

Homecoming Trails in Mexican American Cultural History

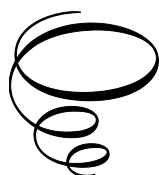
Homecoming Trails in Mexican American Cultural History:

*Biography, Nationhood,
and Globalism*

Edited by

Roberto Cantú

**Cambridge
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Homecoming Trails in Mexican American Cultural History:
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In Memory
of my colleagues and friends

Lou Negrete
(1934-2019)

and

Eliud Martínez
(1935-2020)



Lou Negrete (standing) about to introduce Eliud Martínez
(next to microphone)
International Conference on Carlos Fuentes
California State University, Los Angeles
May 5, 2012

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INTRODUCTION

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Since the first time when I visited the Confederate Cemetery in Austin, Texas [...] the separate cemetery for Mexicans makes me think about history and the past.
—Eliud Martínez, *El Güero-Güero: The White Mexican* (15).

Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur.
—Hernán Cortés, *Cartas de relación* (106).

The essays selected for this volume were presented in 2018 at an international conference planned as a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Chicano Studies at Cal State LA (1968-2018).¹ The conference had as an initial focal point sixteenth century Spain as the first modern global power that emerged in a rapid process of trans-Atlantic exploration, conquest, and colonization of the New World, sustained and funded by the mining of precious metals in the Americas and trade hauled by the imperial Manila Galleons navigating from Asia to the shores of Colonial Mexico, the Caribbean, and ultimately Seville, Spain. It was known that the Manila Galleon had carried more than spices, silk, screens, and other luxury items across the Pacific Ocean; what usually passed unnoticed was that such global trade had brought peoples who had left behind distinct homelands and cultures that in time merged and were subsumed—along with other peoples from Africa and Europe—into New Spain’s population and, after Independence, into Mexico’s national culture. The global study of racial and cultural blending made possible under Imperial Spain was meant to serve as a *founding* template

¹ Plans for this conference began in 2016 with friends and colleagues Rosaura Sánchez (UC San Diego), Beatrice Pita (UC San Diego), and Victor Barrera Enderle (Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, México). The conference was meant to serve as a transition to the 500th anniversary of the 1521 Conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlan by Hernán Cortés and his thousands of Indigenous allies, to be brought to memory and historical rethinking in a 2021 conference; regrettably, the Covid-19 pandemic led to the dismissal of the project.

from which to critically analyze the mistaken U.S. notion of a “Mexican race,” and the discipline’s initial conception of a Chicano cultural identity, subsequently set aside in light of the manifold genealogies, centuries old, of contemporary Americans of Mexican descent. Thus summarized, the conference’s exploratory theme had a global studies objective intended to underscore the degree to which Chicano studies as an academic discipline had broadened in time and space, through fifty years of development, its research interests from a mid-century United States to a distant past, centuries before the discipline’s founding date.

One national event altered the theme and scope of the conference: the 2017 presidential election in the United States. It had been preceded by a campaign known for its white nationalist “Make America Great Again” speeches, with the candidate for the presidency openly characterizing Mexicans as criminals, and promising to build a wall across the U.S.-Mexico border, at Mexico’s expense. During Trump’s campaign, threats and accusatory charges against Mexicans in the United States had led to the physical eviction of Jorge Ramos, a well-known Mexican *Univisión* reporter, from one of the Republican rallies (26 August 2015); to Trump’s attacks against the credibility of federal judge Gonzalo P. Curiel (7 June 2016), contending that the judge was Mexican (although born in Chicago, Illinois), hence his untrustworthiness; and to a mass killing at a Walmart store in El Paso, Texas (3 August 2019) by a white nationalist gunman who entered the store aiming at “Mexicans,” killing 23 people who lived on both sides of the Mexico-U.S. border, and injuring many others.² There would be other acts of murder and violence against Black Americans, televised on a frequent basis and triggering the Black Lives Matter movement throughout the United States, demanding racial and social justice. It was soon learned that white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups had democrats, liberals, “socialists,” and ethnic minorities under surveillance.³ Evidently, the Obama-era assumptions of a post-racial and post-nationalist America were premature or very wrong.

² Shortly after submitting the manuscript of *The Mexican Flyboy* to his publisher in 2015, novelist Alfredo Véa was advised to delete “Mexican” from his title and to replace it with Latino or Hispanic. Due to the rise of anti-Mexican attitudes in the United States, Véa was warned that his novel would not sell. Véa withdrew his manuscript and sent it to Robert Con Davis Undiano, editor of the Chicana and Chicano Visions of the Américas series (U Oklahoma Press). *The Mexican Flyboy* was released in 2016.

³ As reported by Nagle: “[D]uring the Obama years millennial cultural liberals had their own new media platforms to fill the vacuum left by the decline in the centrality of mainstream newspapers and TV as the general arena for public

When the conference's call for papers was distributed at the beginning of Fall 2017, younger department colleagues objected to the term "Chicano" in the title of the conference, and asked that it be replaced with other generational identities such as Chicax or Latinx. These two self-identifying terms share a lexical similarity with "Xicano," an earlier variant embraced during the sixties by cultural nationalists aligned with the *Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (March 1969), thus with the "x" as a reference to the Nahuatl language of the Mexica people (better known as the Aztecs), with the "x" pronounced as a soft "sh" sound. The memory was also fresh of how "Xicano" as a generational affiliation (with its location in post-Conquest Texas, therefore no longer in pre-Conquest Mexico) had been humorously satirized in Chicano literature, specifically by *Tejano* writer Rolando Hinojosa, brought to light by literary critic Julio Puente García later in this volume as follows: "The narrator refers to the people in the Flora community as Xicanos, written with an x, a syntactic mark of their somewhat indefinite identity. In the words of the narrator: 'En Flora hay gente para todo: la xicanada que vive allí es de lo más agringado que hay y aunque la bolillada los aplasta y no cuenta con la raza para nada, los xicanos de Flora siguen en las suyas y como si nada.'" The differences over generational names could be understood as follows: archival research indicates that the term "Mexican" had been turned into an insult by white Americans since the early nineteenth century (Paredes 20), therefore the polite use by white Americans when interacting with Mexican Americans with terms like Hispanic, Latin American, or Latino. Unlike the term "Mexican" or Mexican American, terms such as Chicax and Latinx avoid the possible ethnic slur which might explain their recent adoption across the country in academic spheres, but not by Mexican American communities where the term "Chicano" had also been rejected after a generation of Mexican American students and faculty self-identified themselves as such in the late sixties. To appease my younger

discourse. In this brave new world of clicks and content, their alternative came in the form of the often-sentimental feel-good clickbait sites like Upworthy and listicle sites like BuzzFeed. Other liberal sites like Everyday Feminism, Jezbel and Salon delivered a strange mixture of *ultra-sensitivity*, *sentimentality* and what was once considered *radical social constructionist identity politics* [...]. And yet at the end of 2016 it was the candidate of the right, Donald Trump, who was elected President of the United States (42-43, my emphasis). Adding to the cultural and political ironies of the era was the rise of the "Latinos for Trump" movement, faithful and combative supporters after the president asked his far-right followers to "stand back and stand by."

Chicanx and Latinx colleagues, I added a subtitle to the conference: “Out of Many, One.”⁴

⁴ The widespread adoption of generational identities by the American public seems to be, for the most part, a fashion and creation of the culture and entertainment industry, with names such as Generation X (1961-1981), the Millennial generation (1981-1996), and Generation Z (1997-2012), among others. The seductive appeal of this market-driven notion of generations has arguably been the conflict-free spaces it has invented, away from the troublesome and confrontational realities of political life in the United States. We need to theorize, once again, the important category of “generations” in historical breaks and continuities, particularly in Mexican American cultural history. And for such an undertaking, one must go back to a tradition still within our reach. In his analysis of generational tension and cultural change in nineteenth century Austria, Carl E. Schorske underlined the paired historical importance of youth (*Die Jüngen*) and “generational solidarity” (142). A tacit but crucial factor in this generational model was the recurring biological conflict between sons and fathers, thus as a generational rivalry over sovereignty and dominance. In Spanish and Latin American philosophical history, however, the concept of generations is somewhat different, and largely the domain of Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) as proposed in two influential books: *El tema de nuestro tiempo* (The Theme of Our Time, 1923), and *En torno a Galileo* (Man in Crisis, 1933). Since Ortega’s point of departure for any theorizing is what he called one’s *circunstancia*, his book *El tema de nuestro tiempo* acquires its full historical meaning as Ortega’s philosophical response to Miguel Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship in Spain (1923-1930), therefore not on biological transitions (sons versus fathers), but on national political concerns (i.e., republicanism versus fascism). Ortega’s influential concept of *generación* placed its emphasis on social groups defined by a shared historical sensibility and similar birth dates (*coetáneos*); a group consciousness of a nation’s unresolved conflicts; and a resolve to actively participate in their solution. With the concept of generations, Ortega thought against the mainstream political ideologies of historical change, either through the masses, or by means of powerful and charismatic men. According to Ortega, a generation’s historical challenge is twofold: either to be faithful to institutions and ideas received from the past (“*generaciones cumulativas*”); or, as *generaciones de combate*, the task of those who move beyond the established everyday world, with the aim to create a new age of “constructive belligerence” (*beligerancia constructiva*, 1966: 149). Ortega’s *El tema de nuestro tiempo* had an immense impact on Mexican writers (e.g., Samuel Ramos, Agustín Yáñez, Octavio Paz, Carlos Fuentes, among others), as well as throughout Latin America. In California history, Antonio María Osio’s generation could be studied in the light of Ortega’s concept, but with obvious circumstantial differences: the Californios were blinded by the glare of Enlightenment ideas, causing a centrifugal splitting of the group toward different possibilities of nationhood: France, England, the United States, or Mexico (to be discussed below). Years later, Ortega returned to the theme of generations in *En torno a Galileo*, originally a set of twelve seminar lectures read in 1933 at the *Cátedra Valdecilla de la Universidad Central*

Disinformation and the abasement of political language in the United States have made the scene among far-right groups, leading to a general retreat from reality caused by “cognitive disorientation,” a symptom of an increasing derealization of history in which the differences between the Real and the Imaginary are dissolved. In such a flattening of history and the resulting dissolution of the Real, “anything goes,” as Hayden White attests, and you have “history as you like it” (68), illustrated in parahistorical subgenres known as *faction*, *infotainment*, *fiction of fact* and, one might add, “conspiracy theories” disseminated by the nation’s political leaders.

In his memoir, included in this book, David Montejano reminds us that the critical spirit that inspired the Chicano and Chicana generations was meant to unmask and challenge an *official* history that had been internalized by Americans of Mexican ancestry. The nationalist, white American version of U.S. history had fostered among Mexican Americans a non-American identity, which led to self-accusations, and the recurring tensions and divisions among Mexican Americans. These breaks with the Mexican American cultural past—also revealed in the late 60s with the emergence of the Chicano generation—are evidence of trans-historical attitudes that Chicano and Chicana generations have examined and analyzed. David Montejano reflects on the Mexican American “stateless” condition as follows:

We had no history or literature to speak of. There was, of course, an “official” history [...] meant to instill inferiority among Mexicans, meant to justify our lowly position and the discriminatory treatment we

(Madrid). Ortega’s “circumstances” and world had changed dramatically in the past ten years: on the one hand, the rise of Nazi Germany; on the other, the internal problems of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936), in the end overthrown by Spanish fascists led by Francisco Franco during the Civil War (1936-1939). In *En torno a Galileo*, the polemical aspect in Ortega’s concept of generations does not mean struggle, conflict, or something “new”: it insinuates a combination of inter-generational discipleship, collaboration, and the needed continuation and maintenance of a civilization in crisis made manifest in the rising totalitarian Europe of the 1930s. Did Ortega contradict himself between 1923 and 1933 in relation to the meaning of “generations”? What changed were his *circumstances* and the world, therefore the 1923 theoretical model was no longer applicable. Ortega had to think through his new circumstance—and Spain’s—in a civilization whose modern (rational) foundations were under totalitarian threats in 1933, both from the Left (“bolchevismo”), and from the Right (“fascismo,” 1967: 77). Franco’s fascist triumph in 1939, and Hitler’s invasion of Poland in the same year, proved that Ortega’s generational analysis was correct.

received. We internalized some of these lessons. We believed that we were caught between two cultures, neither American nor Mexican, and that the resulting cultural conflict and confusion explained our shortcomings individually and collectively. We blamed ourselves for our poverty and lack of education [...] We blamed immigrants for holding us back, even though we ourselves may have been sons and daughters of immigrants. The internal tensions within the ethnic Mexican extended beyond the citizen-immigrant divide. Segregation acted like a pressure cooker, as the youth of various barrios fought each other for control of space and neighborhood resources. The Mexican American community was extremely divided.

Montejano's reasoned assessment of the Mexican American condition illustrates the historically-recurring circumstances of a people on the trail of a homeland. The search began with education at the front line: in 1968 the Mexican American Studies Program was launched at Cal State LA. By the mid-1970s the department housed faculty aged between their late twenties and early fifties, the latter with PhD's, a few ABD's ("all but dissertation"), and the majority—community activists and representatives—with only a bachelor's degree, or none at all. We felt animated by different and generally conflicting political or professional goals. There were colleagues who had enjoyed visits to the People's Republic of China or to the Soviet Union; a vocal group of cultural nationalists who claimed Aztlán as their ancient Chicano homeland; most were community activists whose time and energy were channeled away from campus; a few of us were committed to the development of a nascent academic field through research, publications, and teaching. All of us—Maoists, Marxist-Leninists, Civil Rights advocates, community activists, and novice academics—were swept away by the embattled countercultural spirit of the 60s.⁵ Viewed as

⁵ Writing about his life as a young man, first under Nazi rule and subsequently beneath the weight of the Soviet occupation of Poland, Czeslaw Milosz—Alfredo Vea's professor at UC Berkeley during the 1970s—wondered why Western intellectuals become Communists. After all, he hated the "New Faith" imposed by the Soviet Union on peoples in Central and Eastern Europe after the defeat of Hitler's Germany. In a satirical mode, Milosz turned the question into a possible answer in his autobiographical book *The Captive Mind*: "Westerners, and especially Western intellectuals, suffer from a special variety of *tedium vitae*; their emotional and intellectual life is too dispersed. Everything they think and feel evaporates like steam in an open expanse. Freedom is a burden to them. No conclusions they arrive at are binding: it may be so, then again it may not. The result is a constant uneasiness. The happiest of them seem to be those who become Communists" (79). Lou's explanation of why some of our Chicano colleagues claimed Beijing, Moscow or La Habana as their political homeland stemmed from

such, the Chicano Movement at Cal State LA was not uniform and monolithic, but driven by an inner dialectic aspiring to different forms of thought and action, some with community initiatives as a priority, others with teaching and academic duties as a central focus. The colleague who earned the trust of tenure-track and part-time faculty was Dr. Louis (“Lou”) R. Negrete, whose sound judgment and ability to communicate with the entire faculty in spite of ideological differences resulted in frequent elections to serve as department chair. The founding of Chicano Studies at Cal State LA was based on the guiding principles of the 6 March 1968 Student Walkouts by thousands of Mexican American youths protesting against racism, and demanding educational reform that would include the teaching of Mexican history, culture, and bilingual education; the contributions of Mexican Americans to the United States; and civic engagement in American society. Lou never forgot the student walkouts and the students’ demands for an education worthy of their best interests as American citizens.

Lou was born on 4 September 1934 in the Watts neighborhood in Los Angeles, remembered for its 1965 riots denouncing conditions of misery, racism, and segregation. Lou was raised during the Depression in a community of Mexican and Black residents brought together by poverty, and their readiness to feed neighborhood children as their own. As a teenager he was on one occasion a victim of a police beating that induced an asthma attack, and grew up witnessing police harassment against Mexican and Black neighbors. The son of Mexican Catholic parents, Lou graduated from Cathedral High School and later from Cal State LA and Occidental College. When the Mexican American Studies Program was founded at Cal State LA in Fall 1968, Lou was invited to serve as one of the founding faculty in a new academic field—the first in the nation. In 1971 the campus administration approved the name change to Department of Chicano Studies, a name it would be known by until Fall 2016. Under Lou’s leadership the Department of Chicano Studies made a bold move towards education, focusing on the preparation of elementary, secondary, and college teachers. Lou’s resolve was to train and empower Mexican American educators who would teach in elementary, secondary, and college classrooms the history, culture, and literature of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, with the aim of rewriting the nationalist, white American version of the history of the United States. With such objectives

shared experiences suffered by Mexican Americans. During personal conversations, Lou would claim that such distant cities and political regimes had welcomed our young colleagues for only a few weeks, creating the illusion of ideal homelands to visitors who had only known racism and bigotry back home in the United States.

in mind, Lou wrote the multiple subjects credential; the single subject credential; and the master's degree in Mexican American studies, officially a graduate degree as of Fall 1979. Lou's next resolve was to propose higher academic qualifications, among them: to recruit professors with a PhD, thus no longer hiring faculty with only a bachelor's degree, and in some instances with no academic degree at all. During these same years, the department founded the Chicano Studies Publication Center; proposed and coordinated the *Consejo de Estudios Chicanos*, a CSU-wide association of Chicano Studies department chairs; created a Minor in Mesoamerican Studies; sponsored and coordinated book and family festivals on campus; and, among other university-community endeavors, organized a series of national and international conferences to display and disseminate the research related to Chicano studies as an academic field.⁶

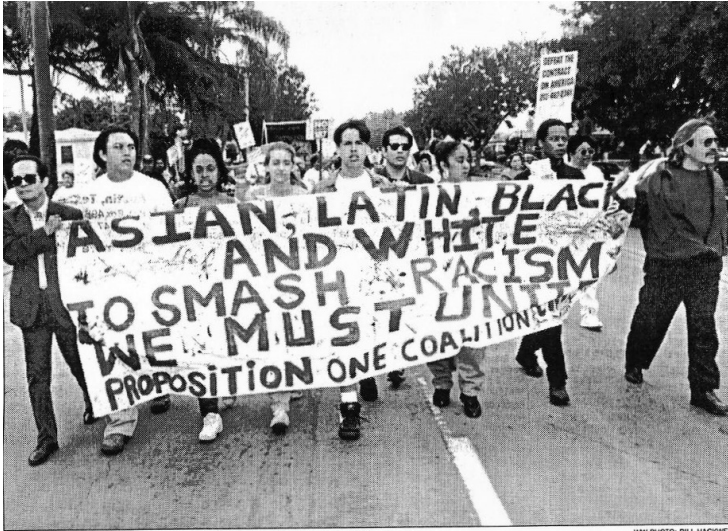
In 1976 Lou received his doctorate from the United States International University in San Diego, California, with a dissertation titled "A Symbolic Interactionism Perspective on the Emerging Chicano Movement Ideology in East Los Angeles, 1968-1972." Lou's dissertation was the first scholarly attempt to analyze in detail the initial four years of the Chicano Movement in a specific urban location, from the perspective of a direct participant as faculty in a university campus, in Los Angeles politics, and in Mexican American community initiatives. After 1983, new department chairs in the Department of Chicano Studies would often consult with Lou on administrative and campus matters. By the mid-1980s, Lou began his long-term affiliation with the United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), a grassroots undertaking between community groups and churches. UNO's mission was to change and improve neighborhood families through education, citizenship, and the cultivation of the leadership skills of its members. The combination of campus teaching, community work, and Lou's participation in national organizations such as UNO, led to the publication of a book, a significant contribution to Chicano

⁶ Cal State LA's Chicano Studies Publications Center launched three editorial projects (1976-1984): first, *Escolios: Revista de Literatura* (1976-1979); second, the *Pensamiento Mexicano* translation series, in which the first (and last) edited volume was the bilingual edition of José Vasconcelos' *La raza cósmica/The Cosmic Race* (1979), translated by Didier T. Jaén (UC Davis). Listed at \$3.50 per copy, this bilingual edition quickly sold out. In 1996, Johns Hopkins University Press was granted permission to issue *La raza cósmica/The Cosmic Race* with the copyright credited to California State University, Los Angeles. And, third: *Campo Libre: Journal of Chicano Studies* (1979-1984). The editorial board included Chicano Studies faculty representing CSU campuses, with Lou Negrete serving as *Campo Libre's* state-wide department activities editor.

studies as a field of critical inquiry and, by extension, to contemporary Los Angeles history: in 2016 Lou published *Chicano Homeland: The Movement in East Los Angeles for Mexican American Power, Justice, and Equality*.

The forty years between his dissertation and *Chicano Homeland* trace the events and developments in an era of optimism based on the belief that democracy was within reach of all Americans. Based on its title, *Chicano Homeland* can be read as the history of the Chicano movement in East Los Angeles from 1968 to 2016, with factual references to community advocacy, city initiatives, inter-ethnic coalitions, and Lou's participation in these associations and social projects. The incidents, names of participants, and the historical forces under which the organizations operated are told in first person and in meticulous detail, allowing one to assume that Lou kept a diary or a journal. The book, in its overall structure and scope, is more than a history of a movement's trajectories in a specific city; it is also an eye-witness account of the important impact of the Civil Rights Movement on the Chicano generation, and a memoir of Lou's participation in one of the major political periods in modern American history. Shortly before his retirement in 2001, Lou would see most of what he had built either neglected or erased from the department's memory.⁷ Known to be clear-sighted and unpretentious, Lou must have realized that he had plowed the sea, and built on sand. In 2015, with failing health and the United States divided over a presidential campaign, Lou withdrew from campus projects, muted the world, and sat down to write his memoir: *Chicano Homeland*. Lou died on 18 August 2019 at his home in El Sereno, surrounded by his grieving family. Remembered for his service and contributions to Cal State LA and to the City of Los Angeles, Lou's funeral mass at St. Mary's Church on August 30 was a stirring and inspiring gathering, attended by numerous friends, city representatives, campus colleagues, and several generations of grateful students. It was also an unexpected reunion of former colleagues who, back in the 1970s, had debated and quarreled over ideological differences. Much older now, and unified by recollections of younger days, we shook hands and embraced in Lou's memory.

⁷ Lou saw retirement as service in broader university and community participation; for instance, he was elected president of Cal State LA's Emeriti Association (2006-2007); served as delegate-at-large on the State Council of the CSU Emeriti and Retired Faculty; and among other services to the University and to Chicano Studies as a field, he co-organized the international "Conference on Rudolfo Anaya: Tradition, Modernity, and the Literatures of the U.S. Southwest," hosted at Cal State LA on May 2-3, 2014.



WW PHOTO: BILL HADGWELL

Multiethnic March, Compton, California, 1995.
 Left, holding banner: Mexican historian Alvaro Ochoa Serrano
 (Colegio de Michoacán), and Right, holding banner:
 Chicano historian Juan Gómez-Quiñones (UCLA).

The attained knowledge and awareness of Mexican American cultural history across time and space have produced remarkable literary innovations and generational accomplishments. Driven by the stimulus of differing viewpoints and their representation in works of art, Chicana and Chicano writers have circumnavigated the world seeking the genealogical ties and layered pasts of modern Mexican Americans, producing along the way work in fecund collaboration and beyond the prescriptive categories of either race, class, or gender. Examples of these advances are (1) the *Pasó por aquí* series of the *Nuevomexicano* Literary Heritage, sponsored by the University of New Mexico, spearheaded by Genaro Padilla and Erlinda Gonzales-Berry, and inaugurated with the publication of Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà's *Historia de la Nueva México, 1610* (1992); (2) the Chicana and Chicano Visions of the Américas series, edited by Robert Con-Davis Undiano at the University of Oklahoma Press; (3) the *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project*, established at the University of Houston by the editors of Arte Público Press, a series that publishes the work of writers of Latin American ancestry but with connected histories to the United States. A significant contribution to this recovery project, but with importance to California's Mexican American cultural history, is the

work of Rosaura Sánchez on early Californio *testimonios* (1995); the discovery and editing undertaken by Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita of novels by María Amparo Ruíz de Burton (1995, 1997); and the latter's correspondence with leading Californios of her time (2001), also edited by Sánchez and Pita. In addition, Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz read at the 1994 Third Conference of Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage an earlier draft of their introduction to Antonio María Osio's *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California* (1996); lastly, (4) the theoretical and critical writings of faculty at the University of California, Santa Barbara, such as Luis Leal, María Herrera-Sobek, Francisco Lomelí, and Mario García, whose publications and international conferences encompass Chicano history and literature, biography, and ethnic groups across the globe.

Illustrations of these expansions and breakthroughs in Mexican American cultural history, specifically in Chicana and Chicano literature, include "Why Women Burn" (1989), a short story by Helena María Viramontes known for its formal innovations and feminist critique in a travel narrative involving a young Mexican American couple on a journey to India, where Rajput women face the suicidal demands of *sati*, the custom of widow-burning. The exposure to a different culture unveils the "suicidal love"—viewed as a spell, a mistake—that had entrapped the Mexican American female character who realizes, far away from her birthplace, that she has been "burning" for the wrong sort of man. Likewise, Ana Castillo's epistolary novel *The Mixquiahuala Letters* (1985) consists of forty letters that can be read according to three sequences based on the reader's choice (the conformist, the quixotic, and the cynic), thus forgoing the linear novel of realism in favor of a contrapuntal set of stories in which two fictional characters (Teresa, Mexican American; Alicia, Spanish-American) cast themselves on journeys or trips to Mexico in pursuit of opportunities for mind expansion, erotic experiences, and liberation from the fetters of tradition. Their "pilgrimage" to the archaeological site of Teotihuacán turns into a bracing satire on Chicano cultural nationalism and on its fixation on archaeological ruins and thus on an irretrievable past. Grounded on the theme of personal choices and not on "a woman's fate," these narratives by Viramontes and Castillo (among others) illuminate the role of desire and the imagination in a woman's quest for liberation through self-discovery and self-fulfillment. Besides tales of crossings beyond one's birthplace, the Chicano novel also tells stories of ethnic America and its global wars narrated in Alfredo Véa's novels. His first novel, *La Maravilla* (1993), is set in Buckeye Road, Arizona, a squatter town settled by peoples from Asia, Europe, Africa and

the Americas. The telling of young Beto's story includes peyote-induced "trips" that take him across time and space in search of his ancestral Yaqui homeland, years later crossing the Pacific to serve in the Vietnam war, and returning home with memories of fellow soldiers dying in his arms. *La Maravilla* also tells tales of America's inter-racial forbidden loves; the lynching of a Black male by white supremacists as punishment and retribution for loving a white woman; the story of African Americans, such as Joseph Bonifacio Woodley, whose ancestors landed in Louisiana as slaves in 1619, mingling their bloodlines with people from the Philippines who had reached Louisiana shores "off the Spanish ships" arriving from Manila in 1775 (134). The international settings, and the scope of human situations in these tales, are an indication that Chicana and Chicano narratives have reached a high level of craft and appeal, thus of interest to readers everywhere in the world, in English or in translations to other languages.⁸ Asked in an interview why he became a defense attorney, Alfredo Véa revealed instead how and why he became a writer:

I was doing a death penalty trial in some little backwater town in the Central Valley...a little town that was *doing its best imitation of Selma, Alabama in the fifties*. I had never before experienced such an openly, racist judge and prosecutor. I had been hired by the county to aid a defense attorney who had never done a defense case. He had been a prosecutor for 30 years...and he was a raging alcoholic. The 'defense' lawyer told me how much he hated Mexicans (our mutual client was Mexican) and how much he hated me. A clearly defensible case became a shambles [...] The client was convicted in less than two hours and sentenced the same day [...] I left the courtroom after telling the judge that he was an honorless cretin, had three martinis at a local dive, went to my hotel room and began to write my first novel. (2003: 70-71, my emphasis)

The comprehensive grasp of the determining forces that have shaped the course of Mexican American cultural history since the eras of exploration, conquest, colonization, and of the U.S. annexation of part of Mexico's northern territories, framed the thematic content of the 2018 commemoration of the founding of Chicano Studies at Cal State LA. The two-day conference highlighted speakers and panelists from Mexico, Germany, and the United States. At the forefront were Chicana and Chicano scholars who had taught in the field for more than forty years. I was delighted and reassured when young department colleagues volunteered to serve as moderators, with one rising literary critic—Julio Puente García—contributing a paper

⁸ For studies on Castillo, Véa, and Viramontes, see my essays (1994, 2005, 2009).

on Chicano novelist Rolando Hinojosa. The presentations were on nineteenth century Californio art and archives; memoirs by leading Chicano historians; a biography of a German-Mexican by a distinguished German historian; Chicano/Mexican American literary history; Chicano historiography; the U.S. Civil War and the origins of the *Cinco de Mayo* celebrations; presentations by Chicana and Chicano activists Gloria Arellanes, Rosalío Muñoz, and Raúl Ruiz; and the premiere screening at Cal State LA of the film “The Rise and Fall of the Brown Buffalo” (a film on Oscar Z. Acosta), followed by a round table discussion with Philip Rodríguez (director, producer, and writer), and Ricardo López (Associate Producer).⁹ From the several papers presented at the conference a selection was made for publication, subsequently expanded and submitted in their final versions.¹⁰ The end result is this volume of essays with a focus on biography, nationhood, and globalism.

I

Homecoming Trails in Mexican American Cultural History opens with “Why I Write Chicano History: A Personal Odyssey,” the lead essay by Mario T. García. His family’s ancestry is recalled against the background of a national event and a family history issuing from contrasting social classes: his paternal grandfather was a dairy farmer from Durango; by contrast, his maternal grandfather was a prosperous and wealthy owner of a mine in Chihuahua, and an unconditional supporter of the dictator Porfirio Díaz. This grandfather lost not only his fortune but also his life when he was executed by rebels during the 1910 Mexican Revolution. On García’s paternal side, the family prospered economically in post-Revolutionary Mexico; on the other hand, people on his maternal side fled to El Paso, Texas, as political refugees and, because of their light skin color, were able to move to a middle-class neighborhood next to white

⁹ The conference, titled “Conference on Chicano History, Historiography, and the Historical Novel: Out of Many, One,” was held at Cal State LA on April 6-7, 2018. To view the full conference program, visit:

<https://chicanohistoryatcalstatela.blogspot.com/>

¹⁰ The papers on the *Trujillato* and the Spanish Global Trade, the Manila Galleon, and its impact on early California history (Alta and Baja) by Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita were not read at the conference due to Rosaura’s invited presence in Minneapolis, Minnesota, during the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies conference, honoring Rosaura as the 2018 NACCS Scholar of the year. Rosaura’s and Beatrice’s two essays—planned and written for the 2018 conference at Cal State LA—have been included in this volume.

American residents. García brings to memory that Mexican refugees with a darker skin found a home south of the tracks in El Segundo Barrio of South El Paso. With such a contrasting family background (farmer/*ranchero*; miner/“educated” relatives), García dismisses Mexico’s traditional prejudices toward people from the province and rural areas, and recalls a sense of *mexicanidad* as a resident of the U.S.-Mexico border, thus claiming his origins as being truly Mexican-American. Molded by family ties to the border, to his Mexican ancestry, and to his family’s inclination toward upward mobility and education, García asserts the values he learned from his father and mother. Given a historian’s sense of temporality and lived experiences, García also reminisces about his education in Catholic schools in El Paso, his years of study in universities (the University of Texas at El Paso, and the University of California, San Diego), and the discovery of his calling as a historian, resulting in his first book *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (1981). García’s memoir takes wing at this point with the story of his “becoming” a Chicano after his activism in the Chicano Movement (1968-982); his scholarly resolve to channel his attention toward the research and publication of biographies of leading Chicana and Chicano activists who formed part of the Civil Rights movement in the United States; and on labor conflicts and global events that inspired several of García’s books, either on César Chávez and U.S. agribusiness or on the war in Vietnam. Before closing, García addresses the Millennial Generation (1981-1996) and, implicitly, the present-day Latinx generation, exhorting them to do research on viable and relevant issues to Chicano/Latino people. In the end, Chicano Studies research and publications have been impressive, according to García, allowing us to know more about our past than we knew when Chicano Studies was founded. In closing, García contends that these scholarly and creative works “will stand the test of time.”

In the opening lines of his essay “On Memory and the Writing of History,” David Montejano alludes to a science fiction series (“The Dark Side”) where a ship’s crew wakes up from a cryogenic suspension with no memories of their own, having to sort out implanted and false memories. Montejano holds that this was the history of Americans of Mexican descent before the Chicano movement, with an implanted identity that was ambiguous, confused, and uncertain: not Mexican but seen as Mexican; American citizen, but not seen as American. The Chicano renaissance in politics and culture began with a celebration of our “in-betweenness,” writes Montejano, producing a counter-narrative to the dominant one. “A history of the various intellectual centers and projects inspired by the Chicano movement”—Montejano claims—“has yet to be written.” He adds

that the writing of that history's first chapter was the work of Chicano and Chicana historians:

We insisted on examining the nation-building experience itself, a history that involved Indian wars, plantation slavery, wars with Mexico and Spain, and expansion across the continent to California and eventually to Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. American history was one of "Manifest Destiny" built upon conquests of people with different cultures and colored skin—reds, blacks, browns, and yellows—which in time fused Anglo racial identity with American national identity. Nation-building and race-making, in other words, had gone hand in hand.

After such premises, Montejano discusses the work of his generation of Chicana and Chicano historians; his birth and upbringing in a poor Texas barrio, his education leading to university studies; his calling as a historian; and a detailed and critical account of the writing of his books. Montejano grew up in a poor Mexican American neighborhood in San Antonio, Texas, where he was able to attend a Catholic school owing to his parents' resolve to spare him from the inferior public schooling in the Mexican American barrio. Learning that most of his generation of Chicano and Chicana historians have a similar background and experiences while growing up, Montejano refers to the publications of fellow historians, to their sense of community and involvement in the Chicano movement (1965-1981), and the manner in which they became self-identified as Chicanos and Chicanas. Montejano also recalls other important experiences that led to his becoming a historian: for example, the striking farmworkers in the Rio Grande Valley, his years of study at the University of Texas, the anti-Vietnam war movement, and the Black Civil Rights movement. These national and international incidents shaped Montejano's politics, sense of identity, and commitment to Chicano studies as an academic field. Among the truths he learned from his university years is that one's career is not traced in a straight line: he began as a sociology major, then veered toward political science and, lastly, he chose history. Although not planned, his work became cumulatively interdisciplinary. From his early experiences, Montejano recalls an afternoon with Rosaura Sánchez preparing for an anti-police brutality protest, and helping organize for the Raza Unida Party to confront the prevailing Jim Crow policies in Texas. In addition to telling the story of his graduate school years, and of the personal discovery of his calling as a historian, Montejano looks back to his trilogy of books: *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1936-1986* (1987); *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981* (2010); and *Sancho's Journal: Exploring the Political Edge with the Brown Berets*

(2012). Viewed retrospectively, Montejano reveals what led to the writing of each book, offering a forthright and insightful critique of the trilogy. In the end, Montejano's memoir reaches beyond the personal, referencing the current political tensions in the United States with an allusion to an episode from *Star Trek* ("The Next Generation"). Montejano comments on the Captain's attempts to communicate with a peaceful alien race known as the Tamarians whose language is densely metaphorical (e.g., the phrase "the river Temarc in winter"), therefore virtually incomprehensible. Before any misunderstanding takes place, the Captain learns enough Tamarian metaphors to diffuse a hostile situation. The metaphorical meaning of the quoted phrase can be interpreted as "we better try to communicate now."

In "Uprooted: The Story of Frederico Stallforth," German-American historian Heribert von Feilitzsch charts the life of an unusual but noteworthy German-Mexican person caught in an experiential triangle of international commerce, wars, and espionage. Born in Hidalgo del Parral (Chihuahua), Stallforth lost much of the family's property during the 1910 Mexican Revolution. His father was born in Germany, and his mother Emilia belonged to the Haase family whose patrilineal ancestor migrated to Mexico in the sixteenth century (then known as New Spain), and married an Aztec princess, hence Emilia's ancient Mexican bloodline. Stallforth's international background and Mexican birth personify the historical discontinuities and cultural complexities of being Mexican, taking him across frontiers—psychological and international—when he chose to migrate to the United States in times of economic and political turmoil in Mexico. Von Feilitzsch sketches a profile of Stallforth's character in an unexpected manner, tracing his youth as a consumptive and impractical man who falls deep in debt in a mismanaged patrimony of Mexican mines, bordering on bankruptcy, followed by his uprootedness, exile in the United States, and self-reinvention in a world of international espionage on Germany's side. He became a member of German clandestine activities during the Great War (1914-1918), and served several terms in U.S. jails as an enemy alien. Stallforth's resettlement in the United States as an immigrant, double agent, banker, and eventually as an American citizen, raises questions of nationhood and loyalty, particularly with his temporary affiliation with Nazi Germany, renouncing Hitler in 1942, and switching sides by joining the U.S. Office of Strategic Services. Feilitzsch's intriguing portrait of Stallforth is framed by his tactical play on the word "uprooted," generally interpreted negatively, but in Stallforth's case with a fateful significance in which in the midst of uncertainty and dangers, one's intuitive sense of circumstance unveils unexpected opportunities for self-fashioning and transfiguration. Heribert von Feilitzsch gives a full-length

and detailed account of Stallforth's life as the embodiment of the ambivalent nature of citizenship and loyalty in times of war and national hatreds, and of the international interests and conflicts that defined Stallforth during his life in Mexico, Germany, and in the United States during the Great War (1914-1918), and later—with the rise of Adolf Hitler—in the midst of the Second World War. In von Feilitzsch's biography, Stallforth emerges as an international risk-taker who lived in Mexico, Germany, France, Portugal, and in the United States, and who spoke fluently in six languages, but never forgot his rootedness on Mexico's frontier. Stallforth died in 1960 in New York, and was buried in a cemetery in Woodstock. Von Feilitzsch writes that Stallforth frequently yearned for his youth in Hidalgo del Parral, where he galloped in the rugged Chihuahua countryside with his father, feeling a sense of pride in his Mexican ancestry.¹¹

In his book *The Inheritance of Rome* (2010), Chris Wickham contends that such inheritance has been for centuries misunderstood by historians because of their emphasis on nationalism and modernity, therefore on false “grand narratives” associated with the *telos* of nation formation (England, France, the United States, and so forth), and the defining foundations of the modern world, such as rationalism, “a global market, democracy, equality, world peace, and the freedom from exploitation” (6). One of the aims in Wickham's book is to study the history of the Early Middle Ages in terms of the breaks in historical periods and settings, both local and global (e.g., fall of Rome, post-Roman West, Empires of the East, Post Carolingian West, and so on), independently and free from any continuity conceptualized in a grand

¹¹ Chicano tales of miscegenation and a repressed or forgotten history, thus unknown to descendants, form the core of several Chicano novels. For instance, *Shaman Winter* (1999), a novel by Rudolfo Anaya, undertakes regional incursions into *Nuevomexicano* history dating back to the sixteenth century, with dreams as exclusive passages or psychoducts that retroactively lead the main character Sonny Baca to New Mexico in 1598, a year of conquest and bloodshed under Juan de Oñate's banners and mounted soldiers. This “founding” military episode in the history of New Mexico soon transitions in the novel to another century and theatre of war, this time the 1846 “conquest” of New Mexico by Stephen Kearny, an eventful history that extends to modern time, reaching the novel's epiphanic or culminating point in the historical consciousness of Sonny Baca, who learns that his ancestral past flows from the union of a Pueblo woman with a Spaniard, therefore embodying a history of violence and creation, of conflict and miscegenation that places *Nuevomexicano* history as a stratified regional illustration of humanity's diverse, conflict-ridden, and yet shared ancestral past. For a detailed study of Anaya's novels and biography, see my edited book (2016).

narrative, “inside that long stretch of time, in their own terms, without considering too much their relationships with what came before or after” (11). In the second section of this book “Global Modalities in Mexican American/Latino Cultural History,” cultural critics and historians Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita situate their essay “The Global Market: Past and Present” on the *continuity* of trade, capitalism and transnational relations of production, thus implicitly staging nationalism and modernity as structural elements of global market relations in a historical range dating from pre-capitalist trade in the Americas and pre-capitalist Europe, to capitalist Europe, the slave market in the Americas, scientific explorations and the Manila Galleon after 250 years, Spain in the Americas and Southwest, and the neoliberalism of today and its discontents. Sánchez and Pita hold that these global market-driven forces have shaped the legacy of Mexican Americans to this day; nonetheless, both add a clarification: globalization and free trade are not distinctive features of the current era. Globalism, they claim, is relative and relational both to space and time, arguing that although markets drive capitalism, they did not emerge with it. To illustrate their point, Sánchez and Pita examine pre-capitalist Europe (Greek, Roman, Portuguese, Spanish); trade in the Americas (pre-Conquest Mexico); pre-capitalist Europe (England, Netherlands, France); the global trade of plants (from Columbus to Cook); and the two hundred and fifty years of the Manila Galleon trade under Spanish control (1565-1815), with major landing ports in California, San Blas, and Acapulco.¹² Sánchez and Pita proceed to give further details in a section titled “Spain in the Americas and Southwest,” expanding on the background of Asia’s trade and influence in Alta California, enriched by its trade with Boston (as told by Richard Henry Dana in *Two Years Before the Mast*), and within

¹² José Luis Martínez confirms that in Hernán Cortés’ testament a detailed account of slaves—Indigenous and African—labored in his Tlaltenango sugar cane fields (near Cuernavaca), one of many properties owned by Cortés with similar numbers of African slaves and hundreds of Indigenous servants. Martínez profiles a side of Cortés that is seldom studied: his entrepreneurship and trade interests, illustrated in the Tlaltenango sugar cane property as follows: “Los esclavos negros eran 56 en total, 35 hombres y 21 mujeres más 16 niños. Entre los implementos inventariados se enumeran algunos *hierros para sujetar esclavos*. Había también 82 esclavos indios y 83 mujeres. De Mateo, negro ladino, el primero de los enumerados entre los esclavos del ingenio, se dice que tenía 108 años. El total es de 221 esclavos” (772, my emphasis). Other properties in central Mexico owned by Cortés, and maintained by African and Indigenous slaves, include Yautepec (fruit trees), Texcalpa (wheat fields), Acapixtla (vineyards for wine, and mulberry trees for silk production) and, among other properties and investments, Tlatzapán where Cortés owned cattle, horses, pigs, and mules (773).

Mexico, thus bringing the ancestors of Mexican Americans into a planetary orbit of commodities and trade that transformed their lives and their outlook as inhabitants of a Spanish territory in what is now the United States. Sánchez's and Pita's essay closes with the section "The Neoliberalism of Today and its Discontents," an incisive and informed critique of our times of brazen greed, rising authoritarianism, the ecological devastation on a global scale, and conglomerate interests on natural resources that clarify and bring to date the constants in global trade across the centuries, and the impact on peoples across the world, including Mexican Americans and Latinos.

Turning to the Caribbean as a site of imperial crossroads, Sánchez's and Pita's essay, "Diagnosis of Dominican Dysfunction: Narrative Emplotments of the *Trujillato*," anchors itself on historical memory, on the difficulties in transmitting personal or national experiences after specific historical instances of dictatorship, and on the way in which narrative fiction thematizes or "emplots" a history of conflicts, antagonisms, and political repression. The authors study the dictatorship of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina (1930-1961) in its fictionalized representation in five novels, namely: Julia Álvarez's *In the Time of the Butterflies* (1994); Mario Vargas Llosa's *La fiesta del chivo* (2000); Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's *Galíndez* (2002); Angie Cruz's *Let It Rain Coffee* (2005); and Junot Díaz's *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007). In addition, three major documentary and theoretical sources contextualize their analyses of these novels: the Latin American history of Halperin Donghi; the Dominican history of Moya Pons; and the history on Trujillo written by Lauren Derby. Sánchez's and Pita's objective is to critically examine the five novels in light of themes such as imperialism, the economic and political spheres, racism, sexuality and sexual abuse, or repression, domination and consent. According to Sánchez and Pita, the Trujillo dictatorship (also known as the *Trujillato*), and its traumatic consequences on Dominicans, continue to inspire fictional accounts by Dominicans, Dominican-Americans, and non-Dominicans (e.g., Mario Vargas Llosa). Its thematic appeal stems from the U.S. interventions in Latin America as a result of its global interests, and in spite of the traumatic political impact on nations that eventually find it "normal" to live their lives under a U.S.-supported dictatorship, with no freedom and thus no political rights. Sánchez and Pita analyze each one of the referenced novels with a lens on one Caribbean island, its history, its politics, and the ruin of ideals that inspired Latin American democratic politics in the nineteenth century. The analysis of selected novels includes a critical judgment on the manner in which the Dominican diaspora and dictatorship are represented as a traumatic

memory of twentieth century Dominican society, both at home and in the United States. The “marketing” of the *Trujillato* narratives in the United States is thus demystified through a contrast between the “clever witticisms” and stereotypes found in Junot Díaz’s novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*, and Angie Cruz’s *Let It Rain Coffee*, a novel that, in the critics’ view, “defly and engagingly constructs a broad critical memory of twentieth century Dominican society both in the U.S. and in the DR,” particularly in the novel’s representation of the *trauma nacional* after the Trujillo dictatorship.

The book’s third section, “Allegories of Conflict and Environmental Transformations in the Chicano Novel,” opens with an essay by María Herrera-Sobek titled “Wind, Water and Wasteland: History, Race, and Environmental Transformations in Alejandro Morales’ *River of Angels*” (2014). The analysis consists of three main levels that, in Herrera-Sobek’s view, constitute the novel’s narrative structure: the historical, the environmental, and the racial. Herrera-Sobek notes that such a structure is consistent with Morales’ interest in the history of the U.S. Southwest and in the experiences of Chicana/o people, specifically in California before and after the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846-1848. In *River of Angels*, the river itself is a metaphor for the history of Los Angeles, of the expanding U.S. interests in accord with a nation’s Manifest Destiny, and of modernity itself as represented in the various characters who inhabit Morales’s novel. The narrative totality of these thematic currents finds unity in Herrera-Sobek’s theoretical model that she designates as *aesthetic activism*, one that incorporates social justice concerns, artistic elements, and environmental destruction caused by modernity’s pursuit of progress, development, and riches. Due to different cultures and conflicting interests battling in the United States in its westward course, racism turned into another form of aggression toward ecosystems and the dispossession of lands of Native Americans and Mexicans, a mode of interaction that repeats the history of the Americas under Spanish, English, and American expansionist interests, thus in accord with essays by Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita in this volume. The analysis, focused on a novel that reconfigures the history of the Los Angeles River, is one that presents capitalism, racism, anti-democratic politics, and environmental destruction as modernity’s legacy in U.S. history, as well as a growing global concern regarding conservation, global warming, and limited resources.

The concluding essay by Julio Puente García, “Battling for the Spanish Language: Cultural Conflicts in Rolando Hinojosa’s *Generaciones y semblanzas*” (1977), is a study of Hinojosa’s second novel in a series published under the title *Klail City Death Trip Series* (1976). Puente

García's intent is to look closely at the conflicts among Texans, namely: among Mexican Americans; between Anglo-Americans and Chicanos who exhibit a strong Mexican identity; and among Americanized Chicanos. As such, the study is about conflicts of identity and interests in the Mexico-U.S. borderlands. Puente García's critique, however, is driven by a higher ambition: he examines the manner in which Hinojosa portrays Anglo Americans who utilize the Spanish language to secure judicial, political and economic dominance in the region, concealing their prejudice and acts of violence against Mexican communities in Texas.¹³ The use of the Spanish language in Hinojosa's narrative—literate or colloquial—signals the abandonment, recovery, or preservation of Spanish by his fictional characters, turning language into a symbolic space of domination and resistance, motivated by historical memories of the 1846-1848 U.S.-Mexico War. Quoting Hinojosa, Puente García observes that every day, colloquial Spanish—the people's vernacular, known for its vivid imagery—serves as a collective memory and a "home" for Texas Mexicans in a fictionalized region—Belken County—created by Hinojosa for his novels. Puente García contends that through idiomatic turns of phrase, satire, a lively humor, and the wit of Hinojosa's characters, the reader has a glimpse of a lost Mexican American cultural world, recovered by the reader for a brief time while she or he turns the pages of Hinojosa's *Generaciones y semblanzas*.

II

By way of the Caribbean and Mexico City, ideas of the Enlightenment reached the shores of Baja and Alta California with Don José María de Echeandía, the appointed military and political governor of the territory (1825-1830). After setting up his office in San Diego, he declared all men to be equal, adding that he intended to secularize all mission properties in

¹³ In his novel *Voice-Haunted Journey* (1990), Texas-born Eliud Martínez questions the ingrained and dehumanizing white American racism toward Texas Mexicans, diagnosing the causes of the inner rage and feelings of inferiority in his novel's main character as being beyond the latter's comprehension: "I tell myself [...] I am a university professor, one who came from a world of illiteracy, one who knew hardships and poverty in childhood. I have traveled, I know the world [...] My wife and my children are wonderful. We have a good income. What more can I ask for? Why do I feel an intense rage from time to time, deep hatred, and helplessness?" (22). At the novel's conclusion, such questions begin to clear up.

order to return such lands to their rightful owners: the native Indians.¹⁴ This form of Mexican liberalism, with uncompromising political ties to the overthrown French Revolution, caused profound disorientation and amazement on the attentive Californios who, for the most part, did not view native Indians as *gente de razón*. Five years later, a new governor, Don Manuel Victoria, landed in Alta California, expressing his solidarity with the interests of Franciscan friars, thus revoking his predecessor's secularization plans. Not surprisingly, Governor Victoria's governorship did not last long: the Californios rebelled and confronted Victoria's army on 31 December 1831 at Cahuenga, near Los Angeles. Governor Victoria, wounded in battle and in his pride, took ship back to Mexico. A younger generation of Californios promptly convened a *diputación territorial* in Los Angeles on 10 January 1832, appointing Don Pío Pico as *jefe político*, resulting in a de facto government headed by Californios.¹⁵ In their political pronouncement, this young generation of Californios confirmed their intent to secularize all mission lands as a means to open a new era of economic prosperity in the region.¹⁶ Perhaps they planned on returning

¹⁴ On the history of trade and diasporic relations between Asia and (Lower) California, specifically in relation to the Manila Galleon, see the book *Historia natural y crónica de la Antigua California* (first edition 1988), by Jesuit friar Miguel Del Barco (1706-1790). His missionary work began with the *Pericú* nation in San José del Cabo (1737), and later among the *Cochimí* in San Francisco Javier Mission (1738-1768). After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish dominions in 1767, Del Barco was exiled to Bologna, Italy (1768-1790), where he wrote his broad account of the history of Jesuit work in the seventeen Baja California missions, including his studies of the geography; flora and fauna; the customs and traditions of native nations (Callejúes, Guaycuras, Uchitíes, Aripes, Pericúes, Cantiles and among others, Cochimíes); the diseases that killed thousands of natives (e.g., smallpox, measles, syphilis); and the 1740 insurrection by resisting Pericúes and Uchitíes in San José del Cabo, the birthplace of Antonio María Osio.

¹⁵ Leading members of this "Republican" generation were Pío Pico (1801-1894), Andrés Pico (1810-1876), José Castro (1810-1860), José Sepúlveda (1803-1875), Salvador Vallejo (1814-1876), Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo (1807-1890), Pablo de la Guerra (1819-1874), Juan Bautista Alvarado (1809-1882) and, among others, Antonio María Osio (1800-1878).

¹⁶ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, the editors of Osio's *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Alta California*, refer to Echeandía's political impact on a younger Californio generation as follows: "Alvarado remembered him [Echeandía] as the one who had most helped his generation understand the 'true principle of republican liberty' [...] Echeandía's liberalism struck a chord among the younger generation. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo recalled that he, Alvarado, and Castro had secretly collected and read books which dealt with 'the goddess we called liberty'" (277, n. 7). Osio's satirical profile of Echeandía reveals his contempt