the Rio Grande was only the tail.” Bolton, “Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands,” in *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, ed. John Francis Bannon (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 34.

19. Howard F. Cline considered an even larger perspective when he proposed “some general or appropriate synthesis of the Greater Borderlands, including the Central American, Caribbean, and Gulf peripheries, together with the vast area of Aridamérica. Although apparently widely

separated in space, because of their similar relationships to the heartland and to the metropolis in Spain, I suspect that many important likenesses, as well as critical divergences, would appear.” Cline, “Imperial Perspectives on the Borderlands,” in *Probing the American West*, ed. K. Ross Toole et al. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1962), 173. The most comprehensive scope for the Spanish North is given by Peter Gerhard in *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). His definition encompasses Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, Sinaloa y Sonora, Baja California, Alta California, Nuevo México, Coahuila, Texas, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander. I fully endorse such a wide geographic scope. See also Oakah L. Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979). See also Alfredo Jiménez, *El Gran Norte de México. Una frontera imperial en la Nueva España (1540-1820)* (Editorial Tébar, Madrid, 2006).

20. The terms Aridamerica and Oasisamerica have been used to define, respectively, the majority of the land and the better watered portions of it.

21. On the prevalence of warfare in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, especially the Aztecs’ war against other Mexican states, see Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); and *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* (London and New York: Longman, 1994).

22. For a complete yet concise geographic and temporal coverage of Mesoamerica, the northern frontier, and Central America, see Mary W. Helms, *Middle America: A Culture History of Heartland and Frontiers* (Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall., 1975); for a one-volume full history of Mexico, see Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); see also Brian Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For a brief historical overview and interpretation of the Mexican north see Miguel León-Portilla, “The Norteño Variety of Mexican Culture: An Ethnohistorical Approach,” in *Plural Society in the Southwest*, ed. Edward H. Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson (New York: Interbook, 1972), 77-114.

23. Gerhard, *North Frontier of New Spain*; Weber, *Spanish Frontier in North America*. For a summary of the Spanish northward expansion, see Weber,

“The Spanish-Mexican Rim,” in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner, Carol A. O’Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 45–77. A variety of topics and authors appear in David J. Weber, ed., *New Spain’s Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540–1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979). The most comprehensive work on the Spanish Borderlands in terms of scope and content is the three-volume series edited by David Hurst Thomas under the general title of *Columbian Consequences* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989–1991).

24. See, for example, several contributions in Ortiz, *Southwest*.

25. For the Spanish advance and Indian resistance to it in the sixteenth century, see Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1500–1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952); and *The Taming of America’s First Frontier, 1548–1597* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977).

26. Edmundo O’Gorman, *Historia de las divisiones territoriales de México* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa: 1966). The most complete and best-documented history of the late Spanish period is Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1964). For the last years of the Provincias Internas, see Navarro García, *Las Provincias Internas en el siglo XIX* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1965).

27. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo meant for Mexico the loss of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and parts of Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, and Wyoming. The treaty also settled the Texas border dispute, placing the Texas-Mexico boundary at the Rio Grande. The United States bought a strip of land south of the Gila River in Arizona and New Mexico from Mexico in 1853 for \$10 million under the Gadsden Purchase.

28. Short and very much to the point are the contributions regarding contemporary border life in Stoddard, Nostrand, and West, *Borderlands Sourcebook*. A good general reference is Nicolás Kanellos and Claudio Esteva-Fabregat, gen. eds., *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1994). Volume editors are Alfredo Jiménez, *History*; Francisco Lomelí, *Literature and Art*; Félix Padilla, *Sociology*; and Thomas Weaver, *Anthropology*.

29. “The convergence of Anglos and Latins has produced a distinctive Borderlands culture, and while this culture is becoming increasingly complex, its subcultures are still identifiable as Mexican Americans, Hispanicized southwesterners, ‘American Mexicans,’ Anglicized *norteños*, and the hybrid, borderline people. In perspective, the Mexican American subculture would appear to be the Borderlands’ product of singular importance.” Richard L. Nostrand, “A Changing Culture Region,” in Stoddard, Nostrand, and West, *Borderlands Sourcebook*, 13.

30. On the needs and flaws in the history of the Mexican period see David Weber, “Mexico’s Far Northern Frontier, 1821–1854: Historiography Askew,” in Weber, *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest*, 89–104. For the history of the Mexican period, see Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

31. See contributions in Stoddard, Nostrand, and West, *Borderlands Sourcebook*.

32. A typology is a useful instrument for dealing with complex, diverse phenomena of this type; see Alfredo Jiménez, “El fenómeno de frontera y sus variables. Notas para una tipología,” *Estudios Fronterizos* 40 (1997): 11–25.

33. There were three other viceroyalties: Perú (Lima), Río de la Plata (Buenos Aires), and Nueva Granada (Bogotá). All of native Mesoamerica, the present-day republics of Central America, and the unending northern lands comprised the viceroyalty of New Spain. Middle America is generally defined as the totality of the Republic of Mexico plus the six Central American republics. There were in pre-Hispanic times some relationships between Mesoamerica and the Southwest. See Mary W. Helms, *Middle America*; R. A. Pailes and Joseph W. Whitecotton, “The Greater Southwest and the Mesoamerican ‘World’ System: An Exploratory Model of Frontier Relationship,” in *The Frontier: Comparative Studies*, ed. William Savage and Stephen I. Thompson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 105–121.

34. Bolton expressed this idea in the early years of the last century. See Burl Noggle, “Anglo Observers of the Southwest Borderlands, 1825–1890: The Rise of a Concept,” *Arizona and the West* 1 (Summer 1959): 105–31; David

Weber, "The Idea of the Spanish Borderlands," in Thomas, *Columbian Consequences*, III: 7.

35. Thomas said, "In place of the familiar Renaissance vantage point, cubists substituted the radical notion that perspective can be shifted at will . . . . Like the early twentieth-century cubists, we think that a more coherent depiction of reality can be obtained by looking for such fresh perspectives—provided we are willing to change such viewpoints frequently." Thomas, "Columbian Consequences: The Spanish Borderlands in Cubist Perspective," in *Columbian Consequences*, I: 6–7. R. L. Nostrand speaks of "images" in his temporal-spatial perspective of the Norte and the Southwest. See Nostrand, "A Changing Culture Region."

36. Puerto Ricans and Cubans have created other internal frontiers in the United States, though these result from quite different causes and circumstances. A lack of land contiguity with, and of historical roots on, U.S. soil; the absence of the native Indian component; the presence of an Afro-American component; and different political situations account for significant dissimilarities between the Puerto Rican/Cuban and the Southwest phenomena. The three great Spanish-speaking groups in the United States do share significant traits and issues, however, so I highly recommend comparative analysis and interdisciplinary research.

37. This is the title of a compilation edited by David Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973).

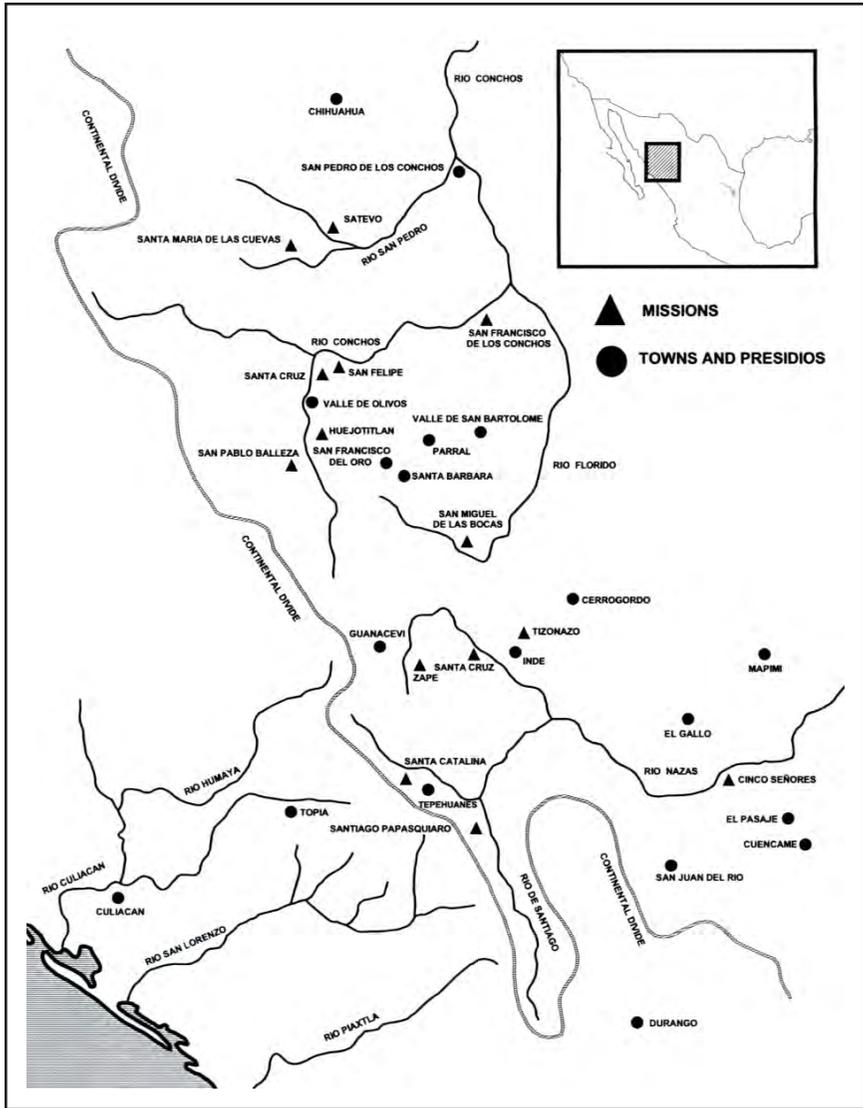
# Missions as Transactional and Transitional Crossroads: A Case from Nueva Vizcaya

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My topic, the mission, is one of the institutions that has been very closely connected with the Spanish borderlands, and with the coiner of the term *borderlands*, Herbert E. Bolton himself.<sup>1</sup> (The other institution is, of course, the presidio.) In recent years, Bolton and the borderlands historians who followed him have been criticized for their excessive attention to the Spanish side of interactions in Spain's Provincias Internas and the concomitant neglect of indigenous peoples. But even before that, scholars had begun to remedy this deficiency—most notably Edward H. Spicer whose *Cycles of Conquest* is still a powerful synthesis of the indigenous responses to and survivals of colonial rule in the Greater Southwest or, from the Mexican perspective, the Greater Northwest or Gran Chichimeca.<sup>2</sup> Of course, Spicer was an anthropologist, and it is interesting that it took historians some time to begin delving into the indigenous past of the region. Only relatively recently have historians employed ethnohistorical approaches in studying the borderlands. Some of this work is situated within an evolving “new mission history.”<sup>3</sup> Recent studies have led the way in exploring not only how Indians responded to reorganization in missions, but also the ties between missions (Jesuit and Franciscan) and surrounding Spanish settlements, especially in terms of the relationships among ethnicity, demography, and subsistence patterns.

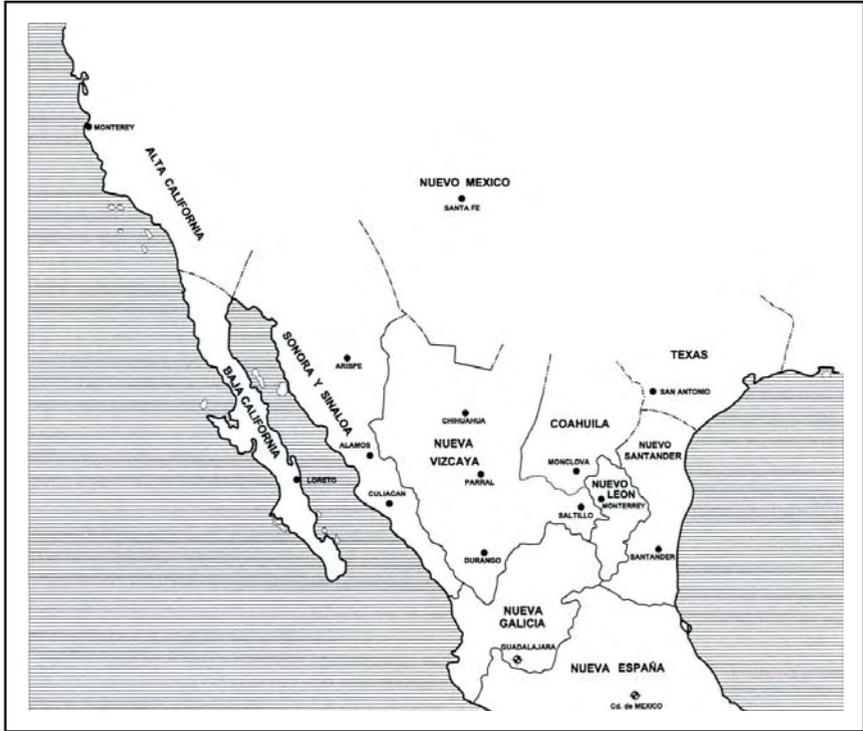
In 1752, *corregidor* Antonio Gutiérrez, who was the main official



*Nueva Vizcaya (Durango and Chihuahua) in the eighteenth century.*

of Chihuahua City, complained to the viceroy of New Spain that the Franciscan missions of his jurisdiction were not really missions, but rather opulent haciendas.<sup>4</sup> This was not a new charge by civil officials of northern New Spain against Franciscan and Jesuit missions. A century earlier, not long after initiating their evangelization program in Nueva Vizcaya, the Jesuits had been forced to defend themselves in the *audiencia* court in Guadalajara against accusations that they were earning huge profits from the grain and livestock production of their missions.<sup>5</sup> Royal officials were especially troubled by the fact that the religious orders claimed exemption from the tithe on agricultural produce; they also charged that mission Indians did not receive compensation for their labor. In this instance, the Jesuits succeeded in avoiding tithe payments, but in 1670 royal officials ordered that they had to pay Indians who provided labor on lands destined for the support of the mission church or for commercial production.<sup>6</sup> In both of these cases, as in the repeated allegations that intervened, secular claims were exaggerated since, for the most part, the Jesuit missionary enterprise was not profitable for the order.

Nonetheless, these cases do point to the myriad economic connections between missions and surrounding Spanish settlements. I have detailed many of these ties regarding land and labor in previous articles and in my book on Chihuahua and Durango for the period from 1600 to 1750.<sup>7</sup> In *Wandering Peoples*, Cynthia Radding not only delineates these economic relationships for northern Sonora in the period from 1750 to 1850, she also associates them with changes in ethnicity and subsistence patterns. For this later period, Steven Hackel has also contributed nuanced explanations of the participation of mission Indians in California's colonial economy.<sup>8</sup> These and other studies of the past decade have increasingly revealed demographic patterns and other previously unexplored facets of mission history, highlighting, in particular, their porous boundaries and the ways in which they were "contested ground."<sup>9</sup> Some very early studies had pointed the way; for



*Administrative jurisdictions of the Provincias Internas.*

example, Robert West's 1949 study of silver mining in Parral alluded to labor and commercial relationships with mission Indians. Nonetheless, the longstanding and now outdated view of missions portrayed them idealistically as bounded, disciplined communities, forged out of conditions of savagery by heroic, occasionally martyred, religious fathers.<sup>10</sup> A quite different perspective emphasizes not only the material ways missions were linked to the outside world, but also their persistent cultural and ethnic interchanges, explaining why they were inherently unstable.<sup>11</sup>

The missions I have studied among five different Indian groups—Tarahumaras, Conchos, Tepehuanes, Acaxees, and Xiximes—in Nueva Vizcaya (today's Chihuahua, Durango, and eastern Sinaloa) also counterpose a different panorama. Many of the indigenous peoples in the north were semi-sedentary, practicing some agriculture complemented by hunting and gathering. But the intensity of these practices differed across groups. The Acaxees and Xiximes exhibited more settled features in common with groups farther to the south in the area that we would consider to be Mesoamerica. The Conchos perhaps were the least sedentary, although some anthropologists have argued that they actually became more mobile after Europeans arrived, taking up the horse and using it as a way to avoid incorporation by the Spaniards. The Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras fell between these two poles, exhibiting the *ranchería* features described by Spicer for many of the "greater southwestern" groups including Yaquis and Pimas.<sup>12</sup> We should note that there was a good deal of interaction (peaceful and hostile) between groups in the larger border region both before and after conquest. Among mission peoples many factors—including mining and agricultural economies, ecology, disease and its effects on demography, geographic mobility, raiding by non-sedentary groups, ethnic mixing, popular beliefs, and even the mission regime itself—contributed to forging new networks of social, economic, and cultural exchange. These factors interacted in variable ways in different mission areas and produced divergent outcomes for

indigenous groups, but in no case was a mission a closed community. Missions were transactional and transitional crossroads where ethnic identities, subsistence patterns, and cultural beliefs evolved in uneven metamorphoses at the same time that the attempted Spanish conquest of this frontier operated in fits and starts. The delays and intermittent character of this conquest were dictated by unfavorable geography and ecology, logistical problems of distance and supply, and the hostility of indigenous groups unused to incorporation in a state (albeit a weak one in this frontier situation).

Transactions and transitions in the missions clearly imply exchanges—however unequal—between and among different groups. Since they were carried out under fluctuating conditions, neither Spaniards nor Indians had concerted, consistent strategies for dealing with each other, but over time the balance shifted to facilitate incorporation of mission pueblos into the Spanish orbit. Of course, not all Indians acquiesced to pueblo life, and a topic I am particularly interested in is why and how some groups were able to persist as distinct ethnic groups, whereas others were incorporated into the Spanish mission system and lost their Indian identities.

Part of the answer to this question lies in flight and isolation. This is the story of those Tarahumaras and Tepehuanes who fled west to establish *rancherías* in the rugged and inhospitable canyons of the Sierra Madre after their attempted insurrections to expel Spaniards were defeated, respectively, in the second and last decades of the seventeenth century. In areas of little material interest to Spanish miners and ranchers, they were able to persist as distinct ethnic groups, in contrast to the Conchos, Acaxees, and Xiximes. Other southwestern peoples, for example Hopis and Navajos, aided by isolation from resources coveted by Spaniards also resisted incorporation in missions.

But even incorporation was not a phenomenon that can be characterized only as exploitation and destructuration. Missions did serve Spanish interests by congregating previously dispersed populations and making them available for labor service, and they did

propagate a new set of moral rules about monogamy, marriage, and property that disrupted native ritual practices designed to foster harmony in relations with supernatural forces and material sustenance. In the process, however, indigenous peoples demonstrated great ingenuity in carving out spaces and benefits for themselves both within and outside the missions. As time went on they also mixed rather freely with non-Indians in forging new social networks. How did these patterns manifest themselves? Obviously, I do not have the scope here to provide a detailed answer to this question. First let me suggest how this worked in very general ways, then I will try to illustrate with specific examples for a particular place and time.<sup>13</sup>

I'll begin by taking an inventory of the ways in which Indians selectively used missions. Mission populations were notoriously unstable, as their nominal inhabitants frequently deserted the pueblos to dodge the labor regimes imposed by the missionaries and to use *ranchería* locations for hunting and gathering or ritual celebrations.<sup>14</sup> Not only did Indians adjust mission residence to suit their traditional seasonal migratory patterns in mostly arid lands, but this transhumance took a new twist with the introduction of sheep and the need for additional pastures.<sup>15</sup> Forced labor drafts also stripped mission pueblos of not only men to work in mines and on haciendas, but also the women and children who regularly accompanied them. These *repartimiento* workers may have left the missions involuntarily, but there were countless other mission Indians who chose to seek work on Spanish haciendas and in mines.<sup>16</sup>

Many native peoples resided in the missions largely at their convenience. In the early life of a mission, Indians were often attracted by the promise of food for subsistence and a place where they could devise reorganizing strategies in the face of epidemic disease and demographic collapse.<sup>17</sup> Epidemic diseases arrived before the Spaniards themselves through trade routes and other communication, so some scholars suggest that Indians were willing to accept missionaries who might provide protection against disease

or a sort of crisis aid. Yet nursing and spiritual consolation were not as seductive after epidemics claimed mission converts and uncongregated Indians alike. In a region of continuous precontact intertribal warfare, some groups used the mission pueblos as places of refuge from enemy Indians.<sup>18</sup> Gifts of food, clothing, and metal tools also lured Indians, at least at certain times of the year, as did saints days and other religious holidays accompanied by ritual feasting.<sup>19</sup> Missions also offered opportunities for pilfering supplies and livestock.<sup>20</sup> And there were situations where non-sedentary Indian raiders who had been congregated in missions after capture continued to raid clandestinely (and in concert with non-mission Indians), using the pueblos as cover. A clandestine trade in livestock was a permanent feature from the seventeenth century on, but it expanded dramatically in the late eighteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

I do not want to suggest that none of the Nueva Vizcayan Indians lived permanently in missions. When times were good and crops were plentiful, missions had substantial core populations.<sup>22</sup> Certain individuals acquired special benefits from continuous residence; the Indian officials appointed by the priests had more access to prestige and spoils, and they received kickbacks for supplying repartimiento workers.<sup>23</sup> The more entrepreneurial natives used missions as petty trading hubs, perhaps as substitutes for earlier ports of trade that had brought Indian groups together to barter.<sup>24</sup> Finally, missionaries could be called upon to defend Indian land use rights in the Spanish legal system, and mission residence meant exemption from commodity tribute.<sup>25</sup>

Some of these manipulations allowed indigenous peoples to isolate themselves from outsiders, at least at times, but the bulk of these patterns brought them into contact with other ethnic groups. Interethnic connections are difficult to identify and document since the main source of documentation for missions is the body of reports by the missionaries, who would not serve their own interests by demonstrating the absence of boundaries and control. Nonetheless even their reports can be read critically with an eye to hidden

meanings and omissions, and there are several other types of sources that reveal ethnic interactions and evolving multiethnic folk practices. Among these are parish records and criminal and Inquisition cases.

Let me highlight types of interethnic activity before providing specific examples. Within the mission pueblos themselves, a variety of transactions crossed ethnic boundaries. Various kinds of trading activities brought outsiders into the villages. Some of the missions located on the Camino Real, which carried silver to Mexico City, or on the trans-Sierran route that linked the central plateau to the Sinaloa coast hosted intermittent trading and bartering.<sup>26</sup> At least some of these sites may have been precontact port-of-trade enclaves—neutral zones where different groups carried out trade and sometimes marriage negotiations. Grain brokers (*rescatadores*) came to missions and rancherías to purchase surplus corn.<sup>27</sup> Muleteers delivered annual shipments of supplies to the missions from Mexico City. Spanish and other non-Indian travelers used the missions as way stations on their journeys—as places to secure lodging, meals, and the coveted cup of chocolate.<sup>28</sup> Most passed through quickly, but occasional drifters (of all ethnicities) lingered, conning the locals and marrying their daughters. Despite Spanish legal prohibitions, outsiders increasingly obtained lots in the villages, and by the mid-eighteenth century, many of the Nueva Vizcayan mission Indians had rented lands to non-Indians.<sup>29</sup> As time went on, Indians frequently complained that the missionaries appointed non-Indians (mestizos and mulattos) as governors and other village officials.<sup>30</sup> In the Topia missions that straddled the sierra between Durango and Sinaloa, women were weaving cotton cloth at the behest of middlemen. Some enterprising villagers worked as muleteers in the trade that carried wax and honey to the coast, bringing back salt, fish, and other foods.<sup>31</sup>

Religious celebrations also attracted Spanish settlers from surrounding ranchos and haciendas that had no resident priests. The popular mission fiestas of Corpus Christi and Semana Santa drew

adjacent populations of non-natives. One of the most lavish was the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary at Zape, held on November 21. Coincidentally, Zape, in northern Durango, was the site of a large preconquest stone icon. By the mid-seventeenth century, the shrine had been transformed or replaced to accommodate *cofradía* devotions.<sup>32</sup> In those missions where outsider presence was greatest, *cofradías*, or confraternities, emerged to support patron-saint and other feast-day celebrations.<sup>33</sup> Religious authorities complained that the nominally Catholic *cofradías* provided a cover for idolatrous practices and deviant behavior. They also provided a reason for Indians to leave their missions to beg for contributions to support their *cofradías* in neighboring Spanish towns.<sup>34</sup>

Indians of different ethnicities also mingled in missions. The earliest Nueva Vizcayan missions were founded with the help of Nahuatl-speaking Indians from central Mexico (Tlaxcalan and Tarascan) who helped dig *acequias*, plant milpas, and build churches—thus providing the “civilized” example for local Indians to emulate. Nahuatl became a kind of lingua franca in many of the missions.<sup>35</sup> Not all of the Indian outsiders were acculturated, however; non-sedentary raiders and rebellious neophytes were also deposited in the missions nearest to presidios where they might be “tamed.”<sup>36</sup> Some missions even mixed formerly adversarial groups like Tarahumaras and Tepehuanes or Acaxees and Xiximes.

If interethnic contacts within missions were myriad, they were even more abundant outside. Some mission converts served as ethnic soldiers, fighting under presidial soldiers against rebellious and hostile natives, including members of their own groups.<sup>37</sup> The most common reason why Indians left the missions was to work in silver mines, on haciendas, and in domestic service. In some cases these were forced departures, the result of frequent repartimiento drafts. In many others they were deliberate migratory strategies for acquiring material goods, marriage partners, or freedom from oppressive, demanding missionaries.<sup>38</sup> Missionaries also used Indians as messengers and as transporters of goods. Royal officials

were concerned about these peregrinations, attributing to them a growing incidence in the eighteenth century of raiding, livestock theft, and highway robbery. Through ordinances they attempted to regulate travel that promoted social intercourse and vagabondage in rural areas and to control the ethnically heterogeneous working classes of growing towns.<sup>39</sup> These measures were not terribly effective, however.

In the countryside, mission Indians who were herders came in contact with Indian and mixed-race cowboys and herders on Spanish ranches, sometimes sharing camaraderie, food, and drink around the campfire.<sup>40</sup> Occasional visits to kin in *rancherías* exposed them not only to unconverted members of their own groups, but also to renegade non-Indians fleeing Spanish justice.<sup>41</sup> On haciendas, mission Indians socialized and occasionally had sexual relations with mixed-race groups and African slaves.<sup>42</sup> In mining towns, mission Indians mingled with Indians from other northern regions as well as with mixed-race workers. They gambled and drank together, enjoying the pleasures of cockfighting and other pastimes.<sup>43</sup>

Since most of these contacts were casual, unsupervised, and amicable, they were infrequently documented, but the random references are suggestive and invite imaginative analysis. The most frequent glimpses appear when the associations are classified as aberrant, illegal, or morally reprehensible, as in the case of criminal acts such as murder. Another source is the corpus of Mexican Inquisition cases, which in the Mexican north primarily involve sorcery for healing, love magic, and protection from abusive relationships. Folk practices of diverse racial groups commonly intersected in the areas of healing and casting spells on enemies or prospective lovers, and brought Indians, mestizos, mulattos, and Spaniards into close contact.<sup>44</sup>

Such interactions and selective uses of missions are illustrated by the particular happenings in a mission area of southern Chihuahua during the last few decades of the seventeenth century. Here, to

the north and east of the mining *reales* of Parral and Santa Bárbara and the fertile Valle de San Bartolomé, the Jesuits had established missions among eastern Tarahumaras beginning in the 1630s. The six missions of Las Bocas, San Pablo, Huejotitlán, Santa Cruz, Cuevas, and Satevó, located in valleys of the Conchos River and its tributaries, were founded after Spaniards had already initiated mining and agricultural activities nearby.

Relying almost exclusively on Jesuit annual letters to superiors, Peter Masten Dunne, a latter-day Jesuit and student of Bolton who wrote in the 1940s, paints the missionary endeavor as a “piously picturesque” scene of prosperous missions: “With the natural fertility of the land in field, river, and wood, the Christian neophytes were able not only to raise what was necessary for their sustenance, thus making the missions self-supporting, but tutored by the padres, to conserve in times of abundance what would be good to have in periods of drought or famine.” Using a 1668 report by Padre Gerónimo de Figueroa, Dunne describes the church at San Miguel de las Bocas as “decorated with statues, laces and cloths for the altar, and with pictures to adorn the walls. Such ornamentations delighted the childish mind of the poor savage. . . . The feasts of Blessed Mary the Virgin were given an especial solemnity. . . . The training of the boys gave a touch of culture to their savagery, and when to this was added, whenever possible, instruction in the learning of Spanish . . . we can understand that the Indian must have taken on some tincture of refinement from association with these arts. The padre tells us that the Indians became Hispanicized.” True, says Dunne, there were backsliders and Indians were dying from diseases, but “when the hour of death approached, [they] called for the padre and desired through the sacraments to be purified and strengthened for the dread departure.”<sup>45</sup>

What strikes me when I read Padre Figueroa’s report, with a very different perspective from Dunne’s, is how he emphasized the importance of establishing a solid material foundation in a mission as the surest means of fomenting and assuring its spiritual base.

Many Jesuit sources that illuminate the material/fiscal nature of their endeavor are not included in the standard sources of Jesuit scholars like Dunne or the earlier Francisco Javier Alegre. This lacuna points up another problem with Boltonian historiographies. Bolton trained many Jesuits and Franciscans who did not choose to write critical histories of their own orders.

Tarahumaras were in fact lured to missions with gifts of knives, axes, blankets, and livestock. But the storing of provisions for times of scarcity was a feat rarely achieved, as is evident when, a few years later in 1666 and 1667, drought, hunger, and epidemic disease struck these missions, prompting many Indians to flee in order to forage for food. Many died on the roads.<sup>46</sup> In fact, in San Miguel de las Bocas, which did have a number of non-Indian residents, most of the several hundred survivors did not reside permanently in the mission. Many of these Tarahumaras worked on haciendas in the Valle de San Bartolomé; most owned horses and frequented the mission primarily on feast days. A good number spoke Rarámuri, Nahuatl, and Spanish. Dozens of neighboring Spanish settlers attended church at the mission, and they supported it with endowments.<sup>47</sup>

As Dunne notes, the Jesuits also reported prosperity in the other Tarahumara missions, where Corpus Christi and Holy Week were celebrated with great shows of devotion.<sup>48</sup> What we are not told is that these missions were surrounded by extensive ranch lands (comprising more than 60,000 acres) owned by Valerio Cortés del Rey. This powerful landowner (the first to establish an entailed estate in northern Mexico) employed Spanish overseers for his cattle operations, mestizos and mulatto slaves as cowboys, and a wide array of indigenous peoples as herders and servants. The mission of Satevó was embroiled in a legal dispute with Cortés del Rey regarding charges that his sheep had wrecked the mission's milpas and that his vaqueros were abusing mission women.<sup>49</sup> The mission did have a cattle operation and was selling yearlings to *hacendados* in the Parral area.<sup>50</sup> In these connections to the larger ranching economy, the

mission and its environs served as a meeting place for neophyte Christians; unconverted Tarahumaras; and Indian, mestizo, and mulatto outsiders—many of whom worked for Cortés del Rey. Sinaloan and Sonoran Indians also journeyed across the area on their way to look for work in the mines. Yet this picture would not have been so graphically apparent to me had I not discovered an Inquisition case from 1673 that describes interactions among these groups, who were brought together by occasional fiestas, amorous relationships, and folk curing practices. From this and other secular records, a picture emerges of violence in the countryside, due partly to the impunity enjoyed by Cortés del Rey and his adherents.<sup>51</sup>

Huejotitlán and Santa Cruz did have fertile maize and wheat fields, but these missions lost both crop and grazing lands to Spanish encroachments in the 1670s.<sup>52</sup> The demographic instability and frequent movements in and out of Tarahumara missions, as well as those of the Franciscans to the east, were noted by the bishop of Durango, Bartolomé de Escanuela, in 1681, who also commented on their multiethnic character.<sup>53</sup> In addition, the easternmost missions were subject to heavy labor drafts and frequent raiding by non-sedentary groups. The raiders often received from hacienda servants inside information for planning their attacks on missions and haciendas.<sup>54</sup>

Other sources corroborate the volatility of the area in the 1680s. In 1683, silver mining began just to the west in Cusiguiriachi, attracting migrants of all classes. Demands for labor and food provoked considerable unrest among not only the recently missionized western Tarahumaras (who in the 1690s staged several uprisings), but also the more established eastern missions, where many Tarahumaras tried to circumvent their obligations to mission production in order to sell corn and small animals in the new market. Serious disagreements arose between Jesuits and secular officials, emboldening Tarahumara leaders to flout missionary control.<sup>55</sup>

I have just given you two readings of a place and time. If

Dunne's is overtly celebratory of the Jesuits and evangelization, mine mirrors my penchant for highlighting contestation and indigenous agency. And, in common with Dunne, I have perhaps taken myself too seriously. If the dead could talk, the last laugh would be on both of us. And it might come from Antonia de Soto, who traversed this region in the 1680s.

Mission San Miguel de las Bocas, the site of Dunne's faithful congregation, also served as the locus of Antonia's transvestite transformation in the 1680s. There, this mulatta slave, having fled her master in Durango, found a temporary hiding place. Her flight had already taken her to Parral and Cusiguirachi; along the way she found many willing collaborators in her attempts to elude pursuit. In Parral, a mestiza named Juana Golpazos gave Antonia flowering herbs to render her unrecognizable to the overseer sent to fetch her. From there, her Indian companion, Matías de Rentería, accompanied her to Cusiguirachi, where he introduced her to peyote as well as a variety of magical stones and rosettes. They traveled on to San Miguel de las Bocas, where Matías hoped to meet up with his brother. There Antonia began to experiment with the stones, through which she made a pact with the devil. Her unholy bargain transformed her into a skilled horseman and bullfighter. She donned men's clothing and contemplated a new life of empowerment. In 1684, the faithful and the miscreants in Las Bocas witnessed her "dread departure" as she set off from their village to begin an odyssey of adventure and crime that crisscrossed the region and entangled her life with those of many others in this fast-changing ethnic and cultural frontier.<sup>56</sup> I wonder how she might tell the story of this mission. I imagine that she would in part corroborate my characterization of missions as places of refuge, for making new acquaintances, and that people traveled between. Antonia's story adds another facet to the multidimensional account of missions I have tried to create in broad strokes here. Such a narrative encompasses the daily economic labors and transactions that went on with or without missionary supervision, as well as gossip that revealed

beliefs and attitudes, reported sexual liaisons, and shared local knowledge of cures and remedies. It recounts the movements not only of the nominal mission residents as they went to and from their fields and pastures or those of Spanish landowners, but also of assorted travelers who tarried at mission crossroads. The fluid, porous boundaries of Nueva Vizcayan missions accommodated multiple types of transactions, licit and illicit, that produced varying patterns of material, cultural, ethnic—and, in the case of Antonia, even gender—change.

How does the case of Nueva Vizcayan missions relate to the larger picture in the borderlands of yesterday and today? Perhaps most strikingly the history of these missions highlights how these particular frontiers and borderlands have always been places of intercultural and interethnic contact. In addition, the region has historically been a place of constant movement and migration, of transborder flows and mixes of people, another characteristic that continues today. Missions were never really isolated (nor were presidios for that matter)—and their populations were often unstable and transitory.

Another topic suggested by the study of these missions is the question of ethnic persistence and identity. How should we characterize the Spanish colonial system in terms of its efforts to incorporate indigenous peoples, in comparison with the English system or the later U.S. conquest? Spicer talked about enduring peoples, especially in the case of Yaquis, and other scholars have looked at ethnic persistence and change, but much more can be done to enhance our understanding of how ethnic identities have developed in the borderlands. In spite of colonial and neocolonial (Spanish, Mexican, and U.S.) attempts to eradicate autochthonous beliefs and practices, there have been many survivals among indigenous and mestizo cultures. And the results of cultural mestizaje themselves are fascinating.

The complex and shifting nature of borderlands identities can best be understood from an interdisciplinary perspective. Cross-

disciplinary dialogue among historians, archaeologists, ethnographers, ethnohistorians, environmentalists, and the holders of traditional knowledge would be especially valuable. More cross-border collaboration is also needed, with the participation of U.S.–and Latin American–trained scholars, as well as indigenous peoples who are trying to recover their past. Now, more than ever, at a time when globalization and homogenization threaten to impoverish us intellectually and culturally, we need to breathe new life into ethnic and cultural distinctions and traits that have been enriching life in the U.S.–Mexican borderlands for centuries.

## **Discussion**

**Q:** A question that immediately comes to mind regards the relationship between the Jesuits and the Franciscans. How did the indigenous peoples fit into that competition, and how were they used to further it?

**A:** The Franciscans were the missionaries sent first to the north, up through the central corridor of northern Mexico from Durango to New Mexico. The Jesuits arrived in New Spain much later because the order wasn't founded until the 1540s. In the 1570s, they had to fill niches that had been left vacant by other orders. One of these was the northwest region, with its mainly semi-sedentary groups that turned out to be relatively receptive to missions. In the central corridor and the northeast, the Franciscans, except in the case of the Pueblos of New Mexico, ended up with the least sedentary and most difficult groups to resettle. Therefore, their missions, at least those in Chihuahua and Durango, tended to be very unstable and were often short-lived. Furthermore, the Jesuits had a better support system for supplying their missions. In the case of Nueva Vizcaya, they frequently received logistical and military support from officials because they cooperated with the state in providing labor to Spanish enterprises. Interestingly, however, that practice

actually made missions more unstable in the long run, because Indians were sent out of missions to work for Spaniards at precisely the times they needed to plant or harvest their own fields. Both Jesuits and Franciscans exploited Indians in their charge even as they took their evangelizing efforts very seriously. The two orders engaged in occasional jurisdictional disputes in the north, but for the most part their programs for conversion were similar.

**Q:** What did the expulsion of the Jesuits do to the missions?

**A:** When the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, the Franciscans took over many of their missions in Chihuahua and Sonora and remained in them until the early nineteenth century in the early period of Mexican independence. They also undertook the conversion of California Indians (an area that had been designated for Jesuit missions). The cases that I chose to study are missions that the Jesuits themselves voluntarily gave up to the bishop of Durango in the 1750s, ten years before the expulsion, because they were the poorest of the missions, and their residents were not primarily Indian. For the most part, these were very much mestizo communities, and the ethnic interactions that I have been talking about were very pronounced. Eventually, racial and cultural mixing took place in all the northern missions.

**Q:** You mentioned disease. Were the diseases brought by both the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish?

**A:** Yes, both priests and Spanish explorers and miners went to the north. But what happened first was that Indians from areas to the south, who experienced European contact earlier, got these diseases and carried them up the trade routes to the north. Frequently, by the time there was effective Spanish penetration in the north, the indigenous populations had already experienced tremendous population decline. I do not believe that the introduction of disease was deliberate, but it is clear that

Spaniards believed that the high death toll was a punishment exacted on Indians because they were pagans.

**Q:** Can you tell us more about the kinds of cases the Inquisition prosecuted? Where did witchcraft practices and pacts with the devil come from?

**A:** Pacts with the devil clearly spring from a Christian context. They represented a means for enlisting supernatural force from Christ's great nemesis, the devil. Indigenous people didn't have the same idea of the devil, and we commonly find pacts being made by Christianized black and mulatto slaves. There are folk practices centered on curing and love magic that have roots in indigenous, African, and Catholic religions. As interethnic mixing increased, specific shared practices often evolved across different groups. I should note that the Inquisition in Mexico did not have jurisdiction over indigenous people after the 1570s, but Indians often appear as witnesses and actors in cases involving Spaniards and mixed-race peoples. These records contain some of the richest evidence for how different ethnic groups interacted in many different situations, information that does not appear in the missionary accounts.

**Q:** Have you studied the origins of traditional music in the mission? Did the same kind of interethnic mixing occur in terms of music?

**A:** That's a good question. We have some studies for New Mexico and California, but this is an area that scholars are just beginning to investigate. One of my doctoral students, Kristin Mann, is completing a book on the use of music by both Jesuits and Franciscans in "southwestern" missions. Depending upon their aptitude for music, all missionaries used it to one degree or another as an evangelical tool. We know that Indians did incorporate Spanish musical elements. For example, in the Tarahumara area, the Jesuits taught the Indians to make violins. And the Tarahumaras who live in the Sierra Madre today still

make them. The missionaries were trying to use music as a tool of conversion and indoctrination, but indigenous peoples modified it and probably used it in ways that served to perpetuate some of their own customs and to reinforce ethnic and cultural solidarity.

**Q:** What was the incentive for Indians to stay in the Jesuit missions after the Jesuits were expelled? Was it because mission residents were exempt from tribute payments and other expenses?

**A:** Yes, mission Indians were exempt from tribute in almost all areas of the north except for southern Sinaloa. Of course, forced labor is also a form of tribute. By the time the Jesuits were expelled, multiethnic communities had evolved and many mission residents were accustomed to the economic and cultural patterns of their pueblos. Many developed forms of communal solidarity with or without missionaries.

## Notes

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1. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (Oct. 1917), 42–61.
2. Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962); and *The Yaquis: A Cultural History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980). See also Thomas E. Sheridan and Nancy J. Parezo, eds., *Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996).
3. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, eds., *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995). In one of the essays, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History" (pp. 1–48), David Sweet, reassesses Bolton's classic study, "The Mission as a

Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies,” within a critical postcolonial framework.

4. Informe contra algunas misiones de la Santa Provincia de Zacatecas que hizo el Corregidor de Chihuahua Don Antonio Gutiérrez de Noriega, Chihuahua, July 21, 1752, Biblioteca Nacional (Mexico City), Archivo Franciscano [hereafter BN, AF], caja 15, exp. 274. As it turned out, the *corregidor* had worked out a scheme to take control of the most productive mission lands.

5. Apologetico defensorio . . . [reply by Jesuits], Nov. 1657, in Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City) [hereafter AGN], Historia, vol. 316.

6. Decree of Audiencia of Guadalajara, 1671, in Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1926), II: 201, 207. (The tithe dispute was not resolved until the 1730s.)

7. Susan M. Deeds, “Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya: Forms of Labor Coercion in the Periphery,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69, no. 3 (1989), 425–49; “Mission Villages and Agrarian Patterns in a Nueva Vizcayan Heartland, 1600–1750,” *Journal of the Southwest* 33, no. 3 (1991), 345–65; and *Defiance and Deference in Mexico’s Colonial North: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

8. Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Steven W. Hackel, “Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California,” in *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 111–46.

9. Examples can be found in the work of Robert H. Jackson, including *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994) and (with Edward Castillo), *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). See also the various essays in Jackson, ed., *New Views of Borderlands History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), including Ross Frank, “Demographic, Economic and Social Change in New Mexico,” 41–72. Other collections of relevant essays include Langer and

Jackson, *The New Latin American Mission History*, and Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds., *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998). See also Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); and William L. Merrill, "Cultural Creativity and Raiding Bands in Eighteenth-Century Northern New Spain," in *Violence, Resistance and Survival in the Americas*, ed. William B. Taylor and Franklin Pease G. Y. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 124–42.

10. The many works of Peter Masten Dunne on the Jesuits stand out in this genre, but other Jesuits and Franciscans wrote in the same vein. Even the work of Herbert E. Bolton contributed to the heroic literature, although his important contribution was to emphasize that the United States had more than English colonial roots.

11. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference*, 7–11. Robert C. West, *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), was an early exception in making these connections.

12. The ranchería pattern of settlement characterized these Nueva Vizcayan groups at the time of effective Spanish contact. Living in dispersed settlements of only a few to perhaps several hundred households, rancherías inhabitants cultivated corn, beans, squash, chiles, and cotton. Rancherías were relocated in accordance with seasonal cycles and soil fertility and the need to supplement agriculture with hunting and gathering.

13. I will provide only selected references for the general patterns I describe; many other sources are provided in *Defiance and Deference*.

14. P. Juan Font to P. Provincial Ildefonso de Castro, Guadiana, Apr. 22, 1608, in *Crónicas de la Sierra Tarahumara*, ed. Luis González Rodríguez (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1984), 178–81; P. Provincial Rodrigo de Cabredo to viceroy, Aug. 5, 1614, AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Temporalidades [hereafter AHH, Temp.], leg. 278, exp. 7; report of P. Juan Florencio, May 16, 1624, AGN, Misiones, vol. 25, fols. 90–92.

15. Robert H. Hard and William L. Merrill, "Mobile Agriculturalists and the Emergence of Sedentism: Perspectives from Northern Mexico," *American Anthropologist* 94, no. 3 (1992), 601–20.

16. Deeds, "Rural Work"; petitions for repartimiento labor, 1640s, Archivo

de Hidalgo de Parral (microfilm copy at the University of Arizona), [hereafter AHP], reel 1648, frames 12–57; report of P. Nicolás de Zepeda to P. Prov. Francisco Calderón, San Miguel de Bocas, Apr. 28, 1645, AGN, Historia, vol. 19, fols. 121–35; petitions of Guanaceví miners, Feb. 8, 1648, AHP, r. 1648, fr. 188ff.

17. Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991); puntos de ánuas de la misión de Tepehuana, 1630, AGN, Misiones, vol. 25, fol. 229.

18. Carta ánuas de P. Juan Florencio, San Pablo, May 30, 1627, AGN, Misiones, vol. 25, fol. 164; Deeds, “Indigenous Rebellions on the Northern Mexican Frontier: From First-Generation to Later Colonial Responses,” in Guy and Sheridan, *Contested Ground*, 36–37.

19. Autos sobre Topia, 1609–1614, AGN, Jesuitas, leg. II-12, exp. 4.

20. Report of P. Diego Larios, 1614, AGN, AHH, Temp., leg. 278, exp. 7; declarations of Joseph and Antonio of Yepómera, Santo Tomás and Carichic, Sept.–Oct. 1690, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) [hereafter AGI], Patronato 236, fols. 347, 396–97.

21. Medrano report, 1654, in *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 419–21; William L. Merrill, “Cultural Creativity and Raiding Bands in Eighteenth-Century Northern New Spain,” in Taylor and Pease G. Y., *Violence, Resistance and Survival in the Americas*, 124–42. For comparison, see James S. Saeger, “Eighteenth-Century Guaycurú Missions in Paraguay,” in *Indian Religious Relations in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. Susan Ramirez (Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1989), 55–86.

22. Carta ánuas de P. José Pascual, San Felipe, June 24, 1651, AGN, Jesuitas, III-15, exp. 7; visita reports of P. Juan Antonio Balthasar and P. Agustín Carta, 1743 and 1753, in AGN, AHH, Temp. leg. 2009, exs. 20, 41.

23. Tepehuan visita of 1651, AHP, r. 1651a, fr. 186–205; respuesta . . . de Fray Juan Antonio de Abasolo, Comisario General, México, Mar. 9, 1753, BN, AF, caja 15.

24. Report of Padres José Tardá and Tomás de Guadalajara to P. General Francisco Ximénez, Aug. 15, 1676, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Mexicana, 17, 355–92 [translated copy furnished by William Merrill];

P. Juan Ratkay to P. Nicolás Avancini, Feb. 25, 1681, in *Cartas e informes de misioneros jesuitas extranjeros en Hispanoamérica*, ed. Mauro Matthei (Santiago, Chile: Universidad Católica de Chile, 1970), 155–159; relación simple de las misiones que tienen los padres de la compañía en Parral, n.d. [eighteenth century], by a Franciscan, Thomas Gilcrease Institute (Tulsa), Hispanic Documents, 176-6.

25. Various land cases in the Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos, Guadalajara, Tierras y Aguas, lib. 15, exp. 1, lib. 22, exp. 2; lib. 28, exp. 141. P. Lorenzo Reino to P. Prov. Escobar y Llamas, Chihuahua, Jan. 19, 1745, AGN, Jesuitas, I-16, exp. 32. Declarations of Spaniards in Los Remedios, May 23, 1749, Archivo de la Catedral de Durango [hereafter ACD], Varios 1749; P. Agustín carta to P. Provincial, Santiago Papasquiario, Aug. 14, 1753, Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Mexicana (Jesuits), no. 1391.

26. Robert West and J. J. Parsons, “The Topia Road: A Trans-sierran Trail of Colonial Mexico,” *Geographical Review* 31 (1941), 406–16. On port-of-trade enclaves, see Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1957), 51–55.

27. Carta anual de 1608, P. Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 160–65.

28. Jesuit report, 1623, AGN, Jesuitas III-16, exp. 7; denuncia que contra si hizo Antonio de Soto mulata esclava . . . , 1691, AGN, Inquisición 525, exp. 48.

29. Mayra M. Meza, “Tierra y misión: la situación agraria en Chihuahua durante los siglos XVIII y XIX,” in *Transformations on the Mission Frontier: Texas and Northern Mexico*, ed. Grace Keyes (San Antonio: Our Lady of the Lake University, 1998), 37-48; Deeds, “Double Jeopardy: Indian Women in Jesuit Missions,” in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, ed. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 265-66; report of Bishop Bartolomé de Escanuela, Durango, Nov. 13, 1681, BN, AF, caja 12, f. 200; que los españoles no se introduzcan a los pueblos de indios, Jan. 18, 1718, AHP, reel 1718a, fr. 12–17.

30. Jesuit reports dated 1754 and 1764 in the University of Texas Nettie Lee Benson Library, W. B. Stephens Collection, 66: 17–19.

31. Juan Ortiz Zapata visita, 1678, in *Documentos para la historia de México*

- (México, 1853–57), 4th series, vol. 3, 412–19; P. Marcelo de León to bishop, San Ignacio, June–Aug. 1749, Archivo de la Catedral de Durango, Varios 1749.
32. Carta ánuva de P. Francisco de Mendoza, Zape, June 6, 1662, AGN, Misiones, vol. 26, fols. 167–71.
33. Carta ánuva de P. Pedro Gravina, Santa María Utais, Mar. 11, 1629, AGN, Misiones, vol. 25, fols. 241–42.
34. Various Jesuit reports to bishop, June–Aug. 1749, in ACD, Varios 1749.
35. Cuentas de la Real Caja de Durango, May 22, 1599, AGI, Contaduría, 925; Clara Bargellini, “Three Jesuit Churches of the Baja Tarahumara,” in Keyes, ed., *Transformations on the Mission Frontier*, 49–53; carta ánuva, 1662, San Miguel de Bocas, AGN, Misiones, vol. 26.
36. Reports of P. Nicolás de Zepeda, San Miguel de las Bocas, Apr.–Sept. 1643, AGN, Historia, vol. 19, fols. 121–66.
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38. Order of Gov. Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia, June 18, 1729, in Genealogical Society of Utah, marriage registers, Santiago Papasquiario, microfilm 658011; P. Balthasar to viceroy, 1754, W. B. Stephens Collection, #1719, University of Texas Nettie Lee Benson Library.
39. Testimonio sobre indios vagos y ocios, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 69, exp. 7; Jesuit reports, 1757, AGN, Jesuitas, II-7, exps. 14–23.
40. Testimony in the case of Juan, a Concho Indian, Parral, Nov. 29, 1652, AHP, r. 1652d, fr. 1736 ff; causa criminal contra Andrés Pérez y otros indios, Parral, June 1660, AHP, r. 1660c, fr. 1692–1724; testimonies before Gov. Enrique de Avila Pacheco, 1653, BN, AF, caja 11, exp. 180; autos en razón de haverse retirado indios, 1689, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 30, exp. 6.
41. Peter Stern, “Marginals and Acculturation in Frontier Society,” in Jackson, ed., *New Views of Borderlands History*, 157–88.
42. Denuncia contra Nicolás Guzmán, Parral, Sept. 9, 1673, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 516, fols. 405–31.
43. Cheryl Martin, “Public Celebrations, Popular Culture, and Labor

- Discipline in Eighteenth-Century Chihuahua,” in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1994), 95-114. For an example, see the case of Antonio Gamboa, Santa Eulalia, 1716–1717, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 777-1, exp. 24, fols. 208–22.
44. Examples are in AGN, Inquisición vol. 516, exp. 7; vol. 528, exp. 48; vol. 605-1, exp. 7; vol. 661, exp. 22; vol. 791, exp. 31; vol. 912, exp. 29; vol. 1234, exp. 3
45. P. M. Dunne, *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 90–103 passim.
46. Puntas de ánuas, San Pablo, Nov. 14, 1668, in *Documentos para la historia de México*, 223–30.
47. The report is found in AGN, Misiones, vol. 26. See also report of P. Francisco Xavier de Medrano, Las Bocas, ca. 1690, AGN, AHH, Temp., leg. 279, exp. 69; and testimony of Juana de Aguilar, Parral, Mar. 9, 1686, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1551, part 2, exp. 39, fols. 563–71.
48. Memoria de P. Antonio de Herrera, Santa Cruz, ca. 1690, AGN, AHH, Temp. leg. 279, exp. 115; report of P. Juan María Ratkay, Carichic, March 20, 1683 [translation from Latin ms. in the Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Mexicana 17]; libro de alajas de Huexotitlán, Dec. 27, 1690, AGN, AHH, Temp., leg. 279, exp. 65.
49. Details of this case can be found in AGN, Historia, vol. 20, exp. 9; AGN, AHH, Temp., leg. 2009, exs. 26, 30; leg. 324, exs. 13–14; leg. 325, exp. 64.
50. Sugerencias de un padre jesuita, ca. 1673, AGN, Jesuitas I-17, exp. 41; memoria de P. Domingo de Lizarralde, San Francisco Xavier de Satevó, Dec. 26, 1690, AGN, AHH, Temp. leg. 270, exp. 67.
51. Case of Nicolás de Guzmán, 1673, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 516, fols. 405–31; letters of Nueva Vizcayan Governor Antonio Oca de Sarmiento, Mar. 12 and 19, 1667, in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, II: 188–95.
52. Registro de un sitio que llaman Valsequillo en términos de Huejotitlán, Nov. 3, 1670, AHP, r. 1669a, fr. 282–99; case of Capt. Diego de Quiros, June 1674–Jan. 1675, AHP, r. 1671a, fr. 379–95.
53. Report of the bishop to the king, Durango, Apr. 18, 1681, AGI,

Guadalajara 206; bishop to viceroy, Durango, Nov. 13, 1681, BN, AF, caja 12, exp. 200.

54. Indios baborigames y cabezas, AGN, Jesuitas I-14, fols. 60–75; report on the history of Conchos presidios by Joseph de Berroterán to viceroy, Apr. 17, 1748, AGN, Historia, vol. 41, exp. 8; autos hechos sobre las invasiones . . . , AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 29, exp. 5.

55. Ratkay report, 1683; autos remitidos . . . sobre unas proposiciones que dijo el gobernador Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, April 16, 1692, AGN, Inquisición 684, fols. 215–20.

56. Denunciación . . . Antonia de Soto, mulata esclava, August 1691, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 524, exp. 48. Her fantastic adventure is replete with tales of drug-induced hallucinations, bullfighting prowess, robbery, and murder. For interpretations of this case, see Deeds, “Brujería, género e inquisición en Nueva Vizcaya,” *Desacatos: Revista de Antropología Social* 10 (2003), 30–47; and Laura A. Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 167–78.



# The Hopi Documentary History Project: A Progress Report

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*Buenos dias*, good day, *pay itamungem sonwayteni*. These three phrases of greeting have approximately the same meaning but may vary greatly with regard to context, who is speaking, who the audience is and, if this communication is recorded, who records or documents it. These issues of variation, understanding, transcription, and translation are at the heart of a documentary research project underway at the Arizona State Museum.

Since 1975, the Arizona State Museum has been collecting and microfilming Spanish colonial documents that date from the earliest explorations into the northern reaches of New Spain to the time of Mexican independence. Nearly one million pages of documents on microfilm form the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) files. The museum and DRSW staff have published a series of documentary histories, two of which relate specifically to native peoples: *Raramuri: A Tarahumara Colonial Chronicle 1607-1791*, edited by Thomas Sheridan and Thomas Naylor, and *Empire of Sand: The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645-1803*, edited by Sheridan.<sup>1</sup> The Hopi documentary project follows a similar methodology to the two previous works: Archaic Spanish is translated and transcribed into modern Spanish, then the modern Spanish is translated into English. In this project we go one step further: English into Hopi, with commentary about the translated documents from Hopi community members in all twelve villages. This extra step is made possible by the development of a Hopi dictionary

and syllabary that took nearly two decades to complete.<sup>2</sup> This dictionary has more than 30,000 entries.

The Hopi documentary history has its beginnings in 1541, when Coronado dispatched Don Pedro de Tovar to Tusayan, a province of seven pueblos similar to ones visited in the province of Suni, or Zuni as it is called today. Twenty years later, Pedro Castañeda de Nájera documented this first wintertime exchange between Spaniards and Hopis.<sup>3</sup> There would be more exchanges, campaigns, conversions, and rebellions to document.

In the DRSW files, we have identified 171 documents that contain the terms Tusayan, Moqui, Moquenos, Mohoche, and others that refer to the Hopi people. We will very likely treat about a quarter of these 171 documents in this project. We hope that the project will inspire Hopi high school students and entering college students to consider acquiring experience in documentary and archival research. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office and the Arizona State Museum are reaching out to Hopi youth in this and a variety of other ways.

The project came about as one of mutual interest to the Hopi tribe and to researchers at the museum. In 1992 the Spanish government invited Hopi government leaders to attend festivities in association with Expo, a World's Fair held in Spain. Spanish government representatives gave the Hopi officials copies of archival materials and documents related to their history. But the Hopi found them impossible to read or comprehend. We do not know whether Hopis were ever literate in Castilian Spanish. What we do know is that today none of us is literate in Castilian Spanish. Moreover, we are only now becoming literate in Hopi.

In 1998 the Hopi dictionary was published, and its authors were searching for relevant applications of this important piece of scholarship. In 1999 the museum completed its online finding aid to the DRSW files, which is now accessible to the public. The various partners in the Hopi documentary project came together in September 2000, and the project began in earnest in 2001.

What have we learned thus far? Some of the documents are ethnographic in nature.<sup>4</sup> They offer glimpses of people, places, and things. For example, population estimates in the various villages range from 5,000 to 50,000. There is detailed information about architecture—in some instances documents describe seven-story skyscrapers fitted within a well-planned urban layout. There are narratives about cultivated lands and high crop yields—of cotton, in particular, and of maize (corn) and other crops. Discussions detail methods of storing food in granaries and methods of food processing—cooking and culinary skills and arts. There are also descriptions of men’s and women’s hairstyles. The people’s remarkably good health also merited comment. Wild game and domesticated animals, including ground hens and domesticated turkeys, were abundant. Fishing was especially good in the Río Bravo del Norte (now the Rio Grande to Americans); salt lakes and salt deposits provided sources for food seasoning and curing of meats. Beekeeping and white honey were documented. Vegetation included food sources such as grapes, oaks, acorns, pine nuts, Castilian plums, and piñon nuts.

Descriptions of political organization most often characterized it as free and disorderly. The Spaniards interpreted native religions as idolatrous, involving offerings to the devil. References to those dastardly Apaches are numerous. And one that I am especially fond of is the exclamation Santiago! as a cry before one makes an attack or a calculated leap. Today, American paratroopers, and maybe even Spanish paratroopers, offer the cry Geronimo! before leaping out of the bellies of airplanes.<sup>5</sup>

An abundance of woven or painted cotton cloth or textiles, which held great value for Hopis and for Spaniards, became the currency of the time. The textiles and garments are written about over and over in the documents, recording a continuing tradition that began well before the Spanish colonial period. Several types of materials are described repeatedly in the documents. One is a

woman's shawl, *atuui* in Hopi. This is what a Hopi woman would wear, particularly during the winter months, for warmth as well as for special occasions such as weddings and births, naming parties, and the various cycles in the ceremonial structure at Hopi. Today such a garment is woven from a blend of cotton and wool. In earlier days it would have been woven of cotton with blends of agave fiber.

A *kwasa*, or dress, is another commonly described garment, referred to by the Spanish as a *manta*. On various occasions when Spaniards were to arrive at a village, stacks of some six hundred of these would be presented to the guests. In part, some of them simply needed clothing. And in part this practice was probably a holdover from a time when Hopis, or the people who became Hopis, were used to offering tribute to various powers that they encountered. Again, traditionally such a dress would have been woven from cotton and agave; today, they are a blend of sheep's wool and cotton and are called *ganelkwasa*. *Ganelo* is the Hopi term for sheep, a borrowing from the Spanish *ganado*, so *ganelkwasa* literally means sheep-dress.

The final textile is not woven; it's braided. The Hopi name is *weko kwewa*. *Weko* is belt, and *weko kwewa* means large or wide belt. In the documents this is often referred to as a rain sash because that is exactly what it symbolizes: The white color represents purity; the little balls, cumulus clouds; and the tassels, rain coming down in sheets, just like in an eagerly awaited thunderstorm. Both men and women would wear this, but during a wedding ceremony, it is the bride who wears it (see figures on pages 57, 58).

In the accounts, there is also frequent mention of giving turquoise as gifts, as well as of turquoise being fashioned into jewelry. Finally, there is frequent discussion of cornmeal being presented to the Spaniards when their processions arrived at or departed from various villages. In Hopi, this is *hooma*, sacred cornmeal, which the Spaniards refer to as *pinole*. I believe Hopi religious leaders viewed the Spanish processions as a type of religion and believed that the way to honor it was to offer *hooma*. *Hooma* throughout Hopi



*ASM #67082 shows a Hopi mother, Delores Tootsie, holding a cat tail with gifts that were probably presented to her son or nephew by the NIMAN Katsinas. The NIMAN ceremony takes place at several Hopi villages in the month of July. Throughout the day, the Katsinam bring gifts to the Hopi children; bow & arrow for the boys and “tihu” Katsina carvings for the girls. In many cases these gifts are tied to cat tails so that, after all the gifts are presented to each recipient, one can look around the dance plaza and see all the cat tails symbolizing a wetland where the plants naturally grow. This is a symbol and prayer for much needed rain to sustain life in the high desert region. Helga Teiwes photograph. Courtesy Arizona State Museum.*



*ASM #67106 shows two brides, Sarah Honanie and Delores Tootsie. New brides are presented at the last presentation of the day at the NIMAN ceremony. It is a beautiful occasion. The bride receives her last Katsina carving as she transitions into woman and motherhood. The two women wear their "Oova," or wedding robes, that were handwoven by their husbands' male relatives (usually uncles and godfather). In fact, their entire wedding garments are newly made, from the buckskin shoes on their feet to their dresses, belts, and robes. Helga Teiwes photograph. Courtesy Arizona State Museum.*

history to the present can be compared to the tag line of an American Express Card commercial: Hopis never leave home without it. Offering prayers and blessings with sacred cornmeal is a daily occurrence.

Those are only a few of the items that are vividly and frequently described in the documents as existing in mass quantities. Clearly, there was a surplus. And clearly the Hopi had the infrastructure to produce them through farming and mining, and to transport them to the urban centers.

Some of the writers show a growing understanding of language differences among the people with whom they developed political, military, and missionary relationships. They tried very hard to learn and record native place-names and community names. But because the Spaniards claimed the land, people, natural resources, and just about everything else under *requerimiento*, they overlaid their own terms as part of the claim. *Requerimiento* was a formal decree claiming title and control over newly discovered lands. In the Americas it announced the divine authority of the pope in Rome over all nations, the donation of the islands and mainlands of the Americas by the pope to the Spanish crown, the absolute moral obligation of the Indians to accept the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish crown, and the right of Spaniards to wage war against and enslave the Indians if they did not submit. As an instrument of conquest, it was supposed to be read to Indians before battle, thereby placing the fault on the Indians if they resisted. Resist they did, and the survivors of such conflicts were subject to harsh punishment for their actions. The 1598 trial at the pueblo of Ácoma, recorded in one of the DRSW documents, is one example of the consequences of such resistance:

In the lawsuit between parties, one being the Real Justicia and the other being the Indians of the pueblos and fortress of Ácoma [represented by] Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, their defender, for having treacherously murdered Don Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, of this expedition;

Felipe de Escalante, captain of [the expedition]; Captain Diego Núñez and eight soldiers; and two servants, as well as other crimes; and furthermore, reiterating that when Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza, my sargento mayor whom I sent in my place to [Ácoma], called them to peace, they not only did not surrender, but met him with warfare; this being evident, I find, in view of the autos and merits of this proceeding and its resulting [verdict of] guilt, that I am obliged to condemn and do condemn all the male and female Indians of the aforementioned pueblo who are prisoners [as follows]: The Indian men of twenty-five years or more are to have one foot cut off and twenty years of personal service. The Indian men of less than twenty-five years down to twelve [years of age], I likewise condemn to twenty years of personal service. The Indian women of twelve years or more, I likewise condemn to twenty years of personal service. Two Indians from the province of Moqui [Hopi] who were present and fought in the aforementioned pueblo of Ácoma and were apprehended, I sentence to have their right hands cut off and to be set free, so that they may make known in their land the punishment given them.<sup>6</sup>

Native oral historical accounts of the trial and punishment at Ácoma and other villages continue to be retold today. The year 1598 marked the beginning of preparation among the provinces of northern New Spain that would lead to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

My colleague and co-principal investigator, Tom Sheridan, observes that the Spanish colonial documentary record, like the records of any imperial power, squints at the lives of native peoples. Soldiers and missionaries were not privy to entire domains of native culture, such as religious ceremonies or healing practices. He goes on to point out that the Spaniards viewed events and people through a myopic lens clouded by their own prejudices and preconceptions.<sup>7</sup> The value of the documents is that they do offer descriptions of ceremonies and other traditions. They offer names of

political leaders and community members whom the writers viewed as important to identify. The documents indicate that after a half century of Spanish and missionary presence, the Indians commemorated the comings and goings of Spaniards and their Mexican company as religious processions that were acknowledged with pinole or sacred cornmeal, *hooma*.

The Hopi tribal government today seeks to glean from the documents information on a wide variety of subjects, including Hopi trading networks and trail systems, Hopi cultural affiliations with other tribal groups, Hopi tribal resistance and sovereignty, and the Spanish perception of Hopi land occupation at contact. Hopi people with whom we have talked thus far want to learn more about how the Spanish Empire functioned and why it was unable to reconquer and reincorporate the Hopi into the imperial system after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. They are also interested in knowing whether these documents support Hopi history as documented in Hopi oral tradition. That remains to be seen.

## **Discussion**

**Q:** Are you going to deal with Awátovi in your volume, and is there any Spanish documentation at all about Awátovi?

**A:** Awátovi was a stronghold of one important clan called Bow, and literally translated from Hopi to English, Awátovi is the Place of the Bow. A lot of the documents talk about Awátovi. A lot of archaeologists over the years have talked about Awátovi. So, one of the things we are going to do in this project, now that there are practicing Hopi archaeologists, is to invite their perspectives on what the documentary records are saying, then tie that in to the archaeology.

**Q:** Do the documents describe the Hopis being involved in any warfare or major revolts other than the 1680 rebellion?

**A:** Well, yes. Many of the documents written after the Revolt of 1680 had to do with petitions to the Spanish capital in Santa Fe,

and a lot of them related to the business of the dastardly Apaches, because they were the source of several problems, not only for the Spaniards—that’s why the presidio system was established in the first place—but also for some of the locals. That kind of intertribal warfare was going on. And the Hopi were seeking assistance, not only from the priests and the mission establishment, but also from the capital city of Santa Fe. As far as all-out rebellions, depending on your definition of rebellion, I mean, 1680 was huge, it covered a huge geographical area; some of these others were ongoing conflicts that flared up on occasion and were written about at those times.

**Panel:** In the case of almost all of the indigenous groups I’ve studied, every one of them rebelled, at one point or another, and I’ve called the rebellions that occurred within a generation of being congregated in missions the first-generation revolts. Then there were later revolts; the Pueblo Revolt occurred after Spaniards had been in the pueblos for almost one hundred years. There are a couple of others like that. In almost all cases, there is at least one armed revolt against Spanish control but, of course, the Pueblo Revolt was the only one where the Indians actually got rid of the Spaniards for a while, for twelve years. The other revolts didn’t last long, and the Spaniards were able to assert their control in a particular area and stay there.

**Q:** Does the documentary record talk about tales of the Seven Cities of Gold and the Spanish preoccupation with gold?

**A:** Well, until I began reading the translations of these documents, I thought that was folklore, about the Spaniards asking, “Where is the gold? Where are the seven cities paved with gold?” And in the documents we are reading now, every one of the native communities replied, “Oh, it’s right over there. It’s over at Hopi. It’s over at Tusayan. No, no, the Comanches have it in northern Texas. No, no. It’s over in Gran Quivira. Oh, no, it’s over in central Kansas.” As a kid growing up, I remember stories about

what the Spaniards' initial motivation was for coming to Hopi. Then the Hopi oral tradition also talks about this "referral system." And the documents support both, which is really fun to see. There are tales of people with massive gold earrings and nose and lip plugs, just dripping with gold. It's great stuff.

**Q:** Is there evidence of Spaniards granting the Hopis title to particular lands?

**A:** Guess who's using our files more than anthropologists or historians? Lawyers working for tribes who are fighting land claims issues and water rights. They're in there every day, scores of them. Unfortunately, I don't know what they're finding. They're not telling us.

**Panel:** I can respond to that, at least in terms of the Spanish colonial period. There is no land title document for any of the Indian missions that I studied, except in cases where, especially right before the Jesuits left the missions, some of the indigenous people went and asked to have the lands measured, and they then actually did have titles to them. I know there were titles. Obviously, there were land titles for Spaniards, for Spanish properties, that you can find today, but I don't have one. I've spent about twenty years looking for them. I think indigenous peoples themselves had markers. They had an understanding that went way back: that from tiempo inmemorial these have been their lands.

**Q:** What form will the final publication be in? Is there any chance of digitizing the work, all the translations?

**A:** Unfortunately we don't know yet. This is a collaboration with the sovereign government of the Hopi Nation, so they have the first right of refusal regarding what stays in and what stays out. But they do want to publish, at least in hard copy form; whether they want to distribute the information in other forms as a way to encourage Hopi researchers from the high schools and other

campuses outside to participate in this project, to continue it, I don't know.

**Q:** Has the project been publicized among the Pueblos, and what kind of reception has there been?

**A:** Oh yes, 1980 didn't go by without some commemorations, just like 1992. The Hopi government, in conjunction with all the villages that participated in the revolt of 1680, got together and staged a run, reenacting the way the messages were delivered from one point to another, from northernmost New Mexico all the way down into the Rio Grande Valley and across, and then to the final destination at Old Oraibi on Third Mesa. There was so much interest that the government decided not to wait another three hundred years to do it again. And so, in the first year of this project, the cultural committee at Hopi wanted us to set up an exhibit, because people from all the villages were eventually going to arrive at Hopi, where there was going to be several days of feasting and camping and retelling of the story of the Pueblo Revolt and its aftermath. So we put up an exhibit, and people were absolutely fascinated, especially the people from New Mexico. And we don't have anywhere near all the documents. What we have is the tip of the iceberg. The Museum of New Mexico, the University of New Mexico, Tulane, and various repositories in Mexico, Spain, and Rome have the lion's share of what has survived. But people were fascinated to see the exhibit, to see the original documents and the translations.

**Q:** You talked about getting commentary from Hopis in all the villages. Have you started that process, and, if so, how have you gone about it?

**A:** Yes, we have. At least for us, this is our first experience with such a collaboration. We've collaborated in other ways with regard to protection of archaeological sites and cultural properties, but this is a first for us. And last summer, we took the Hopi translations that we've done so far—we've done about seven—to

the Hopi villages. We asked them whether or not they wanted these sessions recorded, the reading of the Hopi translations and the comments about them, or how they wanted to organize that process. And each village was able to say how wanted to do it. We've also worked through the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, the principal staff members as well as their advisory group, which is about twenty-five people. Some of the commentaries so far have just been very surprising, particularly to me. About three weeks ago, we took two sets of documents up to Mr. Morgan Saufkie, who is a religious leader in Shungopavy, and one of his clan brothers, Mr. Eljean Joshongva, Sr. And they only needed to hear two or three sentences at a time, and they had extensive comments. So, it's going to be a great experience. And I would think the present-day Hopis would want to have their comments documented as well. Where else are we going to get them after these people pass on? And part of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office's mission is to preserve this record, in whatever form, oral or written. I don't anticipate any problem with getting the project to publication in some form.

## Notes

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## Postwar Phoenix: Intentional Change and Essential Continuities

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The theme of continuing frontiers raises interesting ways of thinking about the historical development of the U.S. Southwest. From the sixteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth, this region existed as some type of frontier, or at least it retained frontier elements. But the clear usefulness of this concept for discussing those earlier four centuries seems to blur when focusing on the twentieth century, and especially when looking at particular parts of this region. Over the last half-century the various developed areas throughout this region, including metropolitan Phoenix, would seem to confound the use of this approach. What possible meaning could the notion of continuing frontiers have for this area and time?

The idea of continuity seems woefully inappropriate in application to the Southwest and especially to Arizona's Salt River Valley, since change seems so obviously their dominant characteristic. Furthermore, in such an urbanized, "settled" area, the term *frontier* seems a misnomer. Yet we can develop new insights into the recent history of this area by broadening our notions of frontier and by thinking more about the issues of boundaries, the varieties of change, and human efforts to create new worlds.<sup>1</sup> To start, we must consider the recent history of Phoenix and the Valley in terms of the nature and extent of change; i.e., to highlight the familiar issues of discontinuity. Thereafter, we can examine whether or in what ways the patterns of the last half-century reflect continuity.

## Transformation

During the last half-century the American population has grown rapidly, but not all states or regions have shared equally in that growth. City populations have burgeoned, with especially high growth rates in the Sunbelt. The most dramatic growth has occurred in the Greater Southwest. This region now contains six of the nation's ten largest cities; the populations of California and Texas have quadrupled since 1940, making them the first and second most populous states in the nation. Proportionately, the population in the other five states of this area grew even more rapidly, with Arizona's population increasing tenfold.<sup>2</sup>

The Valley saw even more dramatic changes. In 1940 Phoenix was a city of modest size; with only 65,000 people it did not make the list of the nation's hundred largest cities. By 2000 its population had burgeoned by twenty times to 1.3 million, ranking sixth in the nation. During this spurt Phoenix added more residents than any city except Los Angeles or Houston. This growth was not literally unprecedented in U.S. history—Chicago in the late nineteenth century, Detroit in the 1910s, and Los Angeles from 1920 to 1940 had grown even more phenomenally—but it ranks below only those extraordinary expansions.<sup>3</sup> The growth of adjoining urban areas in Maricopa County parallels the Phoenix experience. From a widely scattered population of 22,000 in 1940, these “suburbs” have grown by a factor of seventy to more than 1.8 million people, which is 20 percent larger than Phoenix. This historic shift in the balance of the Valley's population first occurred in 1990 and reflects an important long-term trend.<sup>4</sup>

The physical aspect of urbanization in the Valley reflects a similar pattern. In 1940 Phoenix covered a mere 10 square miles; by 2000 it had grown to encompass 477 square miles, second only to Houston in area. Starting in the 1970s, Valley suburbs increased their incorporated areas even more dramatically. The five largest suburbs now include more territory than Phoenix, and the remaining eighteen suburbs have incorporated nearly 40 percent more area

than the namesake city of this region—another indication of changes in store for the Valley.<sup>5</sup>

The look of Phoenix also changed fundamentally during this era. The 1940s downtown of department stores and shops, numerous small hotels and restaurants, and offices has been virtually erased. In its place are tall banks and a few large hotels, numerous public facilities like the Science and History museums and the convention center, sports facilities like America West Arena and Bank One Ballpark, numerous government buildings, and a proliferating number of upscale residential units.

Residentially, the initial predominance of bungalows and Southwest-style homes was followed by neighborhoods of modest ranch homes. The styles of these “older homes” (which in local realtor parlance means any structure built before 1970) were subsequently lost in a sea of suburbs with stucco walls and red tile roofs. The spread of planned communities (now half of all new housing), gated communities, and neighborhood associations represents a very different residential pattern and experience than what 1950s subdivisions provided.

These changes dramatically affected the nature of life in the Valley. The new Phoenix skyline is blurred or obscured by a low-lying, brown haze of pollution, which results mostly from automobile traffic. The number of vehicle miles traveled in the Valley has increased 700 percent in only the last thirty years. This dramatic change was made possible, of course, by enormous amounts of road construction: In 1960 the Valley boasted a meager ten miles of highway; now it is ringed and crisscrossed by bands of concrete, which are covered with rubberized asphalt to reduce the noise of constant traffic. The expanding scope of daily commutes and shopping trips has shrunk people’s perspective of distance. As one resident observed in the 1970s, “Way, way out used to be more than five minutes. . . . Today it’s more than an hour.”<sup>6</sup> The size of contemporary shopping malls and grocery stores makes their predecessors seem incomprehensibly small. People work in increasingly large

institutions. Manufacturers like Honeywell and Intel, retailers like Albertsons and Bashas', and service providers like Banner Health employ ten thousand or more persons. Before World War II Arizona State College in Tempe served some 1,500 students; today, Arizona State University (ASU) enrolls more than 57,000 students, making it one of the three largest universities in the nation. Even employment in professional sectors has taken on factory-like aspects. For example, Frank Snell and Mark Wilmer formed a partnership in 1938; today, the Snell and Wilmer law firm employs more than 350 lawyers.<sup>7</sup> Changes in scope also affected the nature of public leadership. Former mayor John Driggs noted this in 1978 when he observed that Phoenix was no longer "a little city where the people who influenced commerce and industry here could almost all be found at a service club luncheon."<sup>8</sup>

The extent of this transformation and its implications for individual lives are relatively clear, but other, larger issues are not. Was such growth anticipated? How did Phoenicians react to these developments? Most important, to what extent did growth create its own momentum or to what degree did individuals stimulate and direct it? The answers to these questions have implications not only for understanding the city's past, but also for making decisions about its future.

### **Intentional Growth**

In 1945 Phoenicians expected their city would grow rapidly. The possibilities suggested by the war-years boom simply added to the evidence from the preceding four decades of growth. No one anticipated, however, the extent or speed of this expansion. Furthermore, despite occasional periods of criticism or complaints about particular issues, for roughly half a century most Phoenicians viewed growth positively. Many spoke proudly of the city's transformation and rising status, and longtime residents saw the fulfillment of their dreams in the establishment of museums and cultural institutions, the proliferation of restaurants, and the acquisition of professional

teams in each of the four major sports. Indeed, residents often discussed the city's rising population and ranking in terms that resembled keeping score in a sporting contest. Each decade the new census population figures were greeted as a sign of increasing status. In 1990 citizens applauded a preliminary census report that Phoenix had bypassed Detroit to become the eighth largest city in the United States. When recounts, prompted by the Detroit mayor, eventually changed that ranking, city leaders approached the 2000 census as a contest to be won. Pleasure at ranking sixth in 2000 was followed by glee in 2004 at passing Philadelphia to rank fifth. Barry Goldwater, who was part of the initial shift toward development around 1950, reflected these attitudes in 1995 when he attempted to deflect criticism of the consequences of such enormous growth: "You can't complain about progress. My God, in 20 to 25 years this is going to be the fourth biggest city in the U.S."<sup>9</sup>

Growth has been more than just a striking feature of the city; it has been a constant and expected part of the city's life, and, more than that, it has been one of the city's dominant goals. In the words of one observer, growth has been to Phoenix "like cars to Detroit."<sup>10</sup> In a country of instant todays and forgotten yesterdays, Phoenix has led in rushing pell-mell into the future. Ever since its frontier beginnings Phoenix has been praised by dreamers, promoted by boosters, and sold by hucksters. In this respect Phoenix reflects traditional national values: a belief in limitless possibilities and that the future would be whatever one wished to make of it. In a nation and society convinced of the power of human endeavor, the seeming ability of science to solve virtually any problem, and the readily available resources of the federal government, growth and expansion seemed almost inevitable.

But the Valley also had particular attributes that made it amenable to dreaming—characteristics that encouraged residents to believe in a malleable environment and a blank canvas. Abundant sun, water, and level land—made attractive after the advent of climate controls like evaporative coolers and air conditioning—

seemingly allowed migrants to remake the land with structures and landscaping into whatever kind of place they wished.

While rooted in a national development ideology and reflecting specific advantages of the area, the transformation of Phoenix also resulted from the conscious planning of a select group of leaders.<sup>11</sup> The nation's involvement in World War II, which brought industry and manufacturing, military bases, and air transportation, struck a chord with these leaders, who saw the possibility of fundamentally shifting the direction in which the Valley was growing. For the next quarter-century three men—Frank Snell, cofounder of the Snell and Wilmer law firm; Walter Bimson, president of Valley National Bank; and Eugene Pulliam, publisher of the Valley's two newspapers—played vital roles in reshaping the history of metropolitan Phoenix. Working with and through the Chamber of Commerce and the Charter Government Committee, an upper-middle-class public leadership group, they successfully pushed for three things: reform of municipal government, a campaign of annexation, and an aggressive drive to transform the economy.<sup>12</sup>

Creating new governmental and political systems, tasks completed in 1949, involved important changes. The commission-manager form of government that Phoenix had used since the 1910s had suited a small city, but by the 1940s the complex tasks facing Phoenix government required the managerial expertise of a council-manager system. Changing the political system by adopting nonpartisan, at-large elections for city council members was less obviously necessary. Proponents of this system claimed that partisanship interfered with city governance, that at-large representation would encourage attention to citywide rather than neighborhood concerns, and that this broader perspective was essential for achieving significant development. Initially this argument made sense, but during the 1960s the city's increased size and diversity undermined this justification.<sup>13</sup> A major reason this election system remained both effective and problematic was the continuing role of the Charter Government Committee. Biennially it selected a slate of candidates,

which it financed and for which it campaigned. This system discouraged popular participation in politics, reducing voter turnout from 40 percent to near 20 percent, and effectively put the selection of city elected officials in the hands of a self-appointed elite.<sup>14</sup>

This system began collapsing in the 1970s because of competition among elites and opposition from groups excluded by this process. The turning point came in 1975, when Margaret Hance was elected mayor and Rosendo Gutierrez and Calvin Goode won reelection to the city council—all overcoming Charter Government Committee candidates. The adoption of a district election system in 1982, the election of Terry Goddard as mayor, and increases in institutional and financial support for city council members thereafter created a new system for selecting leaders and a very different environment for decision making.<sup>15</sup>

While the political system did change, city government did not. Phoenix retained a strong city manager system and provided reasonable city services for relatively low cost, as reflected in its multiple awards as an All American City. Governmental efficiency was always an important political goal, but in the 1940s and 1950s it had been essential for achieving expansion, the second goal of postwar Phoenix leaders. Only by convincing residents of the surrounding neighborhoods that Phoenix government was efficient (and honest) and that city services were valuable could the city expand. During the 1950s Phoenix struggled with several surrounding communities that were considering incorporating themselves, and it competed with Tempe and Scottsdale over annexing territory. The city's success in those contests guaranteed its role as the Valley's dominant city and enabled it to avoid the suburban strangulation that afflicted Eastern and Midwestern cities.<sup>16</sup>

The postwar leadership's third goal was economic development. They carefully determined the types of companies they wished to attract—clean industries with large numbers of well-paid, educated employees—and how to do so. Besides reforming Phoenix government, they pursued tax and labor policies that companies

would find attractive. Finally, they concluded that successful recruitment of such companies and their employees would require improving various aspects of the community, particularly schools, libraries, and cultural institutions. In this area, too, their concerted strategy was relatively effective, especially in the early decades.<sup>17</sup>

Even before World War II, Phoenicians had begun thinking about the benefits of aviation. Unlike train travel, which allowed or even required frequent stops, air travel was point-to-point, and the speed overcame the city's previous disadvantage of being too distant from other population centers. Thus, initially to encourage tourism, city leaders recruited TWA to provide a second airline connection for the Valley. The prewar training of pilots at Sky Harbor airport, followed by the wartime construction of six airfields in the Valley for training pilots, encouraged those leaders to think more broadly. After the war, city leaders actively pursued federal dollars to expand the airport and passed local bond measures to continue that expansion at regular intervals. By the mid-1950s Sky Harbor was the tenth busiest airport in the nation; by 1961 it ranked sixth, and subsequent expansions have kept it one of the nation's busiest airports, for both passengers and freight.<sup>18</sup>

By the late 1940s the Chamber of Commerce was working assiduously and effectively to recruit new businesses, including AiResearch, Honeywell, GE, Sperry, and Motorola. Each of these businesses involved electronics, but even more important, each focused on aviation, aerospace, and military-related production. Not until the 1960s did nonmilitary manufacturing develop to a substantial extent.<sup>19</sup> By that time the electronics industry was well established in the Valley, particularly through the sizable presence of Motorola. Subsequently, Intel constructed microchip plants in the area, and the growth of several computer distribution companies added to the high-tech sector of the Valley's economy.<sup>20</sup>

After the early 1960s Valley leaders paid less and less attention to planning economic development, concern about the quality of jobs faded, and the boom of the 1970s and 1980s discouraged

planning in favor of a construction-driven economy. The relatively few planning successes during this era included attracting a regional center for the credit card division of American Express and hosting the 1996 Super Bowl. More symptomatic was the failed effort in the mid-1980s to attract a consortium of computer companies, which settled instead in Austin. Many leaders became complacent about the Valley economy's ability to grow. Those whom *Arizona Republic* columnist John Talton called the "real estate-industrial complex" believed in achieving prosperity simply by building housing for new arrivals—despite periodic busts. Others touted the Valley as attracting high-tech companies and employment; yet by the 1990s the Valley ranked only near the middle of U.S. cities in this regard, and the predominance of microchip-fabrication plants represented a serious weakness.<sup>21</sup> Not until the 1980s did public and private leaders initiate new efforts to direct the nature of economic development, most notably by creating the Greater Phoenix Economic Council in 1989.

A final aspect of the changing character of the Valley's economy concerns the role of higher education. The contemporary connection is readily apparent and is linked to renewed efforts to provide a new direction for economic development. A concerted effort by state, city, and industry leaders succeeded in attracting the Translational Genomics Research Institute to Phoenix in 2002, in part because of active university collaboration; in 2003 ASU began a collaborative program of medical research and development with the Mayo Clinic; and in 2004 ASU announced a joint venture with the city of Scottsdale to create an ASU Scottsdale Center for New Technology and Innovation, which would "include traditional and non-traditional business incubators, as well as programs focusing on technologies at the intersection of engineering, art and bioscience." These developments have prompted alterations in the structure and operation of the university: combining three biology departments into a School of Life Sciences, partly to encourage collaborative efforts; creating the Arizona Biodesign Institute; and luring the

Center for Science, Policy and Outcomes from Columbia University.<sup>22</sup>

The connection between universities and business predates these efforts, of course, and the founding of the ASU Research Park in the early 1980s is one notable example. But an even more significant connection began during the 1950s. Motorola Vice President Daniel Noble campaigned publicly and privately for engineering degree and graduate programs at Arizona State College, explaining that both the narrow and broader expansions were crucial for the success of Motorola and the Valley. He was joined in this successful campaign by other industry leaders. These leaders were also crucial in the public battle and statewide referendum in 1958 to raise the institution to university status—a campaign that the University of Arizona and Tucson opposed, and lost.<sup>23</sup>

### **Continuities and Limits**

This brief analysis demonstrates that fundamental changes have occurred in the Valley's demographic, political, and economic character during the past fifty years. The great deal of conscious planning that led to these changes does show similarities with the intentional behavior of persons living on the frontier. Beyond that, however, how much continuity exists between the two eras? In the face of such transformations, can we talk meaningfully about continuity?

The starting point for my evaluation is the simple but important truism that change is at the center of all human history. Even periods of seeming stasis can be seen in retrospect to have harbored shifting undercurrents of change. The issue is not whether change occurred, but the type, degree, and nature of responses to change. Historical comparisons are a helpful tool of analysis, and the many studies of nineteenth-century American population mobility offer useful insights. Much of American society in that era, like Phoenix in the twentieth century, experienced change that was profound, constant, and thus, ironically, predictable. Studies of various types of

places throughout the nation and across the century reveal tremendous population growth and mobility. The American population grew dramatically, but net population increase provides only a weak sign of how frequently and how many people moved. A better indication is that during each decade roughly 50 percent of an area's population left and was replaced (or exceeded); a still more useful measure is that approximately one in three persons moved every year. In much of the nation the passage of westward-bound wagons was an ever-present reality for decades, and mapmakers were constantly busy, as towns sprang up like mushrooms and railroad lines boosted populations.<sup>24</sup>

Yet despite such a churning population and obvious growth, communities maintained significant stability in politics, economy, and social relationships. One of the stability factors that fairly recent studies discuss is that populations migrated according to relatively persistent social patterns. Second, the range of possible difference was limited by where in the country a community was—in Ohio, for example, or Kentucky, or Louisiana. Finally, settlers quickly established institutions to channel, reinforce, and possibly convert people in cultural, religious, social, and political ways. These social mechanisms, as well as the historically significant role of geography, help explain why, despite growth, even places like Phoenix have experienced much continuity.

One important and visible element of continuity in the Valley's history is people, especially families. Names familiar in Phoenix—like Goldwater, Snell, and Korrick—or names familiar in the state—like Udall and Babbitt—remind residents of personal connections to the past. People also connect through memory, both individual and created, collective memories. Much as the Old Pioneer societies of the late nineteenth century represented a blend of personal and historical interest—turning in most cases into historical societies (as did the Arizona Historical Society)—similar efforts to combine these attitudes are seen in the more recent past. Although the state's Western lore retains interest for some, the 1970s marked a turning

point in the historical focus of Arizonans. Establishment of the Phoenix History Project was symbolic of this shift, but also in that decade various Valley communities began organizing historical societies. By the 1990s many had metamorphosed into museums, joined by the substantial Phoenix Museum of History and the Arizona Historical Society Museum. A growing interest in the area's prehistory is represented in the Pueblo Grande Museum and other area sites. Equally striking is the expanding interest in preserving the physical history of the Valley. The city's Historic Preservation Office, started in 1985, had by 2003 identified 6,926 structures of historic value and designated thirty-five historic districts. And efforts by the state office have added to the success of these efforts.<sup>25</sup>

The reality of place constitutes another important element of continuity.<sup>26</sup> At some stage and in some ways all immigrants to the Valley have had to confront the fact that they are no longer in Kansas—or in California, Hawaii, or Minnesota. The starting point in thinking about this Valley is that it is located in a desert—a desert with fair access to water, but still a desert. The past, present, and future of the area are linked to water; it is a continuing and unavoidable issue. Of course, a persistent tradition has people seeking to deny this, particularly by creating landscapes more reflective of tropical areas or eastern woodlands. (Reacting to the near-universal presence of “lakes” in new developments, one wag claimed that inside the head of every Valley developer was a map of Minnesota.)

And in one sense the Valley's twentieth-century history reflects a series of efforts to overcome the reality of being located in a desert. At great expense the Salt River Project dams, starting with Roosevelt Dam in 1911, and the Central Arizona Project have attempted to protect residents against the harsh realities of this environment. Yet the recurrence of floods (a dozen serious floods occurred in the Valley between 1966 and 1996) and drought (which has also occurred with some frequency and has hit with particular severity recently) provide crucial reminders of the limitations facing Valley residents. Prompted by the outside force of the federal

government, Arizona enacted the Groundwater Management Act of 1980, which imposed some restraints on the use of groundwater. For the next decade water usage actually declined in most communities. Unfortunately, the trend reversed in the mid-1990s. Together with surprisingly rapid growth and drought, this reversal has led some residents to anticipate water-use restrictions.<sup>27</sup>

An increasing recognition of place has been appearing in various forms. One example is the rising popularity of xeriscaping, i.e., the use of drought-tolerant plants in landscaping. Perhaps the greatest influence in this regard was the Desert Botanical Garden, which started in the 1930s but in the 1970s began engaging in public education regarding desert plants. The Boyce Thompson Arboretum began pursuing similar activities, and beginning in the 1980s Valley nurseries became more likely to stock desert plants. Developers, who have great influence over landscaping and water use, made some adjustments to accommodate changing ideas, but by the late 1970s golf courses had become a standard feature of housing developments. Yet even in this area important changes have occurred. In 2004 roughly two-thirds of the water used by golf courses was treated effluent, and courses were increasingly designed to recycle their water.<sup>28</sup>

Water usage also ties into the use of land for agriculture. Anglos settled this valley, like Indians before them, in order to farm, and through the 1930s this remained a major purpose. Clearly the economic impact of and use of land for agriculture have diminished since then. However, the bulk of the Valley's water still goes to farms, the importance of agriculture in terms of land use is quickly evident to the air traveler, and economic reports demonstrate its continued place in the area's economy. For economic, political, and social reasons, agriculture will persist in the Valley.<sup>29</sup>

The land itself constitutes another aspect of place. A significant share of the land in Arizona is owned by the federal government, the state government, or various Indian nations. Although these proportions have changed slightly over time, as have the rules

regarding the use of lands, that basic fact has had and will continue to have a pronounced effect on this area. The most volatile element in this mix is state trust land—land to be sold in order to fund public education. The difficult choices between maximizing income for schools versus protecting the environment and avoiding unwise development have posed persistent challenges requiring Solomon-like wisdom.<sup>30</sup>

A final aspect of place concerns location. Arizona shares an international border with Mexico, which involves it, inevitably and on an ongoing basis, in larger discussions about national purpose and policies such as immigration and trade. The state also borders New Mexico and California, connections that have increased in importance after World War II. The roles of both states in defense contracting, especially related to aerospace and nuclear weapons, have had a continuing effect on Arizona's manufacturing sector and economy in general. Economic and personal connections with California loom very large. California has consistently been the most common destination for out-migrants from Arizona, as well as the most common source for in-migrants. Partly as a result, from highways to housing styles to clothing styles, California's culture heavily influences Arizona. As Kathleen Ingley commented, "If you wonder about Arizona's future, just look west. California is shaping our destiny." But the relationship has always had its difficulties, and a century-long battle with California over Colorado River water will continue to complicate relations between the two states.<sup>31</sup>

People, both separately and in relation to place, constitute a third element of continuity. Native Americans have never comprised more than 2 percent of the population in Phoenix or Maricopa County, but urban sprawl has made the distinct Salt River, Fort McDowell, and Gila River Indian communities parts of the larger metropolitan area. The development of prominent institutions like the Heard Museum and the Pueblo Grande Museum, as well as events like the Heard's Indian Fair and Market, have made Indian people more visible within the area. Moreover, their notions

of place and their historical connections with this particular place frame the ongoing discussions over the environment.<sup>32</sup>

The connection between people and place is true as well for Mexico and the Mexican American population. Mexican immigrants have played a significant if unappreciated role throughout the state's history. Earlier in the century their presence led to restrictive definitions of the franchise, to scapegoating in major labor disputes, and to forced repatriation. Nevertheless, their importance in the workforce continued throughout the century, although it has shifted from being divided between working as miners and agricultural laborers, to working in factories, construction, and service industries. Within Phoenix from 1940 to 1990 the Mexican proportion of the population remained strikingly constant at roughly 15 percent. That pattern changed dramatically during the 1990s, however, when the Mexican proportion of the Phoenix population more than doubled. This change is reflected in many other measures as well: in a growing proportion of Mexican Americans attending and graduating from college, in more Mexican American men and women in business and professional positions, in the creation of numerous Hispanic organizations, and in the proliferation of Spanish-language media.<sup>33</sup>

A fourth constant in the history of the Valley is the basic structure of this urban area, the built environment. Phoenix has grown substantially and changed in numerous ways, but it is and will remain different than Baltimore—or St. Louis or Cleveland or other older cities. Despite its smaller size, Phoenix has always been more like Los Angeles, a diffuse, multicentered, “postmodern city.” Nothing has or will alter the fundamental differences in urban structure, heritage, and perspective between cities built during the automobile era and those structured in earlier times around other transportation systems. The layout of Phoenix, the basic density of most of its neighborhoods, and its structural components are here and will not change. Efforts to create residential sections in the downtowns of Phoenix and several other Valley cities may be

successful and represent some shift in building patterns, but any significant opportunities for the emergence of different patterns are on the fringe, in areas of new building. It is here that the issues of environment, ecology, and land use will be worked out, possibly in new ways.<sup>34</sup>

A final, somewhat surprising but only partial element of continuity is the economy. Despite its touted growth and development, the Valley's economy looks much like it did in the 1950s:

- ❑ the manufacturing workforce doubled during the 1950s, but in the 1990s the proportion fell back to 10 percent;
- ❑ construction remains roughly the same: volatile, employing underpaid labor, and dependent on a constant stream of in-migrants, legal and illegal;
- ❑ service remains the largest economic sector;
- ❑ the high-tech workforce has remained concentrated in the lower-end fabrication area; and
- ❑ most disturbing, after making some improvement after 1950, the average wage in Phoenix has fallen further behind the national average since the 1970s.<sup>35</sup>

Of course, economic structures are more malleable than water supplies or climate, and the efforts of the last decade to redirect the economy may bear significant fruit. Yet growth alone cannot foster a willingness to support education, and the creation of wealth does not guarantee philanthropic giving to Valley charities.

By the 1990s Phoenicians had formed conflicting conclusions about the balance between continuity and change in the city's history. Looking back over some sixty years in the Valley, Frank Snell, one of the leaders who had shaped and encouraged the city's growth, confessed that he had "liked Phoenix best when it had about 400,000 people," the city's size in the late 1950s.<sup>36</sup> By contrast, his friend Barry Goldwater, although regretting some environmental consequences of growth, generally felt enthusiastic about the city's rising national status, a view also held by other Valley residents.

Tom Chauncey, another Phoenix power broker, expressed more reservations, judging that “we’ve grown too fast.” Novelist Glendon Swarthout voiced much stronger criticisms about the path Phoenix had followed. “When we came, the Valley was an Eden,” he wrote in 1991. “There was ample room, a population which fit, air as clean as a mirror, and a lovely lifestyle. Then for thirty years we let the businessmen and politicians who ran the Valley lead us down the garden path of unplanned growth. Crime, traffic, heat, air pollution, bankruptcies, unemployment, corruption—the quality of our lives is pathetically diminished and what have we been given as compensation? Professional sports.”<sup>37</sup>

After six decades of tremendous growth, the Phoenix area finds itself caught between two powerful elements: the irresistible force of growth and the immovable reality of the desert. The area’s continuing transformation resembles both the change that characterized many frontiers and the perpetuation of familiar elements—such as suburbs as far as the eye can see. People, by staying in this area and through creating institutions and culture, have produced continuity amidst the growth. What have proved even more impressive and effective, however, have been efforts to envision and realize a society that fits within this environment. The struggle to shape the future of Phoenix is thus linked with efforts to describe and understand its past.

## **Discussion**

**Q:** I’m not sure how to phrase this, but I think your comment about sporting complexes is an important one: Are we willing, as citizens of this region, to allow sporting complexes to define our place in history? Sports seem to drive other cities, and the same thing is happening here.

**A:** I think that actually sports have become extremely important in the last twenty-five years. I think they have particular resonance here because there are so many in-migrants. They provide a

sense of identification for people who don't know where the boundary between Tempe and Mesa is, or can't identify a neighborhood—for whom greater Phoenix all seems one vast area. It is also important to note that sports are not just social or recreational activities—this is a political issue because every major sporting facility is connected to public funds. That's not unique here, of course. Since 1962, every major football or baseball stadium, except one, has been built completely or with at least a substantial amount of public money. Of course, then, this issue relates to a whole series of other questions about how you fund education or cultural events, and so you start getting into trade-offs. In this day and age, it's impossible to understand either sense of identity or public policy questions without looking at sports.

**Q:** How do people who live in the Valley self-identify? Are they just so disparate that there is no Valley identity?

**A:** Well, different Valley cities have had different strategies. I think Tempe's strategy, both economically and in terms of identification, has been to try to focus on higher-level types of development, to focus primarily on Tempe Town Lake and downtown. Mesa doesn't have a strategy, it will never have a strategy, and I don't think it will ever have an identity. So the answer rather depends. I think that most people in the Valley have some sort of connection to downtown Phoenix, but it varies, particularly depending on how long they have lived in the Valley.

**Q:** I had a couple of thoughts about the water issue. One is the cyclical problem of the Hohokam and the decline of that classic period civilization because of water problems—I've actually heard people make that argument. You said that most water is used for agriculture, but that Phoenicians really don't see that as the problem in the long run; rather, it is population growth that's the problem for water. What do you think about that?

**A:** The answer depends on how far we project into the future. In

1980, agriculture used 90 percent of the state's water. That figure is down to about 80 percent now. Obviously, when you consider population growth, if you want to save water, the answer seems simple: We just take out some farms and put in some subdivisions, and we'll use less water. That's certainly what developers argue. In his book on the Valley, Grady Gammage proposes a simple calculation. He says that the Valley, given the amount of available water, could actually support ten million people—of course, that would mean getting rid of all agriculture and nobody could breathe, but it would be an option. Gammage actually suggests saving some agriculture. It seems to me that there are rather important political issues here. We are talking about farmers who actually have lobbyists. They're an important part of the political debate here. So, to think, as we sometimes do, that housing developments are inevitably going to be built everywhere and anywhere is not necessarily the case.

**Panel:** With respect to agriculture, farms, and people, what to do with water is a big issue in Spain today. In the north there is a lot of water; in the south there are different situations. We have the Desert of Almería and the Ebro. Water is a major political issue that cuts across party lines. Members of one party in the north say one thing; members of the same party in the south argue exactly the opposite. One argument is that agriculture is the life of Spain, and it needs water. The opposite argument is that Spain depends on its tourist industry, so the best use for water is golf courses. So you have business and big money interests promoting tourism as the best use of water, because we can produce agricultural products in other places or import them from other countries. And this issue is being hotly debated, with many demonstrations in every major city favoring one or the other position.

**Panel:** Well, as in Europe, in this country agriculture is heavily involved with government money, whether through crop

subsidies or water allocations. I think we have a tradition that relies on the invocation of family farms (which is somewhat of a myth these days). So it is hard to talk about where agriculture should take place, and where maybe it should not. If we had rational national planning, we would probably figure out that maybe there are some areas where agriculture shouldn't be engaged in. Clearly golf is another one of those sports issues; there are more than 225 golf courses in the Valley now, and this number is increasing rapidly. And golf courses are clearly a major use of water.

**Q:** Having moved here 5½ years ago from Houston, which has experienced unrestricted growth, and comparing that with the carefully controlled growth in Portland, I wonder: Do you have any suggestions or proposals on how Phoenix could manage growth?

**A:** I think, and this is what Grady Gammage says as well, that water is the easiest way to control growth. That doesn't always work, of course. Anthem, north of Phoenix, is a thriving metropolis, and there's no water there. The ground is solid bedrock, so digging wells was not an option. The developers figured out that they could lease water rights from the Ak Chin Indian Community. But, I do think in fact that there is a growing concern about controlling growth, and my marker is to look at what was actually legislated in 1998 and 2000 when the legislators were scared into acting out of fear that a citizens' growth initiative was going to pass.

**Q:** I recall very well when the Apache tribe refused to renew the ninety-nine-year leases of expensive summer homes at Hawley Lake. If the Ak Chin tribe owns that water, why should we expect them to renew the lease when it runs out?

**A:** Envision ninety-four or ninety-five years from now, when Anthem has fifty thousand people (which in fact, it is going to have in a few years). I'm convinced Phoenix politicians cannot

say, “You’re just out of luck. We won’t sell you water.” I’m convinced Anthem will end up buying its water from somewhere else.

**Q:** In connection with the importation of water from outside sources—specifically the Central Arizona Project—and Indian water rights, can you give us your take on that?

**A:** There are a lot of people who can do that better than I can. It is an incredibly complex issue in terms of law but probably not in terms of basic ownership. We’re talking about people who for various reasons lost their water rights, and now they need to reclaim them. The question is one of method, not of what the outcome ought to be.

**Panel:** Of course, using the Winters decision to regain their water is part of the strategy. But another issue is that people in Arizona develop projects with eyes bigger than their pockets. In terms of Central Arizona Project water, the farmers, or whoever ends up using it, have to pay back the federal government for the cost of getting the water. And the money is not there. So all of a sudden, the responsibility comes to the surface to provide sufficient water to Native Americans.

**Q:** Phoenix essentially lacks a viable downtown. What are the implications of that for culture and life in the Valley?

**A:** I remember growing up in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in the 1950s and 1960s and seeing the downtown there disappear. At the time I thought, “This is the result of people in the area doing foolish things.” I no longer think that. Fundamental factors simply developed in the nation and, in fact, hit everywhere. The downtown declined in Chicago ten years ago. The southern end of the Loop was in serious trouble; it was closed after five o’clock. What has changed in Phoenix, it seems to me, is the same thing that has happened in lots of places. You have a different kind of downtown, one that is not focused on retail.

Many cities spent decades trying to get retail to move back to downtown, and that will never happen. Instead, what you have are sports complexes, cultural institutions, and restaurants.

Residential areas are also an important component of a successful downtown, and in the last five years in Phoenix, there has been important development along those lines.

**Q:** What elements do you think are needed to make a successful downtown area? Will the recent introduction of light rail there make a difference?

**A:** To have a successful downtown, I think you need a whole variety of things that reinforce different aspects of life. An important question is how expensive the housing is and who is going to live in it. I believe there needs to be a blend of housing to attract different types of people with different income levels. In terms of light rail, I think it's better to have some than none, but there are more effective options. I am a little concerned about a surface-level system that is basically confined by traffic lights and cross streets—that it will have the same problems as busses.

## Notes

1. Attempting to discuss the frontier is like walking through a minefield. Although I consider it important to study the frontier and the West as places, I also find it valuable to think about the frontier as process, and over the years various authors have provided ways to do this. Useful sources to investigate this concept include William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), note especially Cronon's comment on page 6 that "comparative study of parallel regional changes—'frontier processes'—has much to offer"; and Walter Nugent, "Comparing Wests and Frontiers," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 803–33. Useful critiques of the debate include William G. Robbins, "Laying Siege to Western History: The Emergence of New Paradigms,"

*Reviews in American History* 19 (September 1991): 313–31; and William Cronon, “Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 157–76.

2. A convenient source for state population data over time is the Census Bureau’s Mini Historical Statistics site, in this case the table entitled “Resident Population by State: 1900–2002,” March 16, 2004 (accessed June 14, 2004), available from [http://www.census.gov/statab/hist/HS\\_04.pdf](http://www.census.gov/statab/hist/HS_04.pdf).

3. See, e.g., William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991); Oliver Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); and Sam Bass Warner, *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

4. Morrison Institute for Public Policy, *Hits and Misses: Fast Growth in Metropolitan Phoenix* (Tempe: Morrison Institute for Public Policy, 2000), 8–9, 26–27.

5. *Ibid.*; “Cities with 100,000 or More Population Ranked by Selected Subject, Land Area, 2000,” table in *County and City Data Book, 2000* (U.S. Bureau of the Census), March 16, 2004 (accessed June 14, 2004), available from <http://www.census.gov/statab/ccdb/cit1010r.txt>. By a strict measure Phoenix ranked fifth in area, after the cities of Anchorage, Jacksonville, and Oklahoma City. However, their sizes reflect not their populations (and, perhaps, a sense of population sprawl) but a political strategy of incorporating the surrounding and relatively unpopulated county. My concern, in other words, is not with political boundaries but with a reasonable sense of the built city.

6. Travel and highway information from Morrison Institute, *Hits and Misses*, 14; quotation from interview with William Beardsley, October 11, 1978, p. 24, transcript in Phoenix History Project Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe.

7. For contemporary employment data see the *Arizona Republic*, October 5, 2003, sec. D, pp. 3–4; ASU enrollment data are available from the annual reports of the *Arizona Statistical Review* (Phoenix: Valley National Bank, 1949–1994). For information on the Snell firm, see interview with Frank

Snell, May 25, 1978, p. 81, transcript in Phoenix History Project Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe; Snell & Wilmer, "History" (accessed March 18, 2003), available at <http://www.swlaw.com/about/history.html>.

8. Interview with John Driggs, July 13, 1978, pp. 38-39, transcript in Phoenix History Project Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe.

9. See, for example, the headline "Git Along, Little Philly," *Arizona Republic*, June 20, 2004, sec. V, p. 1. Goldwater is quoted in Peter Iverson, *Barry Goldwater: Native Arizonan* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 239.

10. Quoted by John Stuart Hall, "Arizona's Growth Continuum and Policy Choices," in Morrison Institute for Public Policy, *Growth in Arizona: The Machine in the Garden* (Tempe: Morrison Institute for Public Policy, 1998), 9.

11. To demonstrate and explain the unique success of Phoenix requires more space than I can devote here. One can get a rough sense of the pattern by comparing the decadal population figures for cities in the West, especially in the Intermountain West. For a confirmation in two comparative cases, see Michael F. Logan, *Fighting Sprawl and City Hall: Resistance to Urban Growth in the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

12. I have written about these developments at greater length in Philip R. VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising: The Making of a Desert Metropolis* (Carlsbad, CA: Heritage Media, 2002), 26-27.

13. See *ibid.*, 26-33, 46-51. Earlier historians focused on arguments about corruption and urban vice. See Michael Konig, "Toward Metropolis Status: Charter Government and the Rise of Phoenix, Arizona, 1945-1960" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1983); and Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 146-51. Others were more critical of government in the 1950s. See Brent Whiting Brown, "An Analysis of the Phoenix Charter Government Committee as a Political Entity" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1968); and Leonard E. Goodall, "Phoenix: Reformers at Work," in Goodall, ed., *Urban Politics in the Southwest* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1967), 110-27.

14. This analysis is based on calculations from election data in *Registered Voters and Votes Cast for Mayor and Council, Primary and General Election, Phoenix, 1949-1979* (Phoenix: City of Phoenix, 1980) and linear interpola-

tion of population data (corrected for age and citizenship) from the U.S. Census, 1950–1970.

15. *Arizona Republic*, December 1–2, 1982, and November 2, 1983; interview with Terry Goddard, October 2, 2001, in possession of the author.

16. On services see Amy Bridges, *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); on annexation see John Dale Wenum, *Annexation as a Technique for Metropolitan Growth: The Case of Phoenix, Arizona* (Tempe: Institute of Public Administration, Arizona State University, 1970); and Edna McEwen Ellis, *Sunny Slope: A History of the North Desert Area of Phoenix* (Phoenix: Art Press, 1990).

17. On tax and labor policies see Luckingham, *Phoenix*, 157–59. On culture see VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 117–20.

18. Matt McCoy describes the establishment of the various World War II bases in “The Desert Metropolis: Image Building and the Growth of Phoenix, 1940–1965” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2000), 47–54. Michael D. Jones provides a fairly comprehensive, descriptive history of the development of Sky Harbor airport in *Desert Wings: A History of Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport* (Tempe: Jetblast Publications, 1997); “Phoenix: City on Wings,” *Arizona Highways* 33 (April 1957): 26. For data on airport traffic see the annual reports of the *Arizona Statistical Review*. Grady Gammage, Jr., comments insightfully on the nature of air transportation in *Phoenix in Perspective: Reflections on Developing the Desert* (Tempe: Herberger Center for Design Excellence, Arizona State University, 1999), 32–33.

19. “Shifting Trends in Employment, 1939–1953: Arizona and the United States,” *Arizona Business and Economic Review* 3 (September 1954): 1–6; *Arizona Republic*, November 9, 1952, sec. 7, entitled “Production for Freedom Week”; Judith Anne Jacobson, “The Phoenix Chamber of Commerce: A Case Study of Economic Development in Central Arizona” (Master’s thesis, Arizona State University, 1992), 36–43; interviews in the Phoenix History Project Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe, with Carl Bimson (July 23, 1976), Frank Snell (September 28, 1978) transcript, 107–9, and (December 7, 1978) transcript, 112–7, and Nicholas Udall (December 21, 1977) transcript, 22; Lynne Pierson Doti and Larry Schweikart, “Financing the Postwar Housing Boom in Phoenix and Los Angeles, 1945–1960,” *Pacific Historical Review* 58 (May 1989): 183; and *290 New Manufacturers in the*

*Phoenix Area since March 1, 1948* (Phoenix: Industrial Department, Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, 1960).

20. See “January 1974 Marks Motorola’s 25th Year in Phoenix!” Motorola Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe; interview with Daniel Noble, September 26, 1976, Phoenix History Project Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe; John Shirer, “The Motorola Research Laboratory in Phoenix,” *Arizona Business and Economic Review* 2 (February 1953): 1–4; Daniel E. Noble, “Motorola Expands in Phoenix,” *Arizona Business and Economic Review* 3 (June 1954): 1–2; “About Intel Arizona,” company history (accessed June 24, 2004) available at <http://www.pc.com/community/arizona/aboutsite.htm>.

21. Morrison Institute for Public Policy, *Five Shoes Waiting to Drop on Arizona’s Future* (Tempe: Morrison Institute for Public Policy, 2001), 24–32.

22. “Translational Genomics Research Institute Formally Launches in Arizona: Dr. Jeffrey Trent to Be Named President and Chief Scientific Officer,” City of Phoenix news release, June 26, 2003 (accessed June 22, 2004), available from <http://www.phxskyharbor.com/NEWSREL/tgri.html>; “Mayo Clinic, ASU Form Research, Development Collaboration,” Arizona State University news release, July 18, 2003 (accessed June 22, 2004), available at [http://www.asu.edu/asunews/research/mayoclinic\\_agr\\_071803.htm](http://www.asu.edu/asunews/research/mayoclinic_agr_071803.htm); “About the School of Life Sciences,” description from <http://sols.asu.edu/text/aboutsols.php> (accessed June 24, 2004); Kerry Fehr-Snyder, “ASU Chief Lures Science Think Tank; Group Seeks to Develop Policy,” *Arizona Republic*, January 23, 2004 (accessed June 15, 2004), available at <http://www.azcentral.com/arizonarepublic/local/articles/0123asuscience23.html>.

23. Noble played an extremely important role in this, arguing for the general importance of higher education in terms of knowledge and culture, in addition to the narrower benefit of training Motorola engineers. See the articles clipped from the *Arizona Republic* (March 18, 1956, March 23, 1956, March 25, 1956, June 1, 1957, and February 6, 1962) for Daniel E. Noble, in the Biographical Collection Files, Arizona Collection, Arizona State University; also see the Noble interview, Arizona Historical Society. On ASU’s development and the struggle over university status, see Ernest J. Hopkins and Alfred Thomas Jr., *The Arizona State University Story* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1960), 245–304.

24. Peter R. Knights, *Yankee Destinies: The Lives of Ordinary Nineteenth-Century Bostonians* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Kenneth J. Winkle, *The Politics of Community: Migration and Politics in Antebellum Ohio* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); George W. Pierson, *The Moving American* (New York: Knopf, 1973); Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). See also Bernard L. Weinstein and Robert E. Firestone, *Regional Growth and Decline in the United States: The Rise of the Sunbelt and the Decline of the Northeast* (New York: Praeger, 1978).

25. Arizona Historical Society, “A Brief History of the Arizona Historical Society” (accessed June 28, 2004) available at <http://ahs.dreamteamtech.com/information/default.asp?NavPageID=21440>; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 111; museums and websites (accessed 28 June 2004) available at <http://www.azuswebworks.com/az/museums.html>; Morrison Institute for Public Policy, “A Place for Arts & Culture: A Maricopa County Overview,” draft report for the Maricopa Regional Arts & Culture Task Force (Tempe: Morrison Institute for Public Policy, September 2003), 37–40 (accessed June 28, 2004), available at [http://www.flinn.org/docs/2003\\_11\\_18\\_Arts\\_and\\_Culture\\_in\\_Maricopa\\_County\\_642.pdf](http://www.flinn.org/docs/2003_11_18_Arts_and_Culture_in_Maricopa_County_642.pdf); and Historic Preservation Commission and Office, *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2002–2003* (Phoenix: Historic Preservation Commission, 2003), 4.

26. For useful discussions of place see D. W. Meinig, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change 1600–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); John Brickerhoff Jackson, *American Space* (New York: Norton, 1972); David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner, eds., *Many Wests: Place, Culture, & Regional Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997); and Stephen M. Sloan, “Negotiating a Sense of Place in the Salt River Valley: Urbanites and the Desert” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2003).

27. Karen L. Smith provides a good overview of water in the Valley in “Water, Water Everywhere, Nor . . .,” in Beth Luey and Noel J. Stowe, eds., *Arizona at Seventy-Five: The Next Twenty-Five Years* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 149–72; and the Salt River Project published a useful celebratory history booklet entitled *A Valley Reborn* (Phoenix: SRP, 2002). Andrew M. Honker analyzes flooding and the Salt River in “A River Sometimes Runs Through It: A History of Salt River Flooding and Phoenix” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2002). On the Groundwater

Management Act (GMA), see Athia Hardt, ed., *Arizona Waterline* ([Phoenix:] Salt River Project, 1989), 165–94. In *Phoenix in Perspective*, 28–30, Gammage discusses the GMA, but he also evaluates the role of water in the Valley throughout his insightful work. Also see *Governor's Water Management Commission, Final Report* (Phoenix: Governor of Arizona, 2001), 57, 60 (accessed February 10, 2003), available at <http://www.water.az.gov/adwr/Content/Publications/files/FinalReport.pdf>; Mark Frank, “Municipal Water Use in the Phoenix Active Management Area” (accessed February 22, 2003) available at <http://ag.arizona.edu/OALS/urbanization/urban.html>. Also see Greater Phoenix 2100, *Greater Phoenix Regional Atlas* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2003), 30–36. City of Phoenix, “Why a Drought Plan?” July 10, 2002 (accessed June 29, 2004) available at <http://phoenix.gov/WATER/drtwhy.html>.

28. Tara A. Blanc, *Oasis in the City: The History of the Desert Botanical Garden* (Phoenix: Heritage Publishers, 2000); *Arizona Republic*, June 5, 2004, sec. C; and Koren Capozza, “Desperately Seeking a Sustainable Vacation: Phoenix Begins to Meet the Challenge,” Environmental News Network, March 1, 2002 (accessed June 29, 2004), available at [http://www.enn.com/news/enn\\_stories/2002/03/03012002/s\\_46447.asp](http://www.enn.com/news/enn_stories/2002/03/03012002/s_46447.asp).

29. Tom Rex, “Development of Metropolitan Phoenix: Historical, Current, and Future Trends,” report prepared for the Morrison Institute of Public Policy, August 2000, 11–12, 15 (accessed June 26, 2004), available at <http://wpcarey.asu.edu/seidman/cbr/PDFs/development.pdf>; Morrison Institute, *Hits and Misses*, 18–19; *Greater Phoenix Regional Atlas*, 30–35; Gammage, *Phoenix in Perspective*, 91–92.

30. *Greater Phoenix Regional Atlas*, 14–20; Gammage, *Phoenix in Perspective*, 101–2, 114–20; and Grady Gammage, Jr., and Jonathan Fink, “The Phoenix Experiment,” March 1, 2004, 9–13 (accessed June 29, 2004) available at [http://west.stanford.edu/events/edge\\_conference/papers/GAMMAGE&FINK.DOC](http://west.stanford.edu/events/edge_conference/papers/GAMMAGE&FINK.DOC).

31. Roger W. Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Hal Rothman, *Rims and Ridges: The Los Alamos Area since 1880* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Kathleen Ingley, “Arizona’s ‘Golden’ Future: California, Here We Come—Following the Trends You Set,” *Arizona Republic*, November 17, 2002, sec. V,

p. 1; and Philip L. Fradkin, *A River No More: The Colorado River and the West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981).

32. For convenient access to population figures for 1990 through 2000, see the tables available at <http://www.asu.edu/lib/hayden/govdocs/aedc/index.html>, provided March 12, 2003 (accessed April 20, 2004). On the Heard Museum see Ann E. Marshall, Mary H. Brennan, and Juliet Martin, *The Heard Museum: History & Collections*, rev. ed. (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2002); and Michelle M. Bayes, "Collecting Culture: A History of the Heard Museum, 1929–1999" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 2000). For the Indian experience in Phoenix see Dorothy R. Parker, *Phoenix Indian School: The Second Half-Century* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996); and more generally Stephen Kent Amerman, "Making an Indian Place in Urban Schools: Native Americans and Education in Phoenix, 1941–1984" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2002), and Edward B. Liebow, "A Sense of Place: Urban Indians and the History of Pan-Tribal Institutions in Phoenix, Arizona" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1986).

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35. Jon Talton, "Where, Oh Where, Is the Boom for Phoenix?" *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 2004, at <http://www.azcentral.com/arizonarepublic/news/>

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# Drawing the Thin Blue Line: Chicano-Police Relations since World War II

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The topic of this volume has been frontiers: various types of boundaries and lines of demarcation. One would hope that those boundaries that divide people would be disappearing, but in fact, this paper explores the opposite trend: the construction of boundaries by a critical urban institution, the police. As I will describe, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) actively polarized communities for their own internal interests. Because throughout the twentieth century the LAPD was one of the most influential departments in the United States in terms of its structure and operations, the situation in Los Angeles has implications for all of Southern California, and perhaps other large urban areas.

In September 1999, scandal once again engulfed the LAPD. News stories announced that as part of a plea bargain on an unrelated conviction, a former officer had implicated himself and other officers in committing perjury, planting evidence, and even shooting suspects under arrest. Rafael Pérez, a highly respected member of the LAPD Rampart Division's CRASH (Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums) anti-gang unit, told investigators that he and his partner had shot a suspected gang member, Javier Francisco Ovando, after taking him into custody. Pérez, who had gained the admiration of fellow officers for his aggressive work against Latino street gangs, also stated that he and his partner had planted a gun on the wounded nineteen-year-old and later at trial had testified falsely that Ovando had tried to shoot them.<sup>1</sup> Pérez told investigators that

the Ovando case was only one example of his and other CRASH officers committing perjury and fabricating evidence in order to prosecute suspected Latino gang members.

Over the next year and a half, the consequences of what became known as the Rampart scandal rose exponentially. First came further revelations of widespread misconduct in the Rampart Division, particularly in the CRASH unit. Scores, perhaps hundreds, of Latino youths whom officers suspected of being gang members were convicted of crimes and sentenced to prison terms based on perjured testimony and other fabricated evidence. By 2002 approximately one hundred convictions had been overturned and the city had awarded more than \$30 million in damages, \$15 million to Javier Ovando alone.<sup>2</sup> Dozens of officers had resigned or been fired by the department, seventy were under investigation, and eight had been charged with criminal offenses. Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, who entered office in 1993 on the promise of expanding police services, had to submit a budget that cut four hundred officers from the LAPD in order to pay for costs related to the scandal. Finally, the city had to agree to a consent decree that initiated wide-ranging reforms of the LAPD under the supervision of the U.S. Justice Department.<sup>3</sup> Without a doubt, the Rampart scandal has become a disaster of yet undetermined consequences for the city of Los Angeles.

As in all such situations (at least as we historians believe), the difficulties that have befallen the LAPD demand a historical explanation. How can it be that a law enforcement agency that as late as the mid-1980s was touted as the best big-city police department in the nation could, in the nineties, be pummeled by the multiple calamities of the Rodney King beating, the 1992 Los Angeles uprising, the O. J. Simpson case, and now the Rampart scandal? The answer, I believe, lies not simply in poor personnel decisions or faulty management, as official explanations have claimed, but rather in an organizational culture that sees itself as society's principal defender against crime; that views minority youths as the "criminal

element” in society; that prizes aggressive, tough, and even violent policing over the peaceful resolution of conflict; and that sees itself as invulnerable from public accountability.

That culture had its origins in mid-century when a confluence of forces combined to form the modern LAPD. Those forces included the ascendancy of the police professionalism model and its twin corollaries of the war on crime and the thin blue line, the LAPD’s linkage of race and criminality, and the department’s preoccupation with Chicano and black juvenile delinquency and youth gangs. In this paper, I examine the emergence of these forces, particularly in relation to the Los Angeles Mexican American community, and suggest some of the long-term effects they have had on the LAPD.

The institutional culture at the heart of the Rampart scandal became firmly established during the two decades between 1940 and 1960. During the 1940s, the department began establishing high standards for entrance into the force, a rigorous training program in the police academy, better pay for officers, and more modern equipment and administrative procedures. The reform forces gained full control of the department in 1950 when William H. Parker became chief of police.<sup>4</sup> Parker assumed the position with the reputation of being a strict moralist and disciplinarian and one of the leading theoreticians in the police professionalism movement. Even more important, Parker had the political skills and muscle to make police professionalism a fact. Immediately upon taking office, he set about reorganizing the department. He streamlined the bureaucracy and gained additional appropriations while diminishing the influence of the mayor, the city council, and even the police commission in the running of the department. He successfully asserted the major tenet of police professionalism, that elected officials and the police commission had no authority over internal departmental disciplinary matters. Overall, he proved incredibly successful, turning the LAPD into the model of a professional urban police department and making himself the country’s most renowned

big-city police chief and the most powerful man in Los Angeles until his death in 1966.<sup>5</sup> Parker's successors as chief of police have striven mightily, and generally successfully, to sustain the structure he created.

One of the fundamental tenets of police professionalism, police autonomy, had profound consequences for the LAPD's relationship with the city's minority communities. Police professionals stressed that law enforcement should be carried out impartially, without regard for political considerations. They in fact argued for total police independence from political control. For police to have the same status as other professionals, they would need to set their own standards for entrance into the profession, proper conduct, promotion, and actions that necessitated disciplinary action. Moreover, only with complete autonomy from political influence, especially in the areas of promotions and police discipline, could police administrators ensure that officers would fairly and equitably enforce the law for all residents. Thus, the police professionals conceded to elected officials only the power to pass laws. The police reserved the power to determine how the law would be enforced, both for the public and for themselves.<sup>6</sup>

The LAPD institutionalized police autonomy through its internal disciplinary procedure. The fundamental principle behind this procedure was that officers had a vested right to their job and could not be removed or seriously disciplined without due process. Due process in this case meant that sole authority for disciplining serious infractions belonged to a board of review composed of fellow officers. The review board determined whether an infraction of department policy had occurred, whether a specific officer was guilty of said infraction, and whether the infraction warranted serious punishment. The chief of police could review the trial board's decision and even lower the punishment, but he could not raise the board's disciplinary recommendation. No one outside the LAPD could impose discipline on an officer for violation of departmental rules.<sup>7</sup>

The concept of police autonomy and its institutionalization in the LAPD's disciplinary procedures had a profound effect on residents' ability to lodge successful complaints against police officers. Part of the problem lay with departmental policies that actively discouraged residents from lodging complaints. In the 1950s, for example, the department regularly prosecuted for filing false police reports those individuals whose complaints the review board declared unfounded.<sup>8</sup> In addition, throughout the period, the department sustained only a tiny fraction of the citizen complaints it received. Finally, citizens regularly received an indifferent or even hostile reception from police personnel when they tried to make a complaint.<sup>9</sup> Minority residents' inability to file a successful complaint contributed not only to their frustration, but also to officers' sense of invulnerability from the consequences of their misconduct.

In the past fifty years, the LAPD has gone to great lengths to protect its vaunted independence. The pattern was set during the infamous Bloody Christmas incident of the early 1950s, in which officers brutally beat Mexican American youths held at the city jail. Faced with demands for public accountability in the department's disciplinary procedures, Chief Parker and his allies in city government attacked the department's critics as communists and allies of organized crime, and ignored obvious cases of perjury and subornation of perjury on the part of officers. Subsequent police administrations have continued the practice of attacking their critics, claiming that criticism hurts officers' morale and ignoring what is now called "the blue code of silence," that is, police officers never speaking about the misconduct of fellow officers.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the principle of police autonomy, professionalism also brought a "war-on-crime" orientation to the police function that further degraded the relationship between the police and the community. Under this orientation, as the front line of the war on crime, officers needed to prevent crime by aggressively confronting the "criminal elements" in society and through a show of force that would convince potential criminals that violation of the law would

bring swift and severe punishment. Officers aggressively patrolled neighborhoods that arrest statistics identified as “high-crime areas.” Since most Americans violated some law (liquor or traffic laws, for example) on a regular basis, the emphasis on crime fighting created an “us against them” mentality within law enforcement. Whenever police gave out traffic citations or made arrests for violation of sumptuary laws, they not only angered otherwise law-abiding citizens, they also provided further evidence for themselves that the population at large disregarded the law. The police thus became alienated from the society they were supposed to serve.<sup>11</sup>

The war-on-crime metaphor also increased police officers’ sensitivity to all forms of criticism, especially to perceived attacks on their authority. After all, in a theater of war, which for the police were the streets of urban America, there could be only two sides, and they came to believe that those who criticized them favored lawlessness and disorder. The police therefore reacted negatively to charges of police brutality and other forms of public criticism. This attitude merged with the professionalism principle of police autonomy to make officers not only unsympathetic to but practically invulnerable from complaints of police misconduct. The professionalism model and its war-on-crime orientation thus strained the relationship between law enforcement and society in general.<sup>12</sup>

The war-on-crime mentality also put police in direct conflict with the city’s minority communities. That conflict resulted from the LAPD’s belief that Mexican American youth were inclined toward criminality. In 1942–43 hysteria swept over Los Angeles emanating from the belief that a Mexican American crime wave was engulfing the city. Evidence suggests that no such crime wave existed, but a broad spectrum of observers concluded that the zoot suit fad among Mexican American juveniles was a sign of their delinquency. Whereas ultimately most analysts agreed that such delinquency resulted from poverty and discrimination, law enforcement officials at the time argued that Mexican American criminality sprang from

biological factors and that people of Mexican descent were inherently inclined toward violent crime.<sup>13</sup>

In the years after World War II, the LAPD extended the linkage between race and criminality to African Americans and institutionalized it into the training and deployment of officers. The adoption of the war-on-crime orientation and the labeling of racial groups as *the* criminal element in society resulted in chronic conflict between the LAPD and minority communities. Officers who believed that Mexican Americans, for example, were criminally inclined were more likely to be on the lookout for crime in this population and thus to find it and make arrests. Similarly, officers who believed that Mexican Americans were naturally violent were more likely to use force in what they regarded as dangerous situations. These factors fused with Mexican Americans' growing vigilance regarding police misconduct to provoke a series of spectacular controversies between the Mexican American community and the LAPD over the next several decades.<sup>14</sup>

The LAPD has for the most part been successful in fighting off these challenges. Part of the reason for this success has been the department's promotion of the idea that the police are a central component in maintaining a civilized society. The chief metaphor by which the department promoted this idea was the "thin blue line." Chief Parker first articulated the idea in the midst of the 1952 Bloody Christmas scandal, which threatened LAPD autonomy. He started a television program that he called "The Thin Blue Line," whose purpose it was to counteract "current attempts to undermine public confidence in the Police."<sup>15</sup>

The idea of the thin blue line would become a central organizing metaphor for the LAPD. At its essence was Parker's belief that only the police protected "civilized" society from anarchy. Parker saw society as two competing forces. On one side stood law-abiding white middle-class Americans who longed for security and supported, and even appreciated, the need for strong law enforcement institutions. In opposition were the forces of chaos and iniquity.

Here Parker saw not only organized crime, but also racial minority groups, dissidents (especially communists), and anyone who supported these groups, which for Parker meant anyone who criticized the police. The role of the police was to protect civilization from these forces of barbarism and anarchy.

In the intervening years since Parker first articulated the phrase, the concept of the thin blue line has come to define the department. Parker and subsequent chiefs repeatedly have referred to it, either explicitly or through inference, in order to gain public support. More important, rank-and-file officers have adopted it as their own. The major publicity organ for the Los Angeles Police Protective League, the LAPD officers' union, is named *The Thin Blue Line* and repeatedly promulgates the idea that police are the last line defense against the forces of evil.

The concept of the thin blue line created a vast constituency for the LAPD among people who feared that the rapidly changing nature of American society threatened their personal safety. It had an even greater effect on the way the LAPD viewed itself and its relationship to civilian society. The concept thus held deep symbolic meaning for both civilians and police officers. The thin blue line fed into a Cold War view that divided humanity into two opposing camps: one dark and demonic and the other light and godly, with the police protecting the good. Parker repeatedly warned both civic groups and his officers of the precarious nature of American society and the police department's crucial role in protecting it from "the invasion from within."<sup>16</sup>

In the 1950s Parker saw the threat coming from organized crime, but by the 1960s he shifted his attention to people of color. In 1960, for example, he explained that the LAPD arrested a disproportionately high number of Mexican Americans because Los Angeles Mexican Americans were descended from the "wild tribes of Mexico." Five years later, he erroneously predicted that by 1970, 45 percent of the population of metropolitan Los Angeles would be African American. "If you want any protection for your home and

family,” Parker warned, “you’re going to have to get in and support a strong police department. If you don’t do that, come 1970, God help you!”<sup>17</sup>

The idea that the police were the main “line of defense” against the forces of darkness had consequences for the nature of the support that police expected from the public. Parker explicitly called for extending the use of coercive, military-like measures and budgets against internal enemies. “We expend vast resources fighting foreign enemies,” Parker told a business group in 1952; “let us not be blind to the internal dangers which can destroy us as quickly and as certainly.”<sup>18</sup> Parker and succeeding chiefs repeatedly used the specter of crime, in particular minority crime, to gain increased appropriations for the department.

The thinness of the blue line was also of crucial importance. The fact that the line was thin meant that police protection was fragile. That fragility, in turn, meant that the line could be easily broken either by questioning from irresolute allies or by pressure from the forces of darkness. Parker and practically every chief of police since has complained bitterly about the restraints put on police by the courts and about criticism from the press and the public.<sup>19</sup> Thus, during various crises over the past fifty years, police officials have asserted that allegations of police misconduct hurt officers’ morale, making them disinclined to make arrests and enforce the law. Since such a consequence was only to be expected, officials charged, the critics must be in league with the forces of darkness in trying to undermine police effectiveness. Parker lumped all the critics together when he charged that “the criminal, the communist, and the self-appointed defender of civil liberties” were trying to limit the authority of police.<sup>20</sup> By the late 1960s, all such critics simply became “subversive” or “anti-police” and at least some officers came to see themselves as another minority group.<sup>21</sup>

The final significance of the thinness of the blue line lies in the highly aggressive, “masculinist” manner in which the LAPD responds to criminal activity. Throughout its history, the LAPD has

had the lowest ratio of officer per resident, and one of the lowest ratios of officer per square mile, of the nation's largest police departments. On the other hand, the department has had to contend with one of the highest violent and property crime rates in the country.<sup>22</sup> In order to cope with these demographic realities, the LAPD has instituted training techniques that lead to a very aggressive style of policing. According to geographer Steve Herbert, "the LAPD has long distinguished itself among American police departments" by a "masculinist aggressiveness" in the way it interacts with the public. "This aggressiveness has manifested itself in frequent recourses to force, large numbers of felony arrests, and random stops and searches of potential suspects."<sup>23</sup> This generally aggressive attitude has had a serious effect on city's residents. During the 1980s, the department had the highest ratio of civilians killed or wounded per number of officers of the largest police forces in the nation.<sup>24</sup>

The concept of the thin blue line has combined with the war-on-crime mentality to create within the LAPD a preoccupation with Chicano youth gangs. That preoccupation began during the World War II-era zoot suit hysteria. Because of that experience and the attention paid to Chicano gangs, the LAPD developed a reputation as an authority on the subject in the postwar period. It created a juvenile division and a special gang detail staffed primarily with Mexican American officers. Police departments from all over the nation asked the department for advice on aspects of gang culture.<sup>25</sup> During the 1960s and 1970s, the Chicano Movement, composed primarily of high school and college age youths, for a time diverted the department's attention.<sup>26</sup> With the rise of crack cocaine in the 1980s, the LAPD again turned its attention to gangs, this time to African American youth gangs.<sup>27</sup> The significant increase in the Latino population in the 1990s saw the department refocus on gangs from these communities.

It is not difficult to understand the LAPD's preoccupation with gangs. One does not have to be a strict Weberian to see that police and gangs compete for control of space. As geographer Steve

Herbert has noted, “[C]ontrol of space is a fundamental of overall police efforts at social control.”<sup>28</sup> At the same time, gangs, particularly Chicano gangs, are all about territoriality, with disputes over boundaries being central to many gang conflicts. Because gangs function outside the law and often in violation of it, they provoke bitter conflict with and the enmity of the police. Officers see them as the very antithesis of police, as “terrorists” who prey on the innocent and against whom the harshest of methods are justified.<sup>29</sup> It was for this reason that the LAPD created CRASH. In the end, of course, the Rampart CRASH unit, with its lawlessness and ganglike behavior, became a mirror image of the gangs the unit was supposed to control as evidenced perhaps most dramatically by the insignia the unit chose as its emblem, an insignia many officers in CRASH had tattooed on their arms.\* As a result of the Rampart scandal, the LAPD disbanded the CRASH unit and prohibited officers from wearing its insignia while on duty.

In the final analysis, the intermingling of these forces created the culture that has led the LAPD into the morass of the Rampart scandal. The linkage between race and criminality defined Latino and black youths as the criminal element against whom the LAPD would make war. Officers in CRASH units did not, after all, frame just any suspected criminals, they framed Latino and African American youths whom they believed to be gang members. Thus, despite the refusal of public officials and the press to acknowledge the fact, the Rampart scandal is at its core a racial conflict. It is also clear that the effect of the twin metaphors of the war on crime and the thin blue line gave officers a no-holds-barred attitude toward dealing with Latino and black gang members. These were the “bad guys,” the criminal element, and whatever officers could do to get the

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\* The insignia consists of a skull wearing a cowboy hat with menacing red eyes and open mouth. The skull is backed by black aces and eights playing cards, the so-called dead man’s hand. While the insignia in various forms is viewable and available for purchase on the internet, the LAPD was unable to provide permission to reproduce it for this publication. Those interested in seeing it can go to <http://www.streetgangs.com/topics/rampart/020800ramsig.html>.

gangs off the streets was justifiable. Finally, the concept of police autonomy must have made officers feel invulnerable to the consequences of their illegal acts. Although clearly only a small percentage of LAPD personnel were actually involved in illegal activities, those officers must have believed that their fellow officers would never find them guilty of wrongdoing. They were, after all, acting within the aggressive style of policing that was part of the LAPD's institutional culture. The respect and admiration from fellow officers that Officer Rafael Pérez enjoyed was proof positive of that belief.<sup>30</sup> That admiration was just another symptom of the culture that led to the Rampart scandal in the first place and that the LAPD must discard if it is to overcome this latest crisis.

## Discussion

**Q:** A lot of what you said reminded me of Michael Moore's *Bowling for Columbine*, where he explores the causes of violence and concludes that the important factor is not the presence of guns but fear of difference, basically racism. Do you think this is a general characteristic of our society that the LAPD draws on?

**A:** I don't know that racism is necessarily a fundamental element in our society. The point I was trying to make is that race is a social construction: The differences we create among people are socially constructed. But in this case, the LAPD is an institution that to a great extent created these divisions to enhance its political status and position during budget wars in the city of Los Angeles. So, I wouldn't say that a fundamental essence of our society creates racial conflict, but I think there are institutions that are promoting racism for their own interests.

**Q:** I would like to know about your methodology. Did you follow an anthropological model and use participant observation? If so, did you take the perspective of the police or the Mexican American community? Specifically, did you find any significant relationship between Mexican American police officers and the Mexican American community?

**A:** First, in terms of methodology, I'm not an anthropologist, I'm a historian, and I relied primarily on documents from within the Los Angeles Police Department. I was lucky enough to get full access to the LAPD's internal documents, and I focused my research on thousands upon thousands of documents, from the Chief of Police files within the LAPD; that's my main source of information, along with newspapers. I did conduct oral interviews and do oral histories but not from the perspective of trying to become part of the police community. From a broader methodological perspective, I don't believe that the idea of earlier generations of historians of having a universalist perspective to the study of your subject—and therefore, complete objectivity—is either possible or perhaps even desirable. I do believe in a perspectivist approach to writing history, so I tried to look at this from the point of view of the Mexican American community.

Now, with regard to your question on Mexican American police officers. There have been Mexican American police officers in the department probably from the very beginning. The department, as it's now organized, came into being in 1886; there were certainly Mexican American police officers as early as the turn of the last century. Latino officers have become somewhat more integrated in the last twenty years, but traditionally, their role was one of being experts on the Mexican/Latino community and, to a certain extent, to attempt to control that community when police officials and other elites within the city felt it was getting out of control. Key examples are revolutionary activity during the time of the Mexican Revolution (1910s), or during the time of the Chicano Movement (1960s), or during the Depression years (1930s) and labor organizing. At those times Mexican American police officers actually rose in prominence because of the work they could do within the department.

**Q:** You mentioned newspapers, and I'm curious. I assume the

newspapers were basically supporting the police view and that they would have been important in instilling this fear of criminals, of people who are different in some way.

**A:** That's the problem with local news. There's the line: "If it bleeds, it leads." So people who watch local news on a regular basis think that there's a huge crime problem in our country at a time when violent crime has actually been going down. One of the difficulties, especially in the earlier period when oral histories aren't as available, is that you have to infer from fragmentary types of evidence the motivations of zoot suiters and other people, other Chicanos. That evidence is harder to find.

**Q:** You talked about many different ideas: ideas about race and ethnicity, ideas about society, and ideas about criminality. Do those develop over time? Is there one perspective that begins the process, or which is more important?

**A:** Certainly ideas of race are constantly being constructed. Today we see that part of the racial definition of Mexican Americans and blacks, for example, is that those youths are a criminal element within society, that they should be feared. Criminality is a part of that racial definition. That idea certainly developed over time. My earlier book, the book that deals with the period from 1900 to 1945, deals specifically with how that came into being. At the beginning of the twentieth century, neither the police nor the Mexican community in Los Angeles had much of an idea of each other. But that changed and developed over time, over conflicts that occurred and the growing need for the department actually to create new villains within the community to sustain itself and to support the department's bureaucratic agenda. In terms of criminality, well, a criminal is someone who violates the law, but the law is constantly changing. The law is a social construction, too. So one of the reasons that crime statistics regarding Mexican Americans jumped in the 1940s was that curfews were established, and the curfew law was not

uniformly enforced. Police chiefs of that period said that they really enforced it only in certain parts of the city, in the Mexican American community, not in white sections of the city. We get our notions of what group is a criminal group within society based on crime statistics, but those are terribly suspect because crime statistics come from arrest statistics. In an arrest, the person being arrested is not the active agent; it's the police officers. And clearly an arrest does not even imply that a crime has been committed, much less that the person arrested committed the crime. And what happened often is that police would go through Mexican American communities and arrest large numbers of people in blanket arrests. That raises the statistics, and in turn it affects deployment and training within the department.

**Q:** The perception seems to be that poverty breeds lawlessness and delinquency. Yet we have examples of Rampart LAPD—which is a very white, very middle class institution—and also the FBI of J. Edgar Hoover, and then the Guardia Civil under Franco. All of them were really establishment institutions run by middle-class personalities. They're really the law breakers in each of the three different settings. All three institutions promoted the element of fear in order to retain control and sustain their positions in power. How do you reconcile their roles?

**A:** What Parker did, you may call it criminal and I would agree it was wrong, but it was officially sanctioned. And what J. Edgar Hoover did was in violation of various sections of the Constitution and was probably illegal. But they held the reins to power: They were the police, and the police police themselves. There's no one overseeing them and they have so much political power that no one was able to call them into question until well after the fact. There are different kinds of crimes. Gangs are indeed a menace. Gangs as they exist today are doing terrible things in our community. But the kinds of crimes that Mexican American youths commit are public crimes: They're doing something out

in the street, or something that's violent. Those crimes quickly become evident and citizens call the police and people get arrested. Crimes that the leaders of Enron and other corporations committed are committed behind closed doors. There are all kinds of crimes that occur behind closed doors that we never hear of. If you look at other forms of statistics, in white middle-class and upper-class communities crimes are being committed all the time that are every bit as awful as anything that is going on in our barrios and in African American communities. But because they're done in private and often never reported, arrests aren't made and therefore they don't enter into the public debate in the same way.

With regard to the Rampart scandal, the LAPD is now being called into question on it. We know now that gross misconduct occurred, and there is an inquiry about it. I'm not a great believer in the system—that everything is working out just wonderfully—but when something like this does become public, the institution has to protect itself. Look at Rodney King and the Christopher Commission Report—this was a report that came out in the wake of the Rodney King beating—like Bloody Christmas, it was a very narrow report. The response was very narrow. All the commission examined was how such a thing could happen, why those officers did what they did. They didn't take into consideration the larger question. With Rodney King five officers were involved in the beating, but twenty-one officers were standing around watching. None of those other twenty-one officers reported the beating. And no one would ever even have known about it—even though all those other officers knew—had it not been for George Holiday turning that cassette over to a Los Angeles television station. That's the culture I'm talking about. These types of things don't get out very often because the police are the gatekeepers: They have the discretion to make an arrest or not. And that determines who is a criminal or not, or who gets pulled into crime statistics.

## Notes

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1. *Los Angeles Times* (hereafter *Times*), September 16, 1999.
2. *Ibid.*, April 20, 2001.
3. *Ibid.*, April 20, 2001.
4. Joseph Gerald Woods, "The Progressives and the Police: Urban Reform and the Professionalization of the Los Angeles Police" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 360–64, 397–416; also see Edward J. Escobar, *Race, Police and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 155–56.
5. Woods, "The Progressives and the Police," 417–36; Los Angeles *Daily News*, April 9, 1952. For the LAPD's prestigious reputation, see the series of articles in the *Chicago Sun Times* extolling the department as one of the best police departments in the nation: *Chicago Sun Times*, March 11 and 13–14, 1952; O. W. Wilson, ed., *Parker on Police* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1957), vii–xi; Steve Herbert, *Policing Space: Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 59–60.
6. Robert M. Fogelson, *Big City Police* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 142–43, 145–59, 99–100, 104–5, 142–45, 158–60, 175–76, 184, 223–24, 225, 282–87.
7. Woods, "Progressives and the Police," 337–38; Escobar, *Race, Police and the Making of a Political Identity*, 163–64.
8. William H. Parker to Henry N. Ohland, October 31, 1955, Chief of Police (henceforth COP), General Files, Los Angeles City Records Center (henceforth CRC), Box 35288, Los Angeles, California; J. C. Moore, Jr., to Hugh R. Manes, May 17, 1961, Sam Yorty Papers, CRC, Box 15471; Captain O. C. Woods to Richard Simon, December 11, 1962; Simon to Roger Arnebergh, December 16, 1962, COP, General Files, CRC, Box 35286.

9. Independent Commission of the Los Angeles Police Department, "Report of the Independent Commission of the Los Angeles Police Department," Los Angeles, 1991 (henceforth Christopher Commission Report), 158.
10. Edward J. Escobar, "Bloody Christmas and the Irony of Police Reform: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Mexican American Community in the 1950s," unpublished manuscript in the author's possession.
11. Fogelson, *Big City Police*, 220–21, 231–32; also see Herbert, *Policing Space*, 59–60.
12. Fogelson, *Big City Police*, 99–100, 104–5, 112–16, 158–60, 236–42.
13. Escobar, *Race, Police and the Making of a Political Identity*, 186–202, 207–27.
14. Probably the most spectacular incident was the Salcido case, in which an LAPD officer stood trial for killing a Mexican American teenager. See the *Times*, April 13, 1948, and other Los Angeles dailies for coverage of this case.
15. Parker to Police Commission, April 1, 1952, COP, General Files, CRC, Box 35306.
16. William H. Parker, "Invasion from Within," in Wilson, *Parker on Police*, 65.
17. Quoted in Herbert, *Policing Space*, 81.
18. Parker, "Invasion from Within," 65.
19. Parker, for example, claimed that a court decision excluding the use of illegally obtained evidence from a criminal trial had "catastrophic" consequences for the war against organized crime. William H. Parker, "The Cahan Decision Made Life Easier for the Criminal," in Wilson, *Parker on Police*, 114. Thirty years later Police Chief Daryl Gates, a Parker protégé, complained similarly about restrictions placed on the LAPD's domestic spying apparatus. Daryl Gates with Diane K. Shaw, *Chief: My Life in the LAPD* (New York: Bantam, 1992), 232. Parker, for example, believed that the "caustic ridicule and censure of the police . . . is seriously interfering with society's ability to protect itself." Parker to Pat Brown, March 20, 1959, COP, General Files, CRC, Box 35304.
20. Parker, "Invasion from Within," 64.
21. Gates and Shaw, *Chief*.

22. Christopher Commission Report, 22–23.
23. Herbert, *Policing Space*, 80.
24. Christopher Commission Report, 23–24.
25. See a host of documents in COP, General Files, CRC, Box 35288.
26. Edward J. Escobar, “The Dialectics of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement, 1968–1971,” *Journal of American History* 79, no. 4 (March 1993): 1483–1514.
27. Gates and Shaw, *Chief*, 289–94.
28. Herbert, *Policing Space*, 10.
29. *Ibid.*, 87–88.
30. *New York Times*, October 1, 2000.



## Summary and Conclusions

*Pete Dimas*

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The Provincias Internas, the Spanish Borderlands, the U.S. Southwest, these terms are all attempts to encapsulate, across the centuries, the diverse peoples, politics, cultures, economies, and boundaries of this region that includes modern northern Mexico and the southwestern United States. While they convey inclusion beyond the present *fronteras*, or boundaries, they inadequately express the profundity of the pre-existing and continuing Indian world. Yet, all of them impart images of a frontier world. For purposes of conclusion, this complex region will be referred to as the Borderlands.

The Borderlands are indeed vast in their space, time, and peoples, as Jiménez so forcefully reminds us. His metaphor of continuing, contiguous, and virtual frontiers highlights how many different ways there are to examine the frontiers in this complex region. Perhaps no other theme could encompass topics as diverse as colonial missions, the recovery of Native American history, and political issues in contemporary Phoenix and Los Angeles.

The Borderlands are made up of distinct political entities, as well as pluralities of cultures. All the contributors to this symposium in some way highlight issues of interethnic contact and conflict. As Deeds makes clear, this feature has existed at least from the earliest Spanish attempts to settle the region. We see it continuing in the course of Hopi-Spanish contacts and the interpretations—and misinterpretations—of Pueblo culture recorded in colonial Spanish documents. And unfortunately, the postwar history of the Los

Angeles Police Department shows that cultural misunderstandings and stereotypes continue to erect virtual frontiers separating Borderlands residents even today.

Although people often think of Mexican migration and immigration as a recent political issue, Deeds reminds us that migrations and flows of people have always been a feature of any frontier zone. Yet as VanderMeer points out, the level of relocation and migration in the postwar U.S. Southwest is the highest of any time since the Anglo western migrations of the nineteenth century. In Phoenix, the Mexican and Mexican American presence is increasing dramatically owing to the combination of migration, low median age, and high fertility rates; and this results in increasingly visible growth in Hispanic culture and power in this historically Anglo-dominated city. At the same time, the growing population, wealth, and political clout of Native American nations are helping them to restore their regional importance. But these demographic and cultural transformations are taking place alongside a dramatic in-migration to the Sunbelt from throughout the United States. These newcomers bring a variety of attitudes about, and levels of sensitivity to, the Borderlands environment, ranging from those who transplant their Eastern or Midwestern lifestyles—complete with green lawns and lakes—to those who embrace the cultural and climatic implications of living in a desert frontier zone. As Oscar Martínez documented in *Border People*, both Mexicans and Anglos have a continuum of responses to living along the border, ranging from those who remain monocultural and are virtually unaffected by living on an international boundary to those who become bilingual and bicultural, functioning with near-equal comfort on either side of the current political boundary, a reflection of Jiménez's call for a multifaceted cultural view.<sup>1</sup>

So, can the multifaceted, Cubist view of the Borderlands that Jiménez advocates be constructed? Some beginnings are evident in creative uses of traditional historical sources in this volume. Although colonial documentary evidence inherently presents the view

of the conquerors, Deeds shows us that it is possible to read between the lines and glimpse the divergent world views of subordinated communities—including those of Native Americans, mestizos, and slaves—as well as the processes of negotiation and contestation among them. Continuing this topic, Lomawaima describes for us a fascinating attempt to recover the history of a people without written records. Comparing the knowledge of Hopi elders with the colonial documentary evidence is validating Hopi oral history as a means of preserving the past. Chicano historians are extensively mining oral histories and archives, in Spanish and English, to uncover the history of those who never left the Borderlands and those from Mexico who have augmented the Hispanic presence within the borders of the United States. Escobar relies heavily on the voluminous internal documents of the LAPD, along with some oral histories and newspaper articles, to construct his analysis of the police department's culture. VanderMeer, perhaps the most “traditional” of the presenters, delivers the dilemma of culture and place; the culture of unrestrained growth running headlong into the limitations of the desert environment.

All of these papers, while providing insights to some of the facets of the continuing frontiers, illustrate a generalized public unfamiliarity with the historical contours of the multiple frontiers of the Borderlands. In Arizona, large-scale migrations and the globalization of the economy, while breathtakingly transformative, reflect centuries-old continuities. Migrations and trans-border commerce preexisted the arrival of Spanish power, and borders. The Spanish Empire was a global empire, ergo the introduction of the global economy, and the migrations from the south. The Anglo American expansion into—the conquest of — northern Mexico brought with it modern technology, with its contemporary capitalist component, and migration from the east. Each new element, each new frontier, brings change to all of them, but none completely extinguishes what existed before. To a great extent, migrations from the south and the North American Free Trade Agreement are continuations of the

Borderlands legacies that are part of the transformations taking place. How many people understand this? Would understanding help correct the imperfections of policies we see all around us? Could this understanding help shape our mutual future in a productive manner?

The Provincias Internas: Continuing Frontiers Symposium brought together scholars, students, community leaders, and the general public in order to stimulate discussion, and thereby promote understanding, of what has created this visible multicultural region marked by an international border over 2,000 miles in length. The tenor of the proceedings, the open interaction with an audience that remained engaged throughout the daylong event, was fully embraced by the participating scholars. In an era where the terms “globalization,” “transnational economies,” or “terrorism” can conjure spectres of social and economic ruin, or worse, symposia such as this one can bring together scholars, political leaders, and the general public to examine how our contemporary conditions and situations have developed and evolved, and begin to explore what beneficial opportunities can be derived from such examinations. Future symposia could be hosted at different locations in Arizona and should include scholars and leaders from the entire region, including Mexico. Where Borderlands issues touch on more universal themes, scholars from other areas of the world—Spain for example—should be invited to participate. All of the proceedings should be published, in print or on-line, and made available to the widest possible audience. The Arizona Historical Society has stepped forward to publish the proceedings of this particular symposium. The Society inherently recognizes that to understand Arizona, one has to reach beyond domestic and international borders. The Society’s bylaws state: “Pursuant to the statutes of the State of Arizona, the purpose of the Arizona Historical Society is to collect, preserve, interpret, and disseminate the history of Arizona, the West, and northern Mexico as it pertains to Arizona.” VanderMeer’s statement, “The struggle to shape the

future of Phoenix is . . . linked with efforts to describe and understand its past,” applies to the entire Borderlands. On this, the elimination of some of the virtual frontiers described by Jiménez depends.

## Notes

1. Oscar J. Martínez, *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S. Borderlands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994).



## About the Editor

**Pete Dimas** received his Ph.D. from Arizona State University and has been on the faculty at Phoenix College since 1990, where he is also director of Southwest Studies. His teaching areas include: American history, Arizona history, Mexican history, Mexican American history, and Chicana/Chicano studies. He is a former state board member of the Arizona Historical Society and is on the board of the Braun-Sacred Heart Center. Works he has done include *Progress and a Mexican American Community's Struggle for Existence: Phoenix's Golden Gate Barrio*, published in 1999, and the documentary *Los Veteranos of World War II: A Mission for Social Change in Central Arizona* (2005).

## About the Contributors

**Susan M. Deeds** is professor of history at Northern Arizona University, where her teaching areas include the colonial and modern history of Latin America with special emphasis on Mexican ethnohistory and the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. Her research examines the effects of Spanish colonialism on indigenous peoples of northern Mexico, particularly in Chihuahua and Durango, who came under the purview of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. Among her publications are “Legacies of Resistance, Adaptation, and Tenacity: History of the Native Peoples of Northwest Mexico,” in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); and *Defiance and Deference in Colonial Mexico: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (University of Texas Press, 2003). She is also a co-author (with Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman) of the textbook, *The Course of Mexican History*, 7th ed. (Oxford University Press, 2003). She received the Northern Arizona University Teaching Scholar Award for 2002 and was recognized as Northern Arizona University Arts and Sciences Distinguished Professor for 2002–2003.

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**Alfredo Jiménez** is professor emeritus in the Department of American History at the University of Seville, Spain. For many years, he was director of the Department of American Anthropology at the same university. After completing his graduate studies at the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology, he received his doctorate in American History at the University of Seville. Jiménez has directed or codirected joint research projects on the ethnohistory of colonial Guatemala with the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania and on northern New

Spain in conjunction with the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico. He has done fieldwork and archival research in New Mexico, Guatemala, and southern Spain. In addition to his numerous articles, he is the author of *Los hispanos de Nuevo México: Contribución a una antropología de la cultura hispana en los Estados Unidos*, *Biografía de un campesino andaluz*, *La historia oral como etnografía*, and *Antropología histórica: La audiencia de Guatemala en el siglo XVI*. In addition he is coeditor of the *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: History* (Arte Público Press and Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1993–94). Currently his research interests focus on the Spanish north via the historiography of the American West and the Spanish Borderlands.

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**Philip R. VanderMeer** received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois and is currently an associate professor of history at Arizona State University, where he has worked since 1985. The author of a number of books, including *Phoenix Rising: The Making of a Desert Metropolis* (2002); *The Hoosier Politician: Office Holding and Political Culture in Indiana* (1985); and *Belief and Behavior: Essays in the New Religious History* (co-edited with Robert P. Swierenga, 1991). Some of his recent articles are “The Election of 1952: Mid-Century Turning Point,” in Ballard Campbell and William Shade, eds., *American Presidential Campaigns and Elections* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2003); “The Historical Patterns of Arizona Leadership,” in Building Leadership in Arizona, *Arizona Town Hall* 80 (Spring 2002); and “Hiram Johnson and the Dilemmas of California Progressivism,” in Ballard C. Campbell, ed., *The Human Tradition in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (Scholarly Resources, 2000).



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