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Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California

Antonia I. Castañeda

Historians, whether writing for a popular or a scholarly audience, reflect contemporary ideology with respect to sex, race, and culture. Until the mid-1970s, when significant revisionist work in social, women's, and Chicano history began to appear, the writing of California history reflected an ideology that ascribed racial and cultural inferiority to Mexicans and sexual inferiority to women.¹ Not only do ideas about women form an integral part of the ideological universe of all societies, but the position of women in society is one measure by which civilizations have historically been judged.² Accordingly, California historians applied Anglo, middle-class norms of women's proper behavior to Mexican women's comportment and judged them according to their own perceptions of Mexican culture and of women's positions within that culture.

This essay pays a good deal of attention to the popular histories of frontier California because of the inordinate influence they have had on the more scholarly studies. In particular, the factual errors and stereotypes in the work of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Theodore H. Hittell, and Zoeth Skinner Eldredge have been propagated not only by other nineteenth- and twentieth-century popularizers but also by scholars—in the few instances where they include women at all. Although historians of the Teutonic, frontier hypothesis, and Spanish borderlands schools barely mention women, an implicit gender ideology influences their discussions of race, national character, and culture. The more recent literature in social, women's, and Chicano history breaks sharply with the earlier ideology and corollary interpretations with respect to race and culture or gender and culture, but it has yet to construct an integrative interpretation that incorporates sex-gender, race, and culture.

The Popular Histories of the Late Nineteenth Century

Women were not treated with the greatest respect: in Latin and in savage countries they seldom are; hence, as these were half Latin and half savage, we are not surprised to learn that the men too often idled away their time, leaving the women to do all the work and rear the family.³

Written by lawyers, bankers, and other prominent men who came to California in the aftermath of the Mexican War and the gold rush, the multivolume popular histories of the late nineteenth century provide the first composite description and interpretation of Spanish-Mexican California.⁴ These histories fundamentally reflect the political and socioracial ideology that informed both the war with Mexico and the subsequent socio-political and economic marginalization of Mexicans in California.⁵ With respect to women, they reaffirm the contradictory but stereotypic images found in the travel journals and other documents written by entrepreneurs, merchants, adventurers, and other members of the advance guard of Euro-American expansion between the 1820s and 1840s.⁶

In the tradition of the patrician historians whose romantic literary style set the standards and popular patterns from the end of the nineteenth century until well into the twentieth, Bancroft, Hittell, and other popularizers intersperse their voluminous histories of California with musings about race, religion, national character, savagery, and civilization.⁷ Riddled with the nationalistic fervor of the post-Civil War decades and with an unquestioning belief in Nordic racial superiority, these

Antonia I. Castañeda, born in Texas and raised at the Golding Hop Farm in Toppenish, Washington, now lives in California. El ensayo se dedica a las mujeres que trabajan en los files del valle de Yakima. Ellas me lo elaboraron con su sudor, sus lágrimas y su risa. C/S

historians predictably conclude that the Anglo-Saxon race and civilization are far superior to the Latin race and Spanish-Mexican civilization that had produced in California, according to Bancroft, “a race halfway between the proud Castillian and the lowly root digger,” existing “halfway between savagery and civilization.”⁸ Only Amerindians ranked lower than the minions of Spain.

In the works on early colonial development, the discussion of women is only incidental to the larger consideration of specific institutions—the mission, *presidio*, and *pueblo*—or of great men—the governors. Thus, for example, a brief discussion of the maltreatment of Amerindian women in the mission system has no importance beyond its illustration of institutional development and Spanish brutality, which, in the tradition of the “Black Legend,” spared not even women.⁹ Similarly, Bancroft treats sexual and other violence against native women primarily in relation to the bitter conflict between the institutions of church and state, and attributes it to the moral degeneration of the racially mixed soldier-settler population.

Bancroft and his colleagues also introduce individual elite women to their readers. The portraits of two in particular set the tone for the consistent romanticization of “Spanish” as opposed to “Mexican” women. A prototype of the tempestuous Spanish woman, Eulalia Callis, high-born Catalán wife of the doughty Governor Fages, was dubbed the “infamous *governadora*” (governor’s wife) for refusing Fages her bed upon his refusal to relinquish the governorship and return the family to Mexico.¹⁰

Even more important in the development of the “Spanish” stereotype was Concepción Arguello, the young daughter of Don José Arguello, Commandant at the Presidio of San Francisco. Prototype of the tragic maiden, Doña Concepción became betrothed to the Russian ambassador and chamberlain, Nickolai Petrovich Resanov, in 1806.¹¹ Resanov had sailed to California from Alaska aboard the brig *Juno*, seeking to trade the ship’s entire cargo for foodstuffs desperately needed to stave off starvation and mass desertions in Sitka. But Governor Arrillaga, bound by Spain’s policy of prohibiting trade with foreigners, refused to negotiate. Undaunted, Resanov wooed the young Concepción and, upon her acceptance of his proposal of marriage persuaded her father to intercede with the governor, who finally agreed to the trade.

Resanov left for Alaska and thereafter for Russia, promising to return as soon as he had the Czar’s permission to marry, but he died while in Russia. Doña Concepción continued to await his return, for she did not learn of his death until many years later. After a life spent in nursing and charitable work, she became, in 1851, the first novice in the newly established Dominican convent in Monterey. She took her vows as Sister María Dominica in 1852 and died five years later at age sixty-six.¹²

Bancroft’s commentary addresses not only the diplomatic and political strategy evident in Resanov’s courtship and proposal of marriage but also the character of the Californians, both male and female: “What wonder that court life at St. Petersburg was fascinating, or that this child, weary of the sunbasking indolence of those about her, allowed her heart to follow her ambitions.”¹³ This aura of exotic drama and romance informs all later descriptions of “Spanish” women, in popular and scholarly works alike.

Bancroft also briefly discusses women in the context of colonial settlement and the family. He records the arrival of the first group of Spanish-Mexican women and families in 1774 and the overland journeys of the Anza and Rivera soldier-settler families in 1775–1776 and 1781 respectively. He also comments on Governor Borica’s efforts to attract single women to the distant frontier and on the arrival of the *niñas de cuna*, the ten orphan girls brought to Alta California in 1800 as future marriage partners for single presidial soldiers.¹⁴

In general, the popular historical accounts of the Spanish period (1769–1821) are notable for their absence of pejorative gender-specific sexual stereotypes. Instead, pejorative stereotypes are generalized to the entire group and focus on race. In accounts of Mexican California (1822–1846), the popular historians divide women into two classes: “Spanish” and “Mexican.” Although the vast majority of Californians, including the elite, were *mestizo* or *mulato* and Mexican, not Spanish, in nationality, women from long-time Californian elite, land-owning families, some of whom married Europeans or Euro-Americans, were called “Spanish.” Women from more recently arrived or non-elite families were called “Mexican.” “Spanish” women were morally, sexually, and racially pure; “Mexican” women were immoral and sexually and racially impure. These sexual stereotypes not only reveal the convergence of contemporary political and social ideological currents but also underscore the centrality of the politics of sex to the ideological justification of expansion, war, and conquest. The dominant social Darwinism of the late nineteenth century, which used scientific theory to rationalize Nordic racial superiority and male sexual supremacy, also held that a society’s degree of civilization could be judged by the status and character of its women. The Victorian True Woman, like her predecessor the Republican Mother, represented the most advanced stage of civilized society.¹⁵ Physically and mentally inferior to men but possessed of the cardinal female virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity—she was confined to the home, where she could neither threaten nor challenge the existing order. She was the norm by which historians judged Mexican women, individually and collectively, and thus one of the norms by which they judged Mexican society. Like other reductionist representations of Mexicans in the literature that treats the Mexican period as a “backdrop to the coming of Old Glory,” pejorative stereotypes of *Mexicanas* thus served a political purpose.¹⁶ The worst stereotypes of women appeared in the histories of the Mexican rather than the Spanish period not just because the primary sources were written largely by white men who visited and/or lived in Mexican, not Spanish, California, but because the war was fought with Mexico.

The most extensive treatment of Mexican women appears in Bancroft’s interpretative social history, *California Pastoral*, in which he devotes an entire chapter to “Woman and Her Sphere.”¹⁷ By virtue of publishing the earliest work of this genre, Bancroft became the main source for the stereotypes of women in Mexican California in subsequent histories.

In the work of Bancroft, Hittell, and their modern successors, the portrayals of Mexican men, the wartime foes, are uniformly stereotypic and pejorative, focusing both on their racial origins and on a national character formed by Spanish tyranny, absolutism, and fanaticism. Bancroft describes

Mexicans as “droves of mongrels” deriving from a “turgid racial stream” and concludes that they were “not a strong community either physically, morally, or politically.” He depicts life in Mexican California as a long, happy holiday in a lotus land where “to eat, to drink, to make love, to smoke, to dance, to ride, to sleep seemed the whole duty of man.”¹⁸

His stereotypes of women, however, are contradictory and reveal greater gradation. Women’s position in Mexican society, especially, is treated contradictorily. “The Californians, violent exercise and lack of education makes them rough and almost brutal. They have little regard for their women, and are of a jealous disposition . . . they are indifferent husbands, faithless and exacting and very hard taskmasters,” Bancroft says at one point. Yet several pages later he comments, “there was strong affection and never a happier family than when a rancho, dwelling in pastoral simplicity saw his sons and his sons’ sons bringing to the paternal roof their wives and seating them at the ever-lengthening table.”¹⁹

Bancroft’s Mexican women are dunces and drudges. They work laboriously and continuously; bear twelve, fifteen, and twenty children; and are subject to being prostituted by their husbands, who “wink at the familiarity of a wealthy neighbor who pays handsomely for his entertainment.” Women have no recourse to laws, which men make and women obey. At the same time, however, Bancroft quotes earlier writers to the effect that “the women are pretty, but vain, frivolous, bad managers, and extravagant. They are passionately fond of fine, showy dresses and jewelry . . . their morality is none of the purest; and the coarse and lascivious dances show the degraded tone of manners that exist.” Nevertheless, infidelity is rare because *Californianas* fear the swift and deadly revenge exacted by jealous husbands.²⁰

Bancroft based his negative images of Mexican women on the accounts of Richard Henry Dana and others who visited California in the 1840s, on the eve of the war with Mexico. But he also recorded a positive image derived from the writings of Alfred Robinson and other Euro-Americans who traveled to California in the 1820s and 1830s to ply the hide and tallow trade and who married elite *Californianas* and settled there.²¹

Robinson’s accounts expressed similar negative stereotypes of men but presented positive portrayals of “Spanish” or “*Californio*” women. Robinson, who married María Teresa de la Guerra y Noriega, wrote that “the men are generally indolent and addicted to many vices . . . yet . . . in few places of the world . . . can be found more chastity, industrious habits and correct deportment than among the women.”²² Similar images appeared in literary pieces written on the eve of the Mexican War by individuals who had no firsthand experience of California. In this literature, Spanish-speaking women invited the advances of Euro-American men whom they anxiously awaited as their saviors from Mexican men. For example, “They Wait for Us,” published in Boston at the time that John C. Frémont’s outlaw band was raising the Bear Flag at Sonoma in June 1846, treats Mexican women as the symbol for the country about to be conquered:

They Wait for Us

The Spanish maid, with eyes of fire
At balmy evening turns her lyre,
And, looking to the Eastern sky,
Awaits our Yankee Chivalry
Whose purer blood and valiant arms,
Are fit to clasp her budding charms.

The *man*, her mate, is sunk in sloth—
To love, his senseless heart is loth:
The pipe and glass and tinkling lute,
A sofa, and a dish of fruit;
A nap, some dozen times by day;
Sombre and sad, and never gay.²³

The meaning is clear—Mexicans cannot appreciate, love, direct, or control their women/country.

Forty years later, Bancroft and Hittell underscored this theme in the primary sources. “It was a happy day,” writes Bancroft, “for the California bride whose husband was an American.” According to Hittell, Californian *señoritas* eagerly sought American husbands, who “might not touch the guitar as lightly,” but “made better husbands than those of Mexican blood.”²⁴ The chaste, industrious Spanish beauty who forsook her inferior man and nation in favor of the superior Euro-American became embedded in the literature. The negative image that Bancroft et al. picked up from the English-language primary sources was reserved for Mexican women: *fandango*-dancing, *monte*-dealing prostitutes, the consorts of Mexican bandits.²⁵ These dual stereotypes became the prototypic images of Spanish-speaking women in California. They were the grist of popular fiction and contemporary newspapers throughout the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they resurfaced in the popular historical literature of the twentieth century, including the few works that focused specifically on women of Spanish California.

The Makers of Modern Historiography: The Teutonic Historians

While Bancroft, Hittell, and other popularizers stereotyped women in their sweeping general histories of California, their scholarly contemporaries, the Teutonic historians, barely mentioned women at all. As professional historical scholarship took root in the post-Civil War era, the question of gender became a nonissue.²⁶

Rather, the new scientific historians, reflecting the period’s conservative, organic nationalism, were concerned principally with explaining the origin, nature, and Old World antecedents of Euro-American institutions in the United States. Their studies focused on political institutions, the pivotal structures perceived both as the sources of a nation’s order and coherence and as the hallmarks that distinguished one civilization from another. They dichotomized such institutions into free and nonfree, defining democratic institutions based on representative government as free and superior, and institutions based on monarchies as unfree and inferior.²⁷ The Teutonics divided contemporary New World civilizations deriving from European origins accordingly.

For these historians, deification of the national state was closely linked to glorification of Anglo-Saxon people and institutions. Euro-American civilization in the United States, according to the Teutonic germ theory of history, was characterized by superior, free institutions transplanted from medieval England and Germany by Anglo-Saxons, the superior Caucasian race, and destined to expand to the entire North American continent. The Teutonics did not question the earlier romantic historians' interpretation of continental expansion as God-ordained manifest destiny; instead, they recast the same view in terms of evolutionary theory.²⁸ In the inexorable sweep of Anglo-Saxons across the continent, inferior races and civilizations were to be swept aside.

The Teutonic historians' emphasis on Old World antecedents focused their attention on the eastern region of the United States rather than on the Far West, which had but recently been incorporated into the Union. The few early scholarly studies of colonial California and the Southwest focused on Spanish institutional development.²⁹ For post-Civil War historians concerned with nationalism and national unification, the important question was how to explain the Spanish-Mexican institutions rooted in California and the Southwest. A corollary question was how to incorporate the new region intellectually and ideologically into the history of the United States.³⁰

While imbued with the more objective scientific approach to historical research being taught at Johns Hopkins and other graduate schools, scholarly studies were nevertheless informed by the racist attitudes that saturated the primary sources and popular histories, particularly those of the Mexican War era, and by the colonial legacy of the Black Legend. In explaining the Spanish presence and institutions in the region ceded to the United States, the Teutonic historians concluded that Spain had failed to implant permanent institutions in this area, for two reasons. First, Spanish political institutions were not free. Second, Spanish cohabitation with inferior Amerindian and Negroid races in the Americas had produced an even more inferior, mongrelized population incapable of self-government.³¹ The low level of population across New Spain's vast northern region, its inability to pacify Amerindian groups fully, and its lack of strong agricultural, commercial, or industrial development were offered as proof positive that Spanish institutions had been a dismal failure. Spain's colonizing institutions, the missions, *presidios*, and *pueblos*, were not adequate to develop the region, nor did they leave a lasting influence on the people or landscape.

While the Teutonics' major documentary sources were Euro-American, they also cited French, English, and Russian travel accounts to California and the writings of Franciscan missionaries.³² The anti-Spanish sentiments of French, English, and Euro-American expeditionary forces, as well as these countries' continued interest in acquiring California, are obvious in the logs, journals, and reports of Jean François Galaup de La Perouse, George Vancouver, William Shaler, and other foreigners who visited Spanish California.³³ The reports, petitions, and correspondence of the mission priests, most of whom were peninsular Spaniards, cast aspersions on the racially mixed soldiers and settlers sent to this remote outpost of the empire. Historian Manuel Servín suggests that in California, prejudice and discrimination against persons of mixed blood can be traced to the pejorative racial attitudes of penin-

sular Franciscans and other *españoles* during the Spanish colonial era.³⁴

Since women were not a formal part of institutional life, the Teutonic historians did not discuss them.³⁵ Frank W. Blackmar, for example, who relies heavily on Bancroft for his description of colonial California, makes only passing reference to women in his discussion of the institution of the mission and the social and political life of the Spanish colonies.³⁶ But popular and amateur historians of the time continued to include women in their works, stereotyping Mexican women on the basis of both sex and race, as we have seen. These stereotypes take on additional significance when we recognize that, as Rodman Paul recently stated, the West, particularly California, that most romanticized, mythologized, and distorted of western states, "is a primary meeting ground of professional historiography, popular interests, and popular writers."³⁷

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then, even as Frederick Jackson Turner successfully challenged the germ theory of Euro-American history, the history of California remained the province of popular historians, journalists, and writers. Professional historians, now writing within the developing frontier hypothesis school of historiography, continued the Teutonics' neglect of women.

Nonetheless, ideas about gender and race formed a part of their intellectual subsoil. As the United States moved from expansionism to imperialism by going to war against Spain and by preparing to absorb former Spanish colonies, race and culture became pivotal political issues for imperialists and anti-imperialists alike. In addition, increased immigration from southern and eastern Europe occasioned considerable discussion about the assimilability of certain races and ethnic groups as well as alarm over the high birth rate among the new immigrants. At the same time, social and political theorists were alarmed by the decline in the birth rate among the white middle class; the potential threat that women's greater economic independence posed to the existing social order; and the women's rights movement. The survival and destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, they determined, rested with women. In particular, eugenicist theorists like Karl Pearson and Havelock Ellis glorified an ideal of motherhood that required women's self-sacrifice for the good of the race. Though it rested on social function rather than on biological constraint, the eugenicist ideal denied women's individuality, removed them as potential economic competitors, and silenced their potential political voices.³⁸

Turner's Frontier Hypothesis and the Fantasy Spanish Heritage

As the mission revival movement and the rediscovery of California's "Spanish" past gained force toward the end of the nineteenth century, Frederick Jackson Turner's presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1893 redefined Euro-American history and civilization. By the early twentieth century, Turner's concept, the "frontier hypothesis," had supplanted the Teutonic germ theory of history and American institutions.³⁹

Instead of looking to Old World antecedents to explain the development of representative government and Euro-American

civilization, Turner focused on the New World itself, whose environment alone explained the differences between the civilizations of Europe and America. In his view, expansion into new areas recreated the conditions of primitive social organization as successive waves of trappers, traders, miners, farmers, and cattlemen adapted to and molded the environment on continuous frontiers—"the meeting point between savagery and civilization." The men engaged in this continuous process were imbued with a "rugged individualism" that, combined with frontier conditions, promoted democracy and representative government. From the very beginning, then, the frontier was a democratizing agent. Departing from the Teutonic emphasis on Anglo-Saxon racial origins, Turner argued that "in the crucible of the frontier [redemptioners of non-English stock] were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristic."⁴⁰ American development represented a severance, a discontinuity with European origins, patterns, and institutions.

While on the one hand Turner conceived of Euro-American history as discontinuous from European origins, on the other hand his reinterpretation merely shifted the emphasis on institutional origins from the Old to the New World—from the German forest to the American wilderness—and stressed the impact of the new environment on diverse groups of Caucasian males. It left intact the Teutonics' basic assumptions about representative government, democratic institutions, race, culture, gender, and economics. In both interpretations, neither women nor non-Caucasian men were active participants in the creation of democratic institutions. That both were legally prohibited from direct participation in such institutions was not an issue; rather, their exclusion was consistent with theories of biological and social evolution.

Joan Jensen and Darlis Miller have identified four major stereotypes of Euro-American women in the Turnerian literature of the western frontier: gentle tamers, sunbonneted helpmeets, hell raisers, and bad women.⁴¹ The first two types were extolled as bastions of the pioneer family; the second two were condemned as libertines, created by the same frontier influence that liberated men. But in the Turnerian studies that extol and stereotype Euro-American women, Spanish-Mexican women were entirely absent—a fact hardly surprising in view of the school's racist attitudes toward non-Caucasian peoples and its ignoring of what Richard Hofstadter called "the shameful aspects of Western development, including the arrogance of American expansion, the pathetic tale of the Indians, anti-Mexican [and] anti-Chinese nativism."⁴²

With respect to Mexicans, the revisionist frontier historians, if they addressed the pre-American period at all, retained the Teutonic interpretation of Spanish institutional failure while dismissing the Mexican period as an unimportant interlude between the Spanish and North American eras. Maintaining the stereotype of indolent Mexicans, Frederic L. Paxson argued that in losing California, Mexico had "paid the penalty under that organic law of politics which forbids a nation to sit still when others are moving," and thus "determined the inevitability of the United States War with Mexico and the Conquest of California and the South West."⁴³

Having thus easily dismissed the obstacles that Indians and Mexicans, as prior occupants, represented to acquisition of the land base, the frontier historians focused their white, male-

centered studies on the "Westward Movement" of Anglo-American pioneers into Oregon, Utah, the Pacific Northwest, and, most particularly, gold-rush California. Most recently, historians reexamining the literature of the frontier and the West have concluded that the initial success of Turner's thesis was due largely to the fact that he told an emerging industrial nation rising to world power what it wanted to hear. "Turner," states Michael Malone, "told a maturing nation . . . that it was not an appendage of a decadent Europe, but rather was a unique and great country in its own right."⁴⁴

Meanwhile, Anglo-Westerners were searching for roots in the land they now occupied. To collect, exhibit, and publish their past the new westerners organized local county and state historical societies, museums, and journals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And, in the tradition of the earlier historical literature, the histories published by these institutions were romantic, provincial, nationalistic, and rife with filial piety.⁴⁵

But in California, the search for roots that fit into national history ran into hardpan—the Indians and Mexicans on the land. While the United States Army and the federal government had largely removed the Indians from their midst, historically minded Californians still had to deal with Mexicans and with the fact of Spanish-Mexican colonization and institutions on the slopes that they now called home.⁴⁶ Whereas their scholarly Teutonic forebears had dismissed Spain and its institutions, the new westerners now took an interest in the region's "Spanish" past. In Spain's Caucasian racial origins and former imperial grandeur they found an acceptable European past for one particular class of the former Mexican citizens in their midst, whose blood flowed in some of their own veins. In the now decaying Spanish missions and their "laudable" effort to Christianize the native population they found one institution worthy of preserving—at least structurally—for posterity.

The mission revival movement, which initiated a Spanish-Mediterranean architectural style for public and private buildings, dates from this period. Historical societies and journals published histories of the missions and *pueblos*, along with reminiscences of the halcyon days in the former Spanish colony.⁴⁷ Preservationists targeted first the missions, then the *adobes*. Leading Anglo denizens in towns up and down the state organized "fiesta days" that included parades, music, food, rodeos, and a *fandango* (dance) or two. In Santa Barbara, Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona* was converted into a play that was performed year after year. Some of the descendants of California's "best Spanish families," who aided and abetted both the creation and the perpetuation of the Spanish myth, joined these celebrations.⁴⁸

The majority of Anglo Californians seeking to understand their past probably did not read the scholarly studies of the frontier historians. The newspapers, novels, and nonprofessional histories that they did read continued the romanticized "Spanish" stereotypes first applied to *mestizas* in the primary sources and in Bancroft. In these works, women were featured prominently, and even males were now romanticized.⁴⁹

The gratuitous determination that Mexican California's land-owning class, some of whom still had kinship and/or economic ties to the new westerners, were pure-blooded Spaniards was a principal feature of the newly fabricated "fantasy Spanish heritage," to use Carey McWilliams's term.⁵⁰ Taking some of

their cues from contemporary newspaper stories that “the best families were of Castillian stock, many of them pure in blood and extremely fair of skin,” the new popularizers created a new racial and social history for the land-owning class that the Euro-American conquest had displaced and now appropriated. In these fabulous histories, “the men went to Old Spain or Mexico for their wives and there was but little mixture of the high-bred Spanish families with the Mexicans and Indians.” In *Spanish Arcadia*, which focuses on the Mexican period, Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez wrote that the *Californios* “kept their white blood purer than did the Mexicans or South Americans,” and thus, “as a race, are greatly superior to the Mexicans.”⁵¹

Dispossessed of their lands and politically disenfranchised, the former *rancheros* represented no threat to Euro-American supremacy and thus could be safely romanticized. The new popular histories converted Mexican *rancheros* into “the California Dons,” dashing, silver-saddled *caballeros* who roamed baronial estates from dawn to dusk in a remote Spanish past. The new Dons, however, continued to be inept; incapable of hard work, they lacked the genius or moral strength to develop California’s lush, fertile land. (Gertrude Atherton, who published short stories, novels, and popular histories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, entitled one collection of short stories about Mexican California *The Splendid Idle Forties*.⁵²)

The women of Spanish California, however, according to these novels and histories, surpassed the men. Like the primary sources of the 1840s, the new popularizers concluded that women were men’s superiors in “modesty, moral character, and sound common sense.”⁵³ California’s “Spanish” (read Caucasian) daughters were industrious, chaste, and morally as well as racially pure. In short, they could be claimed as the pure-blooded “Spanish” grandmothers of many a Euro-American frontier family. But Mexican women fared less well. While the literature seldom specifically discusses Mexican women, a designation that included non-elite *Californianas* and *Mexicanas* who came during the gold rush, it implies that they were licentious women—common prostitutes who, like their male counterparts, deserved to be wiped out. Thus popular historical interpretations of California’s Spanish-Mexican past essentially dichotomized *Californianas* the same way the scholarly frontier historians dichotomized and stereotyped Anglo-American women—as good and bad women. For *Californianas*, however, the values of good and bad were explicitly related to their race and culture or class.

Meanwhile, among professional historians, Spain’s presence in the American Southwest resurfaced as a historiographical issue. In the early decades of the twentieth century a reexamination of the history of colonial institutions in the old Spanish borderlands by a young scholar named Herbert Eugene Bolton led to a reinterpretation of those institutions and to a “new” school of historiography.

The Spanish Borderlands School

In the 1930s Turner’s frontier thesis came under increasing scrutiny and attack. A new generation of revisionist historians argued that national development resulted not from a single

cause but from many, from economic and class forces as well as from ideas rooted in East Coast intellectualism rather than western individualism.

The Great Depression, too, provoked a reexamination of the social unanimity implicit in Turner’s interpretation of United States history. The climate of national questioning, internationalism, and a Good Neighbor Policy toward Mexico and Latin America prompted scholars to tackle once more the history of California, the Southwest, and the Far West. At the University of California at Berkeley, Herbert Eugene Bolton and his students developed a new revisionist school, the Spanish borderlands school of historiography. The new school revised the Teutonics’ original theory of Spanish institutional failures by turning it on its head. Basing their arguments on a concept of “a Greater America” and on archival research in unmined Spanish language collections, Bolton and his students argued that, contrary to prevalent scholarly wisdom, which they characterized as nationalistic, chauvinistic, and distorted, Spanish institutions had not failed.⁵⁴

Examining the Spanish borderlands in the broad context of European exploration, exploitation, and colonization of the American continents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Bolton conceptualized Spain’s far northern frontiers as integral parts of Euro-American history. He concluded that, with the exception of New Mexico, Spain’s movement into its far northern frontier was defensive in nature. He argued further that Spain’s frontier institutions—the mission, *presidio*, and *pueblo*—not only were admirably suited to frontier conditions and defensive needs but also had exerted a lasting impact on the landscape and had paved the way for subsequent Euro-American colonizers. Missions and ranchos had broken ground for subsequent Anglo-American agricultural and pastoral development. Spanish *pueblos* had been the nucleus of major urban centers throughout the West. Spanish laws had influenced western mining, water, and community property rights, and Spanish terminology continued in use throughout the western states.⁵⁵

Rejecting both the Hispanophobia of the Teutonics and the strident nationalism of the Turnerians, the borderlands school effectively refuted the allegation of Spain’s institutional failure. Nevertheless, Bolton and his students retained their predecessors’ definitions of the makers and nature of history. Caucasian males engaged in exploration and in the development of religious, political, military, and economic institutions make history. But the Spaniards whom the Teutonics had disparaged as a cruel, greedy, bigoted nonwhite lot of miscreants the Boltonians lauded as valiant, daring, heroic Europeans.⁵⁶ Where the Teutonics had seen institutional failure, the Boltonians saw a seedbed for Spanish civilization.

In either view, however, women and nonwhite males do not contribute to history. While the Boltonians did address the exploitation of the Indians, their discussion revolved around the mission’s efficacy as a frontier institution, not around the lot of the Indian.⁵⁷ The early Spanish borderlands studies rarely mention racially mixed soldiers and settlers. When Bolton does briefly discuss California’s *mestizo* and *mulato* colonists, he reaffirms Bancroft’s views of their idle but kindly, hospitable, and happy character; and, like the contemporary popular historians, he makes a racial distinction between Californians and Mexicans: “Californians were superior to other Spanish

colonists in America, including Mexicans," a superiority that he attributes to "the greater degree of independence, social at least if not political," caused by their isolation from Mexico and to their "good Castillian blood."⁵⁸ Women, who (to the historians) were neither intrepid explorers, barefooted black-robed missionaries, nor valiant lancers for the king, do not figure in Spanish borderlands studies. Until very recently, mention of women was limited to scattered references to intermarriage in the Americas, to women's relationship to the men who founded Spanish institutions, or, in the case of Amerindian women, to the institution of the mission itself.

Though Bolton touches briefly on the cultural significance of marriage between Spanish *conquistadores* and Amerindian women in the early conquest of the Americas, borderlands discussions of California native women center on their relation to the mission. Borderlands descriptions of rapacious attacks on Amerindian women by soldiers focus not on the women but on the conflict over authority that these attacks exacerbated between officials of church and state.⁵⁹ Until recently borderlands historians, like the Teutonicists, attributed the problems of Spanish institutional development to the despicable behavior of the common soldiers, which was in turn blamed on their socio-racial origins. In the 1970s, however, borderlands historians began to examine the experiences and contributions of the racially mixed *soldado de cuera* (leather-jacket soldier) and *poblador* (settler), who derived largely from the lower social classes of colonial Spanish society. Although this new generation of historians has dealt more equitably with the issue of race, it has still focused exclusively on soldiers and male settlers.⁶⁰

Just as the early Boltonians dismissed the common soldier, so they dismissed the racially mixed wives of the artisans, soldiers, settlers, and convicts—women who endured difficult ocean voyages or who trekked over desert wastelands to settle Alta California. The only women systematically included are the wives of the governors, principally Eulalia Callis, with her marital strife, her "scandalous behavior," and the problems that she caused the missionaries.⁶¹

Although the borderlands school studies end with the close of the Spanish colonial era, Bolton makes brief reference to Mexican women in connection with Euro-American expansion into the old Spanish borderlands in the 1820s and 1830s. Though he shows an awareness of the importance of intermarriage and miscegenation to frontier development, and of the significance of Mexican women's economic roles as property owners and consumers on the borderlands, he joins the popular historians in his uncritical acceptance of Euro-American males' claims that Mexican women preferred them to Mexican males.⁶² While noting that James Ohio Pattie was a notorious braggart, Bolton nevertheless paraphrases Pattie's report that "at a *fandango* in Taos, the gateway to New Mexico, the American beaux captured not only all the señoritas, but the señoras as well. The jealous *caballeros* drew their knives." And "in California, long before the Mexican War," wrote Bolton, "it was a customary boast of a señorita that she would marry a blue-eyed man."⁶³ Thus Bolton accepts the distorted view that equated California women with the land that promised "freedom-loving, adventure-loving, land-hungry Americans" romance, exoticism, and adventure.⁶⁴

Presidarias, Pobladoras, Californianas, Chicanas: Reinterpreting Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier California

Within the last two decades, social historians and feminist historians have illuminated nineteenth-century U.S. social, women's, Chicano, borderlands, and family history; and recent studies on colonial women in Mexico and Latin America have yielded information and analysis pertinent to women in Spanish-Mexican California.⁶⁵ Yet even this new body of literature fails to deal directly with Spanish-Mexican women on the remote outposts of empire. There are no published book-length scholarly studies of *Mexicanas* on nineteenth-century frontiers, and the periodical literature is sketchy and impressionistic rather than grounded in substantive primary research.

Recent studies of women in the Far West reflect a historiography in the initial stages of development. Current works include edited and annotated compilations of primary materials, most specifically of "westerling" Anglo women's diaries and journals; descriptive works with varying degrees of analysis within the context of social, economic, and family history; and edited anthologies.⁶⁶

Descriptive studies, including those of Sandra L. Myres and Julie Roy Jeffrey, have emphasized the perspective of Euro-American women and, in a neo-Turnerian version of the frontier as place (environment) and process, have viewed Amerindian and Mexican women as part of the new environment to which Yankee, midwestern, and southern white women pioneers must adapt.⁶⁷ Glenda Riley and Annette Kolodny have probed Euro-American women's images of Amerindians; and Sandra Myres has described Anglo women's response to Mexicans.⁶⁸ These works find that Anglo women generally shared Anglo men's racial antipathy to Amerindians and Mexicans, though they tended to be more sympathetic to women of other racial and cultural groups.⁶⁹ Proximity sometimes served to break down barriers, and in some instances Anglo women struck up friendships with Amerindian and Mexican women based on "mutual respect and trust."⁷⁰ Three anthologies, *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives* (1986), *The Women's West* (1987), and *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives* (1988), address the critical, albeit thorny, issues of race, sex, class, and cultural interaction in the frontier West and Southwest.⁷¹

In many respects, however, these initial efforts continue to mirror the larger problems of the earlier historiography. That is, the new scholarship lacks a clear framework to examine the historical experience of women whose race and culture are not Anglo North American. Moreover, it often reflects the underlying assumptions and race and class biases of the earlier historiography. Historians of women in the frontier West, for example, have not yet grappled with defining the term *frontier* from a non-Anglo perspective, nor have they yet tackled the roles of English-speaking women in the imposition of Anglo hegemony. The new scholarship has indeed focused on gender, but its concept of gender ignores nonwhite, non-middle-class experiences on the frontier. And the lack of an integrative conceptual framework particularly hampers attempts to address the question of race and the nature of interracial contact, including interracial marriage.

Thus, Myres, Riley, and Susan Armitage find a “more peaceful version of Indian-white contact” in the diaries and journals of literate Anglo women, but they fail to reconcile this version with the brutality and violence that Amerindian and Mexican women experienced during the Anglo North American conquest of the western frontier.⁷² Although the underlying assumption that westering Anglo women were less violent than Anglo men may in fact be true, it is also true that Anglo women benefited directly from male violence that occurred before their own arrival in a particular region: frontier wars, army massacres, and the violence during the California gold rush.⁷³ Anglo women may have neither committed nor witnessed this violence, but they reaped its fruits: removal of Amerindians and Mexicans from the land base. And in addition to general violence rife in a society under conquest, Amerindian and Mexican women also suffered sexual violence.⁷⁴ Gerda Lerner and other feminist scholars have concluded that under conditions of military and/or political conquest, rape, abduction, and other acts of sexual violence against women of the conquered group are acts of domination.⁷⁵ Although Albert Hurtado and other scholars studying the history of Amerindian people in California have begun to address sexual violence, historians of women in the frontier West have not examined this subject, which is pivotal to the history of Amerindian and Mexican women.⁷⁶ While certainly women of all races and classes in the West experienced domestic violence, conquest and racism intensified sexual assault. Because racial inferiority was equated with sexual impurity—even prostitution—nonwhite women could be raped with impunity, just as they could be enslaved, killed, or worked to death like beasts of burden.

Anglo attitudes toward Mexican women have been the subject only of brief essays. In “Californio Women and the Image of Virtue,” David Langum concludes that the pejorative stereotypes of Mexican women were class based, derived from the perceptions of lower-class Mexican women by upper-class Yankees like Richard Henry Dana.⁷⁷ But Dana did have the opportunity to observe elite *Californianas*, and Langum does not address Dana’s underlying gender ideology. Furthermore, Langum’s class explanation is merely an extension to women of Cecil Robinson’s earlier interpretation of pejorative stereotypes of *Mexicanos*, an interpretation that has already been refuted.⁷⁸ In “The Independent Women of New Mexico,” Janet Lecompte attributes Anglos’ negative views of *Nuevo Mexicanas*’ morality to sexist Anglo behavioral norms conditioned by the relatively constricted position of women in North American society and culture, and by the corollary view of womanhood as the upholder and symbol of American morality.⁷⁹ Unfortunately Lecompte does not develop the gender-based argument, nor does she fully address the issue of race.

Jane Dysart, Darlis Miller, and Rebecca Craver have published the only studies to date on the subject of interracial marriage.⁸⁰ These works describe but do not analyze significant historical, political, economic, and cultural issues inherent in interracial marriage and assimilation; and despite their recognition that intermarriage existed before the Anglo North American conquest, their point of departure is generally North American culture and society. Yet intercultural contact, interracial marriage, and *mestizo* children were part of Mexican women’s historical reality long before the arrival of Anglo

Americans on the landscape; this subject, especially, requires examination within a broader context.⁸¹ Moreover, in the early periods of contact, when whites sought to establish trapping, trading, and other commercial relations with Indians and Mexicans, intermarriage and consensual unions were as much economic as they were sexual or romantic alliances. White men who married or lived with nonwhite women were assimilated into the women’s culture. This pattern was conditioned by sex ratio, itself a manifestation of the particular stage of contact, which we must take into account before we can generalize about intermarriage and assimilation. In her exemplary study of the Spanish-Mexican women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880, Deena González grounds her examination of interracial marriage in Spanish-Mexican patterns of racial and cultural contact, while also charting the economic changes that her subjects experienced with the change of legal and political institutions from Mexican to Anglo-American patterns.⁸²

Earlier studies of nineteenth-century Chicano history include general discussions of Chicanas, particularly in relation to labor and the family, but they do not incorporate gender as a category of analysis. Those of Albert Camarillo, Richard Griswold del Castillo, and Ricardo Romo begin on the eve of the Mexican-American War and center on the development of Chicano communities in California’s urban centers during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸³ Griswold del Castillo’s more recent study on the Chicano family also begins after the U.S. war with Mexico, as does the earliest social history of the *Californios*; and Roberto Alvarez’s anthropological examination of family migration in Baja and Alta California focuses mainly on the period after 1880.⁸⁴ Recent social and frontier histories of Spanish and Mexican California and the Southwest, whether they derive from the Spanish borderlands school or from Mexican historical studies, either ignore women entirely or discuss them in very general terms.⁸⁵ For colonial California, one unpublished dissertation and three brief articles on marriage and childrearing patterns and on race, all by Gloria Miranda, constitute the totality of recent scholarly studies.⁸⁶

But there is new scholarship in colonial Mexican and Latin American women’s and family history that is invaluable to the study of Spanish-speaking women in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California. Ramón Gutiérrez’s *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away* offers a singularly important point of departure for an examination of gender and marriage in colonial New Mexico.⁸⁷ Although Gutiérrez’s is the only recent study that focuses on New Spain’s northern frontier, Patricia Seed’s *To Love Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico* examines the changing laws and conflicts over marriage choice.⁸⁸ Sylvia Arrom’s *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* and Asunción Lavrin’s work on nuns and women’s wills address the status of colonial women in law, in the patriarchal family, in religious orders, and in social, economic, and political life.⁸⁹ The new scholarship revises earlier interpretations of *Mexicanas* as passive, male-dominated, and powerless. While most of these studies do not focus on frontier women, they provide a well-defined sociocultural and political context for such discussion by illuminating gender-specific Spanish colonial and Mexican laws and policies.

And there are rich sources for the study of frontier Spanish-Mexican women.⁹⁰ Though the standard archival sources for

the Spanish colonial period are official reports, correspondence, diaries, and journals written by male missionaries and military authorities, they yield factual information about women's work and life in the missions and *presidios*, as well as insights into the gender ideology of the era. And although few Spanish-speaking women were literate, they did have petitions and letters penned for them.⁹¹ There are also quantifiable sources: censuses, court records, and mission registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths. The marriage registers reveal the extent of interracial marriage between Amerindian women and Spanish-*mestizo* men. Both ecclesiastical and military records document the violence that soldiers committed against Amerindian women.⁹²

For the Mexican period, civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical court records reveal that women sued and were sued for divorce (legal separation), for land, and for custody of children and godchildren, as well as for numerous social transgressions.⁹³ Court records document a significant increase in domestic violence against women; they also document violence by women. Court records, official reports, and correspondence yield information about race relations. *Libros de solares* (books of lots) record women's ownership of town lots, and there are also documents proving women's receipt and ownership of Mexican land grants. Before secularization in 1836, interracial marriages—now of Mexican women with European and Euro-American men—may be traced through mission registers.

For the era just before and after the American conquest, there are further quantifiable sources, in addition to the journals and correspondence of Anglo men and women, contemporary newspapers, and the literature of the gold rush. The records of the Land Grant Commission detail Mexican women's loss and retention of land grants. Extant *Ayuntamiento* (later City Council) records and Sole Trader records permit examination of Mexican women's economic life, as do the federal manuscript censuses. Women's wills and probate court records reveal the nature and disposition of women's property. Justice of the peace and parish records document interracial marriage. Justice of the peace and superior court records document crimes with which women were charged, crimes of which women were the victims, and indentures of children. Hubert Howe Bancroft's collection includes narratives from eleven Mexican women that provide significant information and insight into women's lives, work, family, race relations, and politics up to the 1870s, when the women were interviewed. Finally, family collections and papers in various repositories throughout the state contain women's correspondence, diaries, and journals of elite, literate *Californianas* and, in some cases, middle-class Mexican women who came to California in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁴

The threads of Spanish-Mexican women's history run throughout these sources. What is missing is an approach to the history of the frontier that integrates gender, race, and culture or class as categories of historical analysis. An integrative ethnohistorical approach would enable us to examine women's roles and lives in their societies of origin, as well as to describe and interpret how conquest changed their lives and restructured economic and social relationships not only between the sexes but also among persons of the same sex. For example, although we know that Spanish-Mexican and

Anglo-American societies were stratified along gender, as well as racial and class lines, research is wanting on the nature or extent of male domination and the subordination of women in Amerindian societies before 1769. Feminist anthropologists have suggested that male domination was not universal in the Americas, and that foraging societies—such as those that existed in California—were essentially egalitarian, but this hypothesis has not been tested. Nor have historians compared gender stratification and patriarchy in Spanish-Mexican and Euro-American frontier California. I have suggested here that violence toward women is part of the politics of domination. Likewise, pejorative stereotypes and the deracination of *mestiza* women reveal the intersection of ideologies of gender, sexuality, and race in the politics of conquest. But it is premature to generalize about women and race relations, intermarriage, and assimilation on the frontiers of expansion. We have not yet done the research.

For three centuries, American frontiers were bloody battlegrounds of European and Euro-American expansion and conquest and of Amerindian resistance. Impoverished Spanish-speaking *mestiza*, *mulata*, and other *casta* women who migrated to Alta California in the eighteenth century came as part of soldier-settler families recruited and subsidized to populate the military forts in imperial Spain's most remote outpost. These women began the process of reproducing Hispanic culture and society on this frontier. Their daughters and granddaughters continued it as the region changed from Spanish to Mexican political control. A developing agropastoral economy built on trade and Amerindian labor gave rise to greater social stratification and the beginning of class distinctions. By the mid 1840s the great-granddaughters of the first generation of women, then in the midst of their own childbearing years, themselves experienced war, conquest, and displacement. Many of them became part of the menial wage labor force of a new, expanding, capitalist economy and society that bought their labor as cheaply as possible while it devalued their persons racially, culturally, and sexually. It is time to reexamine the history of these women within a conceptual framework that acknowledges the sex-gender, race, and culture or class issues that inhered in the politics and policies of frontier expansion, and to reinterpret the terms that define our changing reality on this frontier—presidarias, pobladoras, Californianas, Chicanas.

NOTES

1. For comprehensive bibliographies on the Spanish-Mexican frontier see John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1531-1821* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), 257-87; Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontiers of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 309-32; David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 377-407; Weber, "Mexico's Far Northern Frontier, 1821-1846: A Critical Bibliography," *Arizona and the West* 19 (Autumn 1977): 225-66; Weber, "Mexico's Far Northern Frontier: Historiography Askew," *Western Historical Quarterly* 7 (July 1976): 279-93.

The following (not exhaustive) list includes titles discussing Spanish-Mexican women in early biographies, family histories, and histories of ranchos: Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano: Hugo Reid's Life in California, 1832-1852* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939); Bess Adams Garner, *Windows in an Old Adobe* (1939; reprint Claremont, Calif.: Bronson Press, 1970); Henry D. Hubbard, *Vallejo* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1941); Terry E. Stephenson, "Tomas Yorba, His Wife Vicenta, and His Account Book,"

The Quarterly Historical Society of Southern California 23 (March 1944): 126-55; Myrtle McKittrick, *Vallejo: Son of California* (Portland, Ore.: Bindfords and Mort Publishers, 1944); Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1949); Angustias de la Guerra Ord, *Occurrences in Hispanic California*, trans. Francis Price and William Ellison (Washington, D.C.: Academy of Franciscan History, 1956); Edna Deu Pree Nelson, *The California Dons* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962); *The 1846 Overland Trail Memoir of Margaret M. Hecox*, edited by Richard Dillon (San Jose, Calif.: Harlan-Young Press, 1966); Madie Brown Emparan, *The Vallejos of California* (San Francisco: Gleeson Library Association, 1968); Virginia L. Carpenter, *The Ranchos of Don Pacifico Ontiveros* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Friis Pioneer Press, 1982).

For a discussion of race as a central theme in the history of the West and a review of the most recent historical literature, see Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 396-416. Herbert Eugene Bolton criticized American historiography for its nationalistic chauvinism in "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review* 38 (April 1933): 448-74. See also White, "Race Relations in the American West," and Weber, "Mexico's Far Northern Frontier: Historiography Askew." For a review of pervasive ideas about female inferiority, see Rosemary Agonito, *History of Ideas on Women: A Sourcebook* (New York: Perigree Brooks, 1977).

2. Eileen Power, *Medieval Women*, edited by M. M. Postan (London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 9.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 305; Theodore S. Hittell, *History of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1897), 2:469-511; see especially Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886-1890); Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *History of California*, 5 vols. (New York: The Century Company, 1915).

4. Franklin Tuthill, *The History of California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft and Company, 1866); Lucia Norman, *A Popular History of California from the Earliest Period of Its Discovery to the Present Time* (1867; reprint San Francisco: A. Roman, AGT, Publisher, 1883); J. M. Guinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of Los Angeles and Environs Also Containing Biographies of Well Known Citizens of the Past and Present*, 3 vols. (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1915).

5. Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1985); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge and London, 1981); Frederick Merk, *A Reinterpretation of Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963); *The Mexican War: Was It Manifest Destiny?* edited by Ramon Eduardo Ruiz (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963).

6. For a discussion of the contradictory but stereotypic images of women in Euro-American travel literature, see Antonia I. Castañeda, "Anglo Images of Nineteenth Century Californianas: The Political Economy of Stereotypes," in *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*, edited by Adelaida del Castillo (Los Angeles: Floricanto Press, forthcoming 1990).

7. For a discussion of the early traditions of United States historical writing, see Michael Kraus and Davis D. Joyce, *The Writing of American History*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985): 92-135; John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper and Row, 1965): 3-25, 68-74, 148-49; David Levin, *History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959).

8. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 180; see also Edward N. Saveth, "The Conceptualization of American History," in *American History and the Social Sciences*, edited by Edward N. Saveth (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 10-11.

9. The Black Legend refers to an anti-Spanish policy perpetrated by Spain's European enemies accusing the Spanish monarch of brutal tyranny more extreme than that of their own absolutist regimes. See James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 42-43, 55, 64; *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*, edited by Charles Gibson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971); Phillip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudice Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York and London: Basic Books, 1971).

10. For discussion of Eulalia Callis, see Bancroft, *History of California* 1:389-93, and Eldredge, *History of California* 1:5-8.

11. Bancroft, *History of California* 2:64-78; footnote 23, 78; Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 331-32; Richard A. Pierce, *Resanov Reconnoiters California: A New Translation of Resanov's Letters, Parts of Lieutenant Khvostov's Log*

of the Ship Juno, and Dr. Georg von Langsdorff's Observations (San Francisco: The Book Club of San Francisco, 1972), 15-23, 69-72.

12. Bancroft, *History of California* 2:77-78; footnote 23, 78; and Susanna Bryant Dakin, *Rose, or Rose Thorn? Three Women of Spanish California* (Berkeley: The Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1963), 25-56.

13. Bancroft, *History of California* 2:72.

14. Bancroft, *History of California* 1:224, 257-69, 341-45, 603; footnote 6, 603; and footnote 13, 606.

15. For discussion of Nordic superiority in North American history, see Kraus and Joyce, *The Writing of American History*, 136, 145, 165; Bert James Lowenberg, *American History in American Thought* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 347-49, 371-75, 380-98, 458-65; Levin, *History as Romantic Art*, 85-87; and Edward Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), 90-92.

For discussion of male supremacy, see Mary P. Ryan, *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing about Domesticity, 1830-1860* (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1985); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Mary Beth Norton, "The Evolution of White Women's Experience in Early America," *The American Historical Review* 89 (June 1984): 593-619; Lorna Duffin, "Prisoners of Progress: Women and Evolution," in *The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*, edited by Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978), 57-91; Agonito, *History of Ideas on Women*, 251-63; Susan Phinney Conrad, *Perish the Thought: Intellectual Women in Romantic America, 1830-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 15-41; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (1980; reprint New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986).

16. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846*, 17.

17. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 305-34; Bancroft, *History of California*, vols. 2, 3, and 4.

18. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 76-79, 292-93; Bancroft, *History of California* 2:69.

19. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 279-80, 305.

20. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 279-80, 322; Hittell, *History of California* 2:491.

21. With few exceptions, Euro-Americans who left published accounts of Mexican California in their memoirs, journals, and correspondence described Mexican men in racist terms and consistently expressed expansionist sentiments toward U.S. acquisition of California. Bancroft draws heavily upon these published sources, and he also had access to numerous unpublished manuscripts of similar sentiment. See Castañeda, "Anglo Images of Nineteenth Century Californianas"; see also notes 78 and 79.

22. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (1846; reprint Santa Barbara: Peregrine Press, 1970), 51, and as quoted in Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 326.

23. "They Wait for Us," as quoted in Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 233.

24. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 312; Hittell, *History of California* 2:179.

25. In Spanish-Mexican California, *el fandango* was a specific dance, while *un fandango* referred to an informal dancing party. Euro-Americans used the term loosely and applied it to all dances and any dancing occasion. *Monte* is a card game. See Lucille K. Czarnowski, *Dances of Early California Days* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1950), 16, 22.

26. For early critiques of sexism in the historical scholarship, see "Part I: On the Historiography of Women," in *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, edited by Berenice A. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 1-75; Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

27. Discussion of the Teutonic hypothesis is based primarily on Kraus and Joyce, *The Writing of American History*; Lowenberg, *American History in American Thought*; George Callcott, *History in the United States, 1800-1860: Its Practices and Purpose* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins Press, 1970); John Higham, *Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship* (Bloomington and London: University of Indiana Press, 1970); Holt W. Stull, *Historical Scholarship in the United States and Other Essays* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967); Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants*.

28. Kraus and Joyce, *The Writing of American History*, 165; Callcott, *History in the United States, 1800-1860*, 154, 162, 165-72; Levin, *History as Romantic Art*, 78, 82-85, 121-37.

29. Frank W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest* (1891; reprint Glorieta, N.M.: Rio Grande Press, 1976).

30. Kraus and Joyce, *The Writing of American History*, 92-135, 164-209;

- Higham, *History*, 151-52, 167; Lowenberg, *American History in American Thought*, 131-32, 200-20, 328, 424.
31. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest*; Lewis Hanke, ed., *Do the Americas Have a Common History? A Critique of the Bolton Theory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964).
32. Rawls, *Indians of California*, 32-43.
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54. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America"; Bolton, *Wider Horizons of American History* (1930; reprint New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), 55-106. For a critique of the Bolton theory, see Hanke, *Do the Americas Have a Common History?*
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85. See note 60.

86. Gloria Elizarraras Miranda, "Family Patterns and the Social Order in Hispanic Santa Barbara, 1784-1848" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1978); Miranda, "Racial and Cultural Dimensions in Gente de Razón Status"; Miranda, "Hispano-Mexicano Childrearing Practices"; Miranda, "Gente de Razón Marriage Patterns."

87. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*; see also Ramón Gutiérrez, "Honor Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690-1846," *Latin American Perspectives* 44 (Winter 1985): 81-104.

88. Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

89. Sylvia M. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); Asunción Lavrin, "Women in Convents: Their

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90. The sources identified in the following discussion are selective and representative. Each archival repository, including city and county libraries, museums, and historical societies, must be examined and/or reexamined for materials pertinent to women and must be approached with gender-specific questions.

91. The standard archival sources for Spanish-Mexican California history that contain transcripts and/or abstracts of government reports and correspondence, censuses, transcripts of hearings, petitions, letters, testimonies, etc. include the bound volumes of *The Archives of California*, 63 vols., and the microfilm copy of the multivolume *Archivo de la Nación*, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; see also *The Writings of Junipero Serra*, 4 vols., edited by Antonine Tiebesar (Washington, D.C.: Academy of Franciscan History); *Writings of Francisco de Lasuen*, 2 vols., edited by Finbar Kinneally (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965).

92. The Mission Archives at Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California, include, among numerous other sources, the extant *Books of Marriage*, *Books of Baptism*, and *Books of Death* for each mission, marriage testimonies, petitions for dispensation of consanguinity, mission censuses, sermons, official reports, and correspondence. Also, individual missions may have additional archival material.

93. For the Mexican period, see *Archives of California*, as well as the "Vallejo Collection" and the reminiscences of individual women in the manuscript collection, including Catarina Avila de Ríos, Angustias de la Guerra Ord, Apolinaria Lorenzana, Felipa Osuna de Marrón, Juana Machado de Ridington, Eulalia Pérez, María Inocenta Pico, Mariana Torres, Dorotea Valdez, Rosalía Vallejo de Leese, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. For the civil and criminal court records for the northern district of Mexican California, and the Libros de Solares for Monterey, see *The Monterey Archives*, 16 vols., Office of the County Recorder and Clerk, Salinas, California; see also the Monterey Collection, San Marino, California.

94. María Ignacia Soberanes de Bale, Papers and Correspondence, Bale Family Papers, Manuscript Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; *Records of the Land Grant Commission*, Archives of the State of California, Sacramento, California.