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ABSTRACT

Because of the lack of literature by and about Mexican Americans, there is a lack of understanding of this minority group. The purpose of this booklet, a compilation of articles written by Mexican Americans on their own history and culture, is to create a better understanding of them. Articles are grouped under 4 general headings: (1) history, (2) culture, (3) inter-cultural relations, and (4) attitudes and status of the Chicano. A bibliography of selected readings on Spanish culture is appended. (TL)

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**SELECTED READING MATERIALS
ON THE MEXICAN AND SPANISH
AMERICAN**

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F O R E W O R D

In the United States, there are approximately ten million people who have Spanish surnames, speak the Spanish language, or have Spanish cultural traits.

These people have been known as Hispano, Spanish-American, Mexican-American and Latin American. The majority live in the Southwest and prefer the term "Chicano" or Mexican-American.

Because of the lack of literature by and about Mexican-Americans, there is a lack of understanding about the history and culture of the people. This book is a compilation of works written by Mexican-Americans on some historical and cultural aspects of this group as well as a section on the contemporary attitudes and status from those authors' point of view.

This book is not all inclusive and does not attempt to make its readers experts on the "Mexican-American." Its purpose is to create awareness and understanding, and to stimulate the readers into learning more about the second largest minority group in the United States.

P R E F A C E

The Spanish-speaking people, particularly those of the Southwestern United States, in an effort to establish identity and because of the hyphenated labels which have been applied to them by the dominant society, have been known as the Spanish-American, Spanish-surnamed, Latin-American, Hispano, Mexican-American and Chicano.

The term "Chicano" is a derivative of the word Mejicano meaning Mexican, but in contemporary times has taken on much more meaning. In the Chicano movement, the word Chicano is used as a symbol of unity, brotherhood (carnalismo, Chicanoismo) and love of all Spanish-speaking people of the United States.

The terms "Chicano," because of its self origination, and Mexican-American are the most widely accepted and preferred terms by most of the people.

The reader of this book should keep in mind that "Spanish-American," "Mexican-American," etc. were the accepted terms at the time these works were written. The contemporary term "Chicano" would apply today.

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I

History

INTRODUCTION

This section contains three articles written by George J. Roybal, Bernard Valdez and Charles Tafoya, addressing themselves to the historical aspects of the Spanish, Spanish-Americans and Chicanos, with emphasis on those living in the Southwest.

Though some may appear to be repetitious they are all important because of the different emphasis by each author. In the first article, George Roybal addresses himself to history of the European Spanish, the second article by Charles Tafoya, addresses itself to the European as well as the Spanish-American (Mestizo) history, while Bernard Valdez places emphasis on the Chicanos of the Southwest.

SPANISH HISTORY 1492-1821

by George J. Roybal

At the beginning of the Medieval Millenium the Iberian Peninsula was in the hands of the Visigoths, who held it until the Moslem Invasion of the eighth century. The difference in religion kept the conquered and the conquerors apart. Presently a number of Christian principalities arose in the north of the Peninsula, and from them developed the kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, Leon, and Portugal. Their history in the middle ages is largely the story of a crusade against the Moors.

By 1492, all but the southeastern part had been won, and in that year the last Moorish stronghold, GRANADA, was taken. The control of the Peninsula was now shared by Portugal and the combined state of Aragon and Castile, which we call Spain (Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile in 1479).

In 1492, Columbus discovered America. In 1498, Vasco Da Gama reached India. It is of course understandable that, at the end of the millenium, Portugal, by virtue of Da Gama's feat, was more envied than Spain. Columbus, it is true, had found a new hemisphere: but up to 1500, and for some years after, it did not seem to be worth much. On the other hand, Portugal's new route to the east dealt a staggering blow to Venice.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century several royal weddings took place which affected the then world situation. Emperor Maximilian of the House of Hapsburg (Holy Roman Empire) married Mary of Bergundy, heiress to the regions we now call Holland and Belgium. This couple had a son (born 1500), whom they named Charles and who became King Charles I of Spain (1516) and Emperor Charles V (1519). His family possessions included Austria, the Netherlands, the two Sicilies, Spain, and the Spanish possessions in the new world.

England came to the end of the Medieval Millenium (1500) with a strong royal government. She had lost all her continental possessions except the city of Calais, but this loss was somewhat made up for by the partial conquest of Ireland by Henry II, and the conquest of Wales by Edward I. Though she had failed to conquer Scotland, still she had nothing to fear from that quarter. Thus she had more unity and security than any other region in western Europe.

Several events in Henry II's reign point to policies of tremendous influence in the oncoming era:

1. Establishment of the Royal Navy which meant the foundation of England's greatness on the sea.
2. The sending of John Cabot across the Atlantic in 1497, laying the foundation of England's colonial empire in America.
3. By marrying his daughter, Margaret to James IV of Scotland (1502), he contributed to the Union of England and Scotland (great Britain).

The French Kingdom developed out of the western part of Charlemagne's empire. The main obstacle to French unity was the English kings, who were feudal lords of more than half of France. They were finally driven out during the Hundred Years' War, and by 1500, France was a well consolidated kingdom. During the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, French kings practically controlled the papacy, whose center had been moved from Rome to Avignon in the days of Philip IV.

With the opening of the sixteenth century three obvious and enormous tasks, all in the realm of foreign affairs were waiting to be done: opening up the Americas, developing the East India trade, and holding back the Turks. No one seemed to realize that the main concern of Europe in the coming years would be in the field of domestic affairs.

A German theological professor named Luther set out to discuss some church matters with other professors (1517), but the subject proved to be of such interest to everyone in Europe that he soon became the center of a movement which resulted in destroying the unity of Western Christendom. At that time, Leo X was Pope and Charles V was Emperor. The success of the movement was due largely to the fact that it had the support of the middle class. The Augsburg Confession (1530) stated the Lutheran position; the Peace of Augsburg (1555) allowed princes to determine whether their subjects should be Catholic or Lutheran. Among the other religious systems, the one set forth by John Calvin appealed especially to the growing class of businessmen in France, Holland, and England. Unlike the Reformation in Germany, France, and Holland, the movement in England got its impetus from her sovereigns rather than from the common people. Henry VIII began the movement, but Protestant doctrines came in first under Edward VI and permanently under Elizabeth. Spain remained unperturbed in her adherence to the Church. She led in the Reformation with Ignatius of Loyola, who founded the Society of Jesus, and with her influential participation in the Council of Trent (1545-1563).

Portugal lead in the economic developments of the early 16th Century. From India (Goa, 1510), they moved eastward to the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Established in Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, they had what they had striven so long for.

Portugal's lack of experience as distributors, as colonialists, led to graft and mismanagement from the start. The best they could do was sell to other nations, chiefly the Dutch and the English. Finally, they had not the manpower necessary to defend their new empire.

In Spain, Philip II's policies against Moor and Jew drained the country slowly but surely of skillful financiers, artisans, farmers, thereby enriching other countries with these talents. The remaining manpower went into armies and navy. In addition, in Philip II's reign, Spain suffered greatly from attacks by the Dutch and the English.

Charles V, at the end of his reign had added considerably to the vast empire which he had inherited. He, himself, conquered Milan, in northern Italy; Hernan Cortes conquered Mexico (1517-1524); settlements were founded in Columbia. In 1513, Vasco De Balboa reached the Pacific. The Phillipines were discovered in 1521 (formally occupied in 1565). The expeditions of Panfilo De Narvaez and Fernando De Soto brought the Spaniards to Florida (1528-1542). In 1539, the Mississippi was discovered. By 1539, Equador, Bolivia and Chile were added to the Spanish Crown. Buenos Aires was founded in 1535. In 1543, after 20 years, Francisco Pizarro won his victory over the Inca of Peru.

By 1525, the Spaniards had explored the entire shore line from Cape Breton to Cape Horn. Ponce De Leon had perished in Florida. Lucas Vasquez De Ayllon had died seeking riches among Indians which really only existed in the minds of Indians such as Francisco Chichorana. Cabeza De Vaca, following Narvaez' ill-fated expedition of 1528, shipwrecked on an island near Galveston. De Vaca,

with Dorantes, Castillo, and the Moor, Estvanico, "the black Mexican", journeyed west of the Colorado. They crossed the Sierra Madre Mountains and back to Mexico City (1536).

Francisco Vasquez De Coronado, in 1540 journeyed into the San Pedro Valley, the Santa Catalina Mountains, across the Gila River, above Albuquerque, into the great plains of Texas, crossed the Arkansas River into Kansas.

In 1542, while Coronado was returning from the plains of Mexico, Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo set sail up the west coast of Mexico to find the fabled island of California. On September 25, Cabrillo discovered the Bay of San Diego.

(Viscaino discovered the Bay of Monterey in 1602.)

(California was then neglected from 1542 until Fray Junipero Serra arrived in San Diego in 1769; Texas and New Mexico were likewise ignored.)

As the conquest went on, it followed the traditions of the reconquest of Spain from the Moors in the middle ages. As a consequence the natives were granted a certain amount of protection and self government. But the grant of Great Estates (Encomiendas) to Spaniards by the Crown led to the use of Native labor under conditions that often amounted to cruel exploitation which the Spanish priest Bartolome' De Las Casas exerted himself to the utmost to check among other measures designed to mitigate the hardships of the natives. He helped introduce the importation (1512) of Negro slaves from Africa. The policy of Isabella, Charles V and Philip II toward the natives was distinguished by its humanitarianism and enlightenment. Yet it must be admitted that the good intentions of Spanish kings rarely did much more than pave the colonial hell.

The energies of the first colonists were largely absorbed in one industry: the production of precious metals. Though all mines were regarded as royal property, Spaniards were allowed quite freely to discover and operate them, provided that they went through certain formalities such as the registering of their claims before royal officials and the swearing of an oath to bring all the precious metals they obtained to be taxed and stamped at the royal offices. The royal "QUINTO", which was rarely varied in certain parts of America amounted to 22,000,000 maravedis (about £28,000) in 1505, and had risen to more than double that amount by 1518.

These modest sums were the earnings of that vast and dazzling wealth which was soon to lure Spain on to attempt world domination. The precious metals imported into Spain before 1530 were mostly gold; after that date they were from 85% to more than 99% silver. They rose in quantity steeply until the closing years of the 16th century, reaching a yearly average of about £4,000,000; in the earlier half of the 17th century they declined almost as steeply as they had arisen.

Spain continued with good fortune in the Americas; a good fortune which was to last for about a century.

In 1556, two years before his death, Charles (I & V) divided his possessions between his brother, Ferdinand and his son, Phillip. Phillip II (reigned 1556 - 1598), received Spain, the so called Two Sicilies, the Netherlands, Milan, and the Americas. The Hapsburg lands in Germany went to Ferdinand (1556-1564), who had married the heiress to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary and who became Emperor.

Under Phillip II, the northern provinces of the Netherlands, after revolting, formed a separate state known as the United Netherlands or the Dutch Republic (Union of Utrecht, 1579-1648). It should be pointed out that in the 16th century, Rotterdam and Amsterdam became two of the leading commercial cities of Europe. Holland was the most important province -- so much that "United Netherlands," "Dutch Republic," and "Holland" became synonymous terms.

In England, nothing turned out as Phillip had hoped it would. The outlook was bright at first; for he married Mary Tudor, who reigned from 1553 to 1558. But she gave him no heir; and after his death the English throne went to her half sister, Elizabeth, who would not marry him, but who for years kept him thinking that she might. Meantime, England stabilized, grew rich and strong through wise and economical management, and English "Sea Dogs" weakened Spain by capturing Spanish fleets carrying precious metals from America.

Phillip finally realized, although a bit late, what Elizabeth's true intentions were and prepared the famous "Invincible" Armada and set out to punish England. The destruction of this fleet in 1588 marked the beginning of the end of the Spanish Empire. Following this disaster, the English, Dutch and French began to enter the colonial field.

Phillip was more successful in Portugal, which he claimed through his mother and which he subdued in 1580.

In the Americas, Mexico City and Lima were established as centers of Spanish culture, with churches, schools, and universities. During this period, mining continued but agriculture and stockraising developed. Sugar and cotton continued. There was intermarriage of Spaniard and native -- naturally and without violation of racial, religious, or cultural conscience. In 1565, a settlement was made at St. Augustine, in Florida.

Spain's story in the 17th century is one of steady decline. Spain's rulers of this period were generally weak. Despite persecutions she still had a progressive industrial class, made up chiefly of Moors, nominally Christians, but who did not last the century. In 1640, Portugal revolted and re-established her independence. In 1648, the Dutch Republic, having gone its way for seventy years, was recognized as an independent state. England took control of Jamaica, and France gained on the continent over Spain.

The colonization of New Mexico by Juan De Onate, followed by Cabeza De Vaca, Fray Marcos and Coronado, culminated in the founding of twenty-five missions by 1630. Extinguished by Indians in 1680, Diego De Vargas, twelve years later, reconquered the province and resettled it.

In northern Sonora and southern Arizona, the work of settlement was begun in 1687, by the Jesuit, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Father Kino later charted the Colorado from the mouth of the Gila to the Gulf of California.

The eighteenth century can be outlined in periods of war:

1. The War of Spanish Succession (1710 - 1713)

England, Austria, Prussia vs. France

In the closing year of the 17th century the last Spanish Hapsburg, Charles II, died without immediate heirs. His empire was bequeathed to the grandson of Louis XIV of France, Philip. The war against France by interested parties, England, Austria, Prussia, resulted in the following: (Peace of Utrecht, 1713)

Philip received the Spanish Crown, but Austria received the Spanish Netherlands and parts of Italy, and England received the French Lands and Spanish trading rights in America.

2. The War of Austrian Succession (1740 - 1748)

England and Austria vs. France and Prussia

In 1740, Emperor Charles VI died leaving his possessions to Maria Theresa. Prussia and France pounced on Austrian lands. This war is known in American history as King George's War. The result: England got Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, Gibraltar and the right to supply the Spanish Colonies with slaves. (1748)

3. The Seven Years' War (1756 - 1763)

England and Prussia vs. France and Austria, Spain

Result: (Peace of Paris, 1763) from France, England received Canada (1759 Wolfe defeated Montcalm, Quebec), and all east of the Mississippi except New Orleans. From Spain, England received Florida in return for Cuba, which the English had captured in 1762. Spain's losses were made up by France in the granting of all French Possessions west of the Mississippi (Louisiana). In India (1761, Robert Clive defeated French at Plassey), France regained her trading posts but agreed to keep out of Indian politics.

4. The American Revolution

England vs. France and America (Spain)

In the Americas, particularly the southwest, in 1775, Juan Bautista De Anza marched across the California desert to San Gabriel. The following year he led a second expedition from San Gabriel to the missions of southern California and from there to Monterey and on to San Francisco. While De Anza was exploring the Bay of San Francisco, seeking a site for the presidio, the American colonists on the eastern seaboard, three thousand miles away, were celebrating the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

First and last, the Spaniards established twenty-one missions in California, spread like beads on a necklace from San Diego to San Francisco; founded four presidial towns -- San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco; and two pueblos -- San Jose (1777) and Los Angeles (1781). None of these settlements was more than a day's ride from the sea. While the Spanish penetrated the Central Valley, they established no colonies there. Although the Spanish founded some twenty-five missions in Texas, their principal and ultimately their only settlements between the Sabine and the Rio Grande were San Antonio (1718); Goliad or La Bahia; and Nacogdoches.

Thus, the Spanish settlements in the borderlands really consisted of a family rooted colony in New Mexico; and easily held and fairly prosperous chain of missions in coastal California; and a number of feebly garrisoned, constantly imperiled settlements in Texas and Arizona.

While a dozen or more settlements were founded in Florida, largely as a protective flank for the silver of Mexico. The fate of these settlements was sealed when the British occupied Charleston in 1770. Reverting to Spanish rule in 1769, the Florida settlements were again outflanked when the United States negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. While Napoleon was consul in 1801, he had persuaded Spain to return Louisiana to France. Louisiana was purchased by Jefferson emissaries in 1803. In 1821, the colonies were transferred to the

United States, coincident with the liberation of Mexico from Spanish rule, and the Spaniards withdrew from the eastern seaboard.

In 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo's "Grito de Dolores" was heard throughout Mexico. "liberty" and "Emancipation" became the words of the day. Ignacio Allende, Jose Maria Morelos (a mestizo), Cincente Guerrero (a mestizo) followed.

Following the death of Morelos, independence was delayed for six years. Stimulating reports reached Mexico about Bolivar and San Martin. In Mexico, Augustin De Iturbide found it right to strike for independence which came in 1821. Mexico's independence was an accomplished fact. The movement Father Hidalgo had generated and nourished with his life's blood, had been achieved--with a big difference. Though it meant independence from Spain, the liberation really meant a change of one set of reactionary masters for another. Now there were no royal edicts to prevent the privileged from preying upon the people's ignorance to their heart's satisfaction. All the good intentions for the general welfare promulgated by the two patriot priests were discarded. The unpossessing 90% had gained very little.

The early 19th Century also saw the emancipation of Spain's American colonies. The emancipation of Spain's American colonies was an indirect result of Napoleon's detention of Ferdinand VI (1814-1833) and invasion of Spain.

Juntas in the various administrative capitals overseas assumed power first in the name of Ferdinand against Joseph Bonaparte, then in the name of the colonies themselves against Spain. Some of these had already become independent de facto by 1810, and many more became so in the ten years following; and the recognition of their independence de jure was, for Great Britain at least, merely a question of time. When the French invasion of Spain was seen to be inevitable, George Canning informed the French Government that Great Britain would not tolerate any subjugation of the Spanish colonies by force. The United States, though declining to act in concert, followed with the famous message of James Monroe (December 2, 1823), intimating his country's opposition to any interference by Europe in America. The Republic of Colombia had already been recognized by the United States in 1822. Great Britain recognized Mexico and Colombia in 1824, and delayed little in recognizing others.

There now remained to Spain, of its far-flung empire, only the Islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

THE SPANISH-AMERICANS
HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

by Charles Tafoya

It is estimated that today there are six million citizens in the United States identifiable as of Spanish-Mexican cultural heritage. There are over two million in Texas, another two million plus in California, around 400,000 in New Mexico, 300,000 in Arizona, 200,000 in Colorado. Dispersed outside of the high concentration area are 400,000 to 500,000 more. The history of the Spanish-Americans is worthy of respect and admiration. Their historical and cultural background although one of great achievement is not well known and understood. This is an attempt to help recover that history so long ignored.

The Santa Maria one of the three discovery ships was wrecked before Columbus returned to Spain after his first trip to the New World. On his departure from Hispanola (Santo Domingo) he left a small company to await his return. Returning in 1493 he found that his little colony had almost disappeared, and that jealousies, rivalries, greed and lust were at a high level. But by 1513 a great change had taken place. Seaports had been built, towns and villages founded and fortifications erected. Gold mining, agriculture, stock raising and small industries had been established.

Twenty years after Columbus' discovery thriving colonies were a reality in Santo Domingo, Hayti, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica. Ponce de Leon, Ovando, Garay, Narvaez, Velasquez, Ayllon and Diego Columbus were the governors and leaders in these early settlements of the West Indies. Numerous expeditions were organized and the exploration, conquest and colonization of the rest of the New World got under way.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, an obscure adventurer, a stowaway to the New World succeeded in an insurrection in Panama and declared himself Alcadle in 1513. He forced the powerful cacique, Careta, to form an alliance with him by forcibly marrying his daughter. With the help of the Indians he was able to cross the Isthmus and discovered the Pacific Ocean. The King appointed Pedro Arias de Avila governor of Panama with instructions to proceed against Balboa and to either take him prisoner or destroy him. He was eventually seized, chained, and imprisoned. Pedrarias the Cruel as he was known did not follow up on Balboa's discoveries. Instead he devoted his energies to subjugating the territory under his control and created hatred and distrust among his subordinates, by his oppressions. While Pedrarias was squabbling with unhappy settlers and tormenting the Indians, momentous events were taking place to the north of Panama.

In 1517 Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba landed at Cape Catoche on the peninsula of Yucatan. The natives appeared friendly and when asked the name of their country, replied "Ouyukatan." The Spaniards did not know it meant "We do not understand." Shipwrecked Spaniards had been in Yucatan several years before Cordoba's expedition, and it is believed that even Columbus may have seen this land and thought it was another island of the Antilles.

Cordoba followed the northern coast and found the Mayas friendly and fascinated by the Spaniards' ships. Further on around the coast however they were attacked when they went ashore for food and water. Fifty Spaniards were killed before the rest of the party retreated to the ships. This was a serious blow; nearly all the survivors were wounded, Cordoba himself critically. They decided to return to Cuba by way of Florida. The pilot of the expedition Anton de Alaminos had served under Christopher Columbus and knew that potable water was available in Florida, and since they were all nearly dead from thirst there was no other choice but to cross the Gulf of Mexico to Florida, and fresh water. Bernal Diaz, the soldier historian recorded that one soldier "drank so much water that he swelled up and died within two days." From Florida they sailed to Havana and Cordoba gave a report to the governor. Ten days after returning to Cuba, Captain Cordoba died from the wounds he had received when attacked by the Mayas.

Authorization for a second expedition was obtained from the King's officers at Santo Domingo. Four vessels and an army were placed under the command of Juan de Grijalva. Among those in the expedition were Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montejo and Bernal Diaz. Alvarado later served with Cortes, and conquered Guatemala. Montejo years later subjugated the Mayas. On April 16, 1518 they reached the Island of Cozumel on the east side of Yucatan south of Cape Catoche. Grijalva rounded the peninsula to Champoton where Cordoba had been chased back to the sea. After three days of fighting, the Mayas were defeated. Proceeding westward along the coast they reached a river that they named Rio Grijalva. Here the Indians though polite and peaceful were not receptive to the admonitions of the Spaniards to accept King Charles as their lord. Montezuma was their lord and he ruled from his capital at Tenochtitlan (Mexico City). He had advised his subjects that these white intruders should be told to go home. That in accordance with a well-known prophecy, the Spaniards were avenging gods having returned after an absence of many years. They were given rich foods and gold to pacify their hostile intentions. The food consisted of roasted fish and fowl, and there were gold ornaments for presents. Montezuma's ambassadors stated that in the direction of the sunset there was much gold. Grijalva explored the Gulf of Mexico coast as far as the Panuco River (Tampico) and then sailed to Santiago de Cuba where the governor Diego Velasquez gave them a good reception. Some of the gold obtained from the Indians had been forwarded to the governor in Alvarado's ship before the end of the expedition.

Governor Velasquez by-passed his cousin Gijalva, and chose instead Hernan Cortes, a wealthy planter, who had served as his secretary to be in charge of the next expedition. Joining Cortes were such prominent individuals as the pilot Alaminos, the historian Bernal Diaz de Castilla, red-headed Pedro de Alvarado and Francisco de Montejo. Also on the roster were the names of Father Juan Diaz and Father Bartoleme de Olmedo. Altogether there were 508 soldier and 109 sailors in eleven ships. Space was found sixteen horses and heavy weapons.

The first landing by Cortes was at Cozumel Island off the coast of Yucatan. He was informed that the Mayas were holding as captives two Spaniards, who were the survivors of twelve shipwrecked persons at Yucatan in 1511. They were Geronimo de Aguilar and Gonzalo Guerrero. Aguilar was serving the Indians as military adviser. Guerrero was the contented father of several children, and he would not leave them and his wives. Aguilar joined the Spaniards and served Cortes well as interpreter.

Down the coast, at Tabasco, after a battle with the Mayas, the Indian leaders came to Cortes and asked that the past be forgotten. They wanted to be friends and as a token of good faith, Cortes was given twenty women who were baptized by Father Olmedo. One of the women was la Malinche who was given the Christian name of Marina. She was of Aztec origin, but had been a captive of the Mayas for several years. She could speak the Mayan and Aztec languages fluently. Later, she learned Spanish. She was of invaluable assistance to Cortes as an interpreter. Later, she became his wife and had a son which Cortes named Martin. Don Martin was also the name of his legitimate son.

On Good Friday, 1519, Cortes set up headquarters at Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz later moved to the present site of Veracruz. Opposition began to build up against Cortes. He handled this by establishing a cabildo (town council). The Cabildo elected Cortes as Chief Justice, Captain and Governor. He no longer considered himself an agent of Governor Velasquez, but a loyal Captain and official directly responsible only to King Charles, with the freedom to make all the decisions himself. He ignored all local authority from that time on. He scuttled his ships to keep all who became dissatisfied from deserting.

A fleet of four ships commanded by Alonzo Alvarez Pineda with orders issued by Francisco Garay, governor of Jamaica to explore the shores of Florida - as the expanse from the Florida peninsula to Panuco or Tampico was referred to - anchored in Vera Cruz harbor. This was reported to Cortes who arrested those who came ashore, forcing the others to leave. This expedition continued north and spent forty days at the mouth of the Rio de las Palmas (the Rio Grande). This was in 1519. A year later, Diego de Camargo also under orders of Governor Garay sailed up the Rio de las Palmas for about twenty miles and established a colony which soon had to be abandoned. Some of the men made their way down to Vera Cruz by land, others went by sea and joined Cortes' forces. Three years later, on July 25, 1523, Governor Garay himself arrived at Rio de las Palmas. He sent an aide to find a proper site for his city. The officer returned in four days with a report that the river was unsuitable for the founding of the city of Garay. Garay made his way south to the Panuco River. The bulk of the army traveled by land. The fleet followed the coast. Garay claimed that he had jurisdiction over Panuco, and not Cortes, who had already established the town of Santistevan in the area of Tampico. While Cortes and Garay were preparing to do battle with each other, Cortes received a new royal grant giving him jurisdiction over Panuco. Garay bowed to the royal cedula and was escorted to Mexico City where he was kindly received by Cortes. There he met another of the conqueror's defeated rivals, Panfilo de Narvaez, who had been sent there by Governor Velasquez to capture Cortes, Garay died a few months later. Narvaez was permitted to return to Spain where he petitioned for command of the lands previously granted to Garay. The Emperor granted him the province of Florida, reaching from the Atlantic coast to the Rio de las Palmas.

Due to slow communication, it was years before Cortes became aware of the royal patents made to Nuno Guzman and Panfilo Narvaez. Guzman was placed in charge of the territory of Panuco where he carried out a ruthless campaign of enslavement of the natives. It got to the point that the natives vowed to have no children rather than allow them to grow up in slavery. Guzman was later transferred to the west of Mexico, where he continued his policies of enslavement and cruelty as the Governor of Nueva Galicia at Culiacan.

Meanwhile, Narvaez' expedition, which was charted for the Rio de las Palmas was driven from its course by a storm and he landed on the west coast of the Florida peninsula. Narvaez decided that the fleet would proceed along the Gulf Coast to Rio de las Palmas, while he and the cavalry would march there by land. There he would build his future capital city. The fleet failed to find the River of Palms, and Narvaez got lost in the wilderness. The men on the ships sailed back and forth for nearly a year along the coast looking for the land forces which they never found. Narvaez finally decided to have four ships built and to proceed by water to his destination. The ships were all wrecked by the storms and only four of the two hundred men survived. They were Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, Andres Dorantes and the Moorish Negro, Esteban. In 1536 after seven years of being enslaved by the Indians in Texas, and wandering over a long route starting at about present day Galveston, across Texas and southeastern New Mexico, they reached Nueva Galicia, where Nuno Guzman was the governor. From there they were taken to Mexico City, where they were received by the Viceroy Don Antonio Mendoza and also by the Marquis del Valle de Oaxaca, Cortes.

The conquerors had found Mexico divided into "empires" "kingdoms" "principalities" "states" "races" and many languages. It was not one nation, one country, one empire. Violence and war ruled the scene. Collecting tribute from the weak was the common practice.

The ancient history of the new world, in many respects, remains a puzzle. We do not know how many nations, languages, or cultures there were at the time of the conquest. We cannot account for the variation in stature, in color, and in physical type of the peoples to whom we give the common name, Indian. The situation, encountered by the conquistadores, was such that one of them wrote to the King "only, the devil could have sown so many languages in such close proximity."

The Aztecs presumably came to Mexico from the north. They extended their influence over a great part of central and southern Mexico. They exacted tribute from lesser tribes and forced the conquered communities to supply them with all sorts of agricultural and industrial products. The Aztec empire was the chief political unit, holding in subjection numerous people whom it treated as conquered and inferior beings. The hatred of them was such that the Spaniards found many allies to help them against the Aztecs.

The Spanish Conquest destroyed the Aztec Confederation and demolished Tenochtitlan, its capital. The conquest killed the Indian leaders, destroyed their temples, burned their records, and almost destroyed the identity of the people with their own past. The Indians never recovered from this catastrophe.

After the Conquest, Spain set herself upon the task of converting the Indians into good Europeans, Spanish style. In the process, the King's officials proved weak and corruptible, the Spanish colonists rebellious, and the Indians indifferent and apathetic. The good intentions of the King could not control the conflicting interest of the Crown, the Church and the Spanish Colonists.

The King wanted the Indians to be free. He attempted to defend them in their lands, and even to preserve those good Indian traditions which were not incompatible with the true faith; or with loyalty to the Crown. Concern for the welfare of the Indian was expressed in many laws and ordinances.

The aims of the Crown were resisted by the conquerors. They had an interest to defend and an aim to achieve. Since they had risked their lives in the Conquest, they felt the land and the Indians were rightfully theirs. They wanted to convert the new Spain into a feudal paradise. It seemed to them that they should be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labors in recompense for the faithful service they had rendered the King and Spain. If the newly conquered country was not to be abandoned, then the needs of the Spaniards for Indian labor had to be satisfied, for there was no other labor available. It was the Indian who had to work in the mines, till the fields, build churches, construct houses, and do the things necessary for a community to survive.

The religious orders acquired great influence over the Indians by acting as their natural defenders. They had the loyalty and confidence of the Indians because they were in fact, closer to them than the other Spaniards. The communal practices of the religious orders and the mysticism of the priests appealed to the Indians. By training and belief the religious orders were the natural defenders of the natives against the Conquistadores and even against the Crown. They, too, opposed its centralizing influence. This was generally true in spite of the fact that the clergy became rich in material goods and politically powerful.

The cultural gap between the European and the native was too great, for the ideal, to convert the Indian into a European, to succeed. The fundamental difficulty lay in the incompatibility of an individualist culture and a common culture. The Indian was communal, impersonal, submissive, mystical and self-denying. He wanted to live unmolested. After the conquest he remained broken in spirit, passive and withdrawn. The Spaniard was arrogant, self-assertive and ambitious. He wanted to get on in the world, acquire land, riches, houses, servants and honors. He could not bribe the Indian to work for him, by paying him a wage, so he resorted to compulsory service.

The urgent problem of getting the work done had to be solved. In the beginning it was done through forced labor and slavery, but later it was solved primarily through the *encomienda*, whereby a given number of Indians were entrusted to a Conquistador in payment for the services he rendered to the King. In return, the *encomendero* assumed the responsibility of converting the Indian to the "true faith" and to pay the priest. Another method of recruiting labor was, through the *repartimiento*, by which each Indian community was forced to supply a given number of laborers each week to the public service. They were paid each week, but even this system was subject to great abuse. The only free labor that developed was in the mines, in the towns nearby and to some extent in the cities where the *Mestizos* congregated and became craftsmen and free laborers.

The unexpected and permanent European contribution to the new world, was the unplanned appearance of the *Mestizo*. This is a child of an Indian mother and a Spanish father. He arrived upon the scene soon after the Conquest and has become an important element in the population. With the *Mestizo* as an unconscious instrument, the Spanish language won increasing use and acceptance. The Spaniards also gave Mexico and the Southwest a common religion. Thus we have three great unifying elements derived from the conquest. An easily identifiable ethnic group, the *Mestizos*; a common language, Spanish; a common faith, Catholicism.

Once Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) had been taken, Spanish expansion spread in several directions to subdue neighboring provinces and press the natives into service as laborers and to follow up reports and rumors of other rich provinces.

The territory west of Mexico City was subdued in 1521 and the following year a shipyard was established on the South Sea, (the Pacific Ocean) as a base for maritime exploration. A leading motive for coastal exploration was the belief in the existence of a strait leading from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The vessels that were constructed were small and poorly built. The anchors and iron materials needed for shipbuilding were transported by men from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific.

By 1539 the Gulf of California was explored and the peninsular character of California established as a result of an expedition sent northward by Cortes. The Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo expedition left Puerto de Navidad in June 1542 and explored the Pacific Coast all the way up to Oregon. The Indians at Baja California and also in the area of San Diego reported having seen Spaniards before, (men with beards, dogs and Spanish weapons). They, in all probability, referred to Coronado's party which at the time was in the interior. Cabrillo died before the expedition was completed. The command went to Bartolome Ferrello who on April 14, 1543 returned the vessels to Puerto de Navidad (twenty miles northwest from the harbor of Manzanillo).

In this port were also built the ships which discovered the Philippine Islands. Almost simultaneously with Cabrillo's voyage, Villalobos crossed the Pacific Ocean from Mexico and took formal possession of the Philippine Islands. It was twenty years later that the Islands were occupied and a regular trade established between Mexico and the Philippines by means of the annual Manila galleons. This gave rise to a new interest in the California Coast. It was found that the most practical return route was to the north and across the Pacific to California.

The security of this route was threatened by the exploits of Francis Drake and other pirates in the Pacific. Drake had gone around the strait of Magellan to the Pacific and was having a field day raiding Spanish ships. In 1595 Cermeño was sent from Manila to explore down the California seaboard. At Drake's Bay he was shipwrecked. The crew escaped to Mexico in rafts built from the planks of the ship. Simultaneously with Cermeño's voyage; Sebastian Vizcaino was commissioned to explore the California Gulf Coast and establish settlements. Later the order was changed from colonization to exploration of the outer coast to find a port for the Manila galleons and after that to explore and colonize the Gulf of California area. At about this same time arrangements were being made with Juan de Onate for colonizing New Mexico. One of the primary purposes of these two ventures being the protection of the northern strait which the Spaniards still believed existed and must be made safe from the Drake and Cavendish raids in the Pacific and the operations of the French and English in the north Atlantic.

Great emphasis was placed on mining and the hunt for riches and precious metals. This set in motion a reorganization of the economy and a redistribution of the population. It involved the exploration of the arid areas to the north. It created new urban centers that had to be fed from newly developed agricultural areas. It produced an important transportation industry to supply mining towns such as Guanajuato, Zacatecas and Chihuahua.

Fray Marcos de Niza directed an expedition to the unknown land of the northern country in 1539. Actually it was the Negro Estevan who led and Fray Marcos followed. He erroneously confirmed the tales of an Indian slave concerning seven very large and rich cities of Cibola. This induced the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, to send Francisco Vasquez Coronado to ascertain these discoveries. An elaborate following of 225 mounted cavaliers, 62 foot soldiers, 800 free Indians and 1000 Negro and native slaves were fitted for the expedition. Starting in February 1540, Coronado traversed what later became the state of Sonora. He penetrated the country beyond and proceeded north exploring the Colorado River, discovering the Grand Canyon. Then turning eastward he visited villages of the Pueblo Indians, followed the course of the Rio Grande, crossed the Texas panhandle and Oklahoma and reached eastern Kansas. There he found the huts of the Wichita Indians on the Kansas River, but no city of Quivira. Disappointed he made his way back to Mexico. Many of his party had deserted or died along the route.

When Mendoza left office in 1550 exploration beyond the northern fringes of New Spain was temporarily halted. His successors turned to developing resources nearer at hand. During the next half century the frontier moved slowly northward, with miners, ranchers, and mission fathers as trail-blazers. A number of mining sites were settled by adventuresome Spaniards and their Indian allies, but they encountered great difficulties in subduing the natives and putting them to work in the mines.

Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish had left a horrified New Spain behind them. If two Englishmen could invade the Pacific, others might follow. The approaches to Mexico had to be guarded. Colonies might be planted throughout the northern lands. The expense would be insignificant compared to the losses of another Drake's raid.

The first project decided upon was the occupation of the California coast to guard the northern approach to Mexico and provide protection for Spanish ships on their way back from the Philippines. Spanish officials became convinced that Monterey Bay was an ideal site for a colony, but before settlement was established the war with England ended making this outpost seem unnecessary.

The second colony planned was in the interior. Selected to lay out the settlement was Juan de Onate, a rich mine owner of Zacatecas. In 1598 he set out on his expedition with 400 soldiers, 130 of whom had families, and many wagons and cattle. He founded San Juan, the first capital of New Mexico in the mountain-rimmed valley of the Chama River. Notwithstanding conflicts with the Indians, the colony flourished. By 1604 Onate had thoroughly explored Arizona and Kansas.

He wanted to search for gold mines while his men preferred ranching or farming, but other settlers drifted in to lay out new towns such as Santa Fe in 1609. A pack train service was started between Mexico City and Santa Fe to provide settlers and missionaries in the province with materials, every three years. By 1630 the province of New Mexico was firmly established, with a population of 250 Spanish pioneers and 500 loyal Indians.

With England no longer feared, expenditures on profitless outposts did not seem justified. Spain's frontier advance might have halted had not one type of pioneer been undeterred by unfavorable conditions. That was the missionary. For the next seventy-five (75) years priests moved steadily northward, until all northern Mexico was occupied and settled ready to push on into Texas, Arizona and California.

The mission as a frontier institution was not new; on every Spanish advance the cross and sword moved forward together. The missionaries aided the Conquistadores and settlers by pacifying conquered natives. Now the role reversed. Friars, advancing into the wilderness in their endless quest for souls, were followed by soldiers or ranchers who came to guard the missions or to capitalize on the wealth uncovered by mission fathers.

The missionaries task was not only to win souls, but to teach the agriculture and industries, which would convert Indians to useful citizens. Each missionary was not only a religious instructor but a manager of a co-operative farm, a skilled rancher, and an expert teacher of carpentry weaving and countless other trades. Only rarely was the calm of a mission marred by a native uprising.

Missions were established among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in the 17th century. A supply train for the missions arrived from Mexico about every three years. Friction frequently developed between the secular and religious authorities over matters of policy. In 1680 the Indian rebelled and drove the settlers south to what is now Juarez, Mexico. It is believed that many of the settlers had become so integrated with the Indians, and in some cases so isolated and self-sufficient that they were left behind during the evacuation and they were not aware of it. Diego de Vargas reconquered the province in 1692. The reconquest is celebrated annually in Santa Fe by a three day fiesta.

New settlements were established in the 18th century at Albuquerque, Belen, Abiquiu, Bernalillo and Ranchos de Taos. The troubles of the new province were augmented by the intrusion of the French and English, so that frontier defense was a constant matter of concern.

The invasion from the east had begun. The invaders came as trappers, prospectors and traders moving out of Louisiana and the Great Lakes in quest of furs, hides and gold. Their highways were the rivers that led them to Texas, New Mexico and Colorado. A party of Frenchmen led by Pierre and Paul Mallet travelled up the Missouri, then along the Platte and southward to reach Santa Fe in July 1739. From then on explorers from the east visited the area regularly.

In 1807 Zebulon M. Pike intruded into Spanish territory while exploring the headwaters of the Arkansas and was sent to Mexico City as a temporary prisoner. In 1821 traders reached Santa Fe with a cargo of goods for sale. The reception given to these traders reflected the eagerness of Spanish frontiersmen for manufactured goods. The famous Santa Fe trade was inaugurated. The route of travel was from the Missouri Valley to Santa Fe then down the Rio Grande Valley, and across the plains to Chihuahua, Mexico.

On September 16, 1810 a priest, Miguel Hidalgo, had rung his church bells and started the war for independence from Spain with the cry: "Long live Ferdinand VII, and death to the gachupines." Hidalgo lead a rebellion of the masses against their masters. He freed the slaves and abolished the tribute. Although he was eventually defeated and killed by a firing squad before achieving independence, September 16th is celebrated by Mexicans as a national holiday.

In 1821 the conservative upper class in Mexico turned against the Spanish Crown to prevent the re-establishment of the liberal constitution of 1812. With the pretext of suppressing a people's smoldering rebellion they persuaded the Viceroy to give Agustin Iturbide an army. Iturbide induced the

rebels he had been armed to destroy to join him to achieve the independence for which the Mexican people had so long aspired. He rode into Mexico City in triumph on September 27, 1821. The end of Spanish control of Mexico had come just three centuries after the conquest. Iturbide had himself crowned King in the Cathedral of Mexico City on July 25, 1822. Less than eight months after he had been crowned, he was forced to abdicate the throne by Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.

The social structure that characterized New Spain throughout the Colonial period and in some degree continued long after the independence was based on a caste system. The Spaniard - that is, the European - was at the top in politics, in the Church, and in prestige. The Criollo, his American born child, was a lower level. He inherited most of the wealth, but was denied any important role in political administration. The mestizo and the various different castes that resulted from the mixture of European and Indian, were still lower.

In 1820 Moses Austin's petition, to the federal government of Mexico for a grant of land to establish a colony, was approved. After his death in 1821 his son Stephen Austin completed negotiations with the Mexican government and established a colony of three hundred Anglo-American families. The stipulation was that all settlers be of Roman Catholic faith, of good character and swear allegiance to the Mexican government. The colonization law of Mexico was promulgated in 1824. It authorized individual states to make land grants within their confines, and to supervise immigration thereto. Texas-Coahuila signed fifteen contracts with empresarios to colonize the state. Austin expanded the scope of his colonizing activities through additional contracts. By 1833 he had issued land titles to 1,065 families. That year a convention of Texas colonists made several requests to the Mexican Congress including the separation of Texas from Coahuila. On March 1836 Texas declared the political connection between Texas and Mexico forever ended. After the Alamo, Santa Anna was defeated and captured at the battle of San Jacinto by Sam Houston. Texas was annexed to the United States in December 1845.

As a republic, Texas insisted its southern boundary extended to the Rio Grande. This claim Mexico refuted by proving the old province of Texas-Coahuila never extended south of the Nueces and that the region between the two rivers was part of the state of Tamaulipas. Although the Texans could support their right to the disputed territory only citing an agreement wrung from General Santa Anna while a prisoner, President Polk backed their claim. His vociferous insistence that the land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande belonged to Texas and therefore to the United States widened the breach between the two countries. John Stidell sent to Mexico City to negotiate a peaceful settlement wrote to the President when he was not received by Mexican officials, "Be assured that nothing can be done with these people until they shall have been chastised." There upon President Polk announced to his cabinet his decision to recommend war to Congress, basing his demand on Mexico's refusal to meet its financial obligations; receive Stidell; or settle disputes by peaceful means. The President told his cabinet: "In making peace with our adversary we shall acquire California, New Mexico, and other territory, as an indemnity for this war."

The war plans called for an Army commanded by General Zachary Taylor to move south toward Mexico City. An amphibious operation under General Winfield Scott would land on Mexico's eastern coast near Vera Cruz and proceed on into Mexico City. The Army of the West directed by Colonel Stephen W. Kearny would march westward through Santa Fe and into southern California where it would join a second sea-borne force in the conquest of that province. Kearny's army marched unmolested into Santa Fe. There he issued a proclamation which openly avowed the United States intention to annex New Mexico, and promised the citizens a democratic form of government as a prelude to territorial organization. He named Charles Bent governor and appointed other officials, including some with Spanish names, to administer the province.

The whole campaign proceeded according to American plans and on February 1848 the American representative Nicholas P. Trist, laid down his terms of a peace treaty as an ultimatum. The United States wanted the Rio Grande boundary for Texas and all of New Mexico and California. In return it would pay Mexico \$15,000,000 and assume claims against the Mexican government amounting to \$3,250,000. Those were some provisions contained in the Treaty of Guadalupe which was signed on February, 1848. The territorial gains of that brief period were almost enough to satisfy all but the most rabid advocates of manifest destiny. Only one step was needed to complete the nation's expansion. The southern border established by the Mexican Treaty along the Gila and Colorado Rivers, was found unsatisfactory when railroad routes were later surveyed. In 1853 arrangements were negotiated with Mexico to purchase additional land along southern Arizona to provide railway routes south of the Gila River.

When the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848, by which Mexico ceded to the United States the empire that is the Southwest, there were approximately 75,000 Colonials in the region. 7500 of them were in California; about 1000 in Arizona; 5000 in Texas; and 60,000 in New Mexico and southern Colorado.

In these days of fast transportation and mobility it is difficult for us to conceive an isolation as complete as the one that existed in New Mexico and southern Colorado for over 300 years. Geographic isolation caused social and cultural isolation. Isolated by distance the region was also isolated in time. The culture of the people became highly integrated and static. This isolation created closely knit and cohesive family and social units. There was very little commerce. Each community was largely self-sufficient. No new currents of life moved in this remote colony. Each individual possessed generally, the same knowledge and skills as others in the community. There was nothing much to read and nothing much to buy. Formal education was limited to a few so the level of literacy was low. Most people were born, lived and died in a single community rather than risk slow and hazardous travel outside of familiar surroundings. Although this culture served the Spanish-American well in his struggle to survive in this arid, barren and isolated region, compared to the contemporary Anglo-American culture it was backward if measured in terms of competitive power, ability to control the environment and skills in the development of resources.

The economic expansion of the Southwest created a great demand for cheap labor. This set in motion a stream of migration from Mexico. Between 1900 and 1930 over 1,000,000 immigrants crossed the border and spread all over the Southwest, Northwest, California and the Midwest. The colonials received a large number of recruits and were jarred out of their resignation and fatalism by the militant currents in Mexican life. A new found pride in the Mexican-Indian as opposed to the Spanish or fantasy heritage has emerged, which today is having a profound influence in the lives of persons of this ethnic background.

THE HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICANS

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It is necessary, when discussing the subject of Spanish Americans, to introduce the subject against its historical setting. This is important because the Spanish-American has a long historical tradition often misunderstood by the average Anglo-American. This lack of understanding is generally the result of the fact that American History begins with the landing of the Mayflower and develops westward with the covered wagon and the pioneer.

The acquisition of the great Southwest during the period from 1836 to 1848 seems so remote to the average American, that it rarely enters into the historical concept of the development of America.

For the purpose of getting the proper perspective of the Spanish-American, we should review a few pertinent historical events.

The Spaniards settled among the Pueblo Indians who had already lived in this section of New Mexico for several hundred years. The Pueblo Indians were perhaps the most stable Indian tribes in the area which today comprises the continental United States. The Pueblos were peaceful, religious tribes, who had turned to agriculture as a means of making a living. They had developed a familial type of government which serves them very well to this day. They had evolved a religious philosophy which in many respects approximates Judeo-Christian concepts of human behavior.

Since the Spaniards were the strangers, the foreigners, and the minority, their settlements took the form of fortifications. They built high walls surrounding their settlements, which they called "the plaza". As a matter of fact, the pueblo and the plaza were almost identical in construction and appearance. Living in complete isolation, separated by several months travel from the nearest Spanish frontier posts, the Spaniard soon became dependent upon the Pueblo Indian for his very survival. The Spaniard borrowed much from the Indian, and in turn the Indian borrowed much more from the Spaniard. These two groups have lived together for more than 300 years, and their cultures have blended to reinforce each other. To this date, the Spanish villages and the Indian pueblos are distinguished only by a slight difference in architecture. Throughout this long period of time, much intermarriage has taken place. The people are distinguished only by the long hair and the traditional blanket worn by the Pueblos.

Since the Southwest is a semi-arid country, the land resources were limited to the irrigated valleys. As land became scarce, the Spaniards moved in family groups to new and unsettled valleys, thereby extending their settlements and villages. In this manner, nearly all the tributaries of the Rio Grande became populated with Spanish settlements.

In 1680, the Pueblo Indians, with other tribes, rebelled against the Spaniards. The Spaniards retreated to the lower Rio Grande valley, somewhere near the present site of Las Cruces and El Paso. In 1692, or only 12 years later, the Spaniards, under the leadership of Don Diego de Vargas, reconquered Santa Fe and the northern provinces. Some of the Spanish villages had been destroyed by the Indians, but since all of these villages were made of adobe except for the windows, doors, and roofs, they were nearly fireproof. The Spanish soon rebuilt their homes and were back in business. There are some historians who believe that from 1598 to the Indian Insurrection, many Spaniards had become so integrated with the Pueblos, that many of them remained with the Indians during the twelve-year period. As a matter of fact, some historians believe that the village of Trampas, which is located very high in the mountains North of Santa Fe, was left completely undisturbed by the Indian rebellion, and that the people were so isolated and self-sufficient, that they were never aware of the fact that they were left behind. To us who are accustomed to modern methods of communication and transportation, the idea of being stranded in the Southwest frontier seems ridiculous. To a people living in a self-sufficient economy, surrounded by walls and threatened by nomadic tribes of Indians, this does not seem at all impossible. A visit to the village of Trampas today will give you the impression that it has been there from the beginning of time. The people speak Spanish, but many of their characteristics are definitely Indian.

THE SPANISH PERIOD:

To understand what was happening in the Spanish frontier after 1598, it is necessary to understand what was happening to Spain during the colonizing period.

While Spain had been responsible for the discovery and much of the exploration of the New World from 1492 to about 1800, she had been involved in a continuous series of wars with other European countries. All of the resources from the American colonies including the gold and silver found in Mexico and Peru during the colonizing period, had been dissipated in internal and external strife. During the 17th and 18th Centuries, Spain shrank from a far-flung empire, including the Netherlands, Austria, Luxemburg, Italy and some of the Mediterranean Islands, to the Spanish peninsula. Even some of the Spanish peninsula was in French and English possession by the end of the 18th Century.

By the year 1800, the Spanish-American colonies were most anxious to emulate their North American cousins and secure their independence from Spain. Monarchism was a declining form of government and Republicanism and Democracy was exciting the imagination of men. Within 30 years, Spain had lost all the American colonies except Cuba and Puerto Rico. Spain's problems contributed much to the isolation of the Spanish frontier in the Southwest.

MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE:

Mexico began its efforts for independence in 1810. However, the War of Independence did not terminate until 1828. The New Mexicans were so isolated from the rest of Mexico, that they did not participate in the revolution. The Spanish garrisons which were scattered in the borderlands were reduced and in some areas completely removed. This

left the colonies completely at the mercy of the Apaches and other nomadic tribes, and while Mexico was hanging into its newly won independence by a very thin thread, the United States was expanding westward across the Continent. The United States had purchased the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon in 1803, thereby opening a huge territory for exploration and settlement. Trappers, hunters, and prospectors were following every stream westward. Settlers followed, and within a short period, towns were springing up all over the Missouri Basin.

Up until 1821, Spain had been successful in blocking American expansion into the Southwest. Mexico did not possess the military strength to do this, so she thought she could protect her territorial integrity by integration. She invited Anglo-Americans to settle in her territory on condition that they become Mexican citizens. Mexico made extensive land grants to Anglo-Americans to induce them to settle and to become Mexican citizens. By 1836, enough Anglo-Americans had settled in Texas to declare their independence from Mexico and to hold it with the threat of American intervention. While Mexico had not reconciled herself to the loss of Texas, she was incapable of doing anything about it. Texas had declared itself an independent republic and Mexico was hopeful that it would serve as a buffer state against American expansion. However, in 1846, Texas was annexed to the United States and a dispute over boundaries precipitated that Mexican-American War.

From 1828 to the beginning of the Mexican-American War, New Mexico had remained relatively undisturbed. During this period, the nomadic Indian tribes had practically taken over the whole Southwest. The United States was pushing the Indians westward from the recently acquired Louisiana Territory, the Texans had driven them out of most of the Texas Territory, and the Indian had no place to go except to the Rocky Mountains. In New Mexico, they played havoc with both the Indian pueblos and the Spanish villages. This period of Indian depredations served to complete the isolation of the New Mexico settlements.

Anglo-American trappers, prospectors, and traders had begun to drift into the New Mexico settlements from the Missouri region. The Santa Fe Trail began to increase in traffic and trade annually. Many Anglo-Americans began to settle in New Mexico, and some intermarriage between Anglos and Spanish was beginning to take place.

In view of the fact that the initial contact between the Anglo and Spanish in New Mexico had been pleasant and friendly, and also because some of the Anglo traders had been functioning as agents of the American Government, they had successfully convinced the ruling Spanish families that their best interests would be served by their annexation to the United States. This made it possible for General Kearney, using the old Santa Fe Trail, which had served to open the doors of commerce between the United States and Mexico, to march into Santa Fe and by a proclamation and the raising of a flag in the plaza square, make Americans out of 75,000 Mexicans. So in a period of 20 years, these people changed nationality identification twice. From Spanish to Mexican and from Mexican to American. Since the New Mexican did not participate in the Mexican War of Independence or resist the American occupation, his nationality identification was purely a legal technicality. The isolation

of the villages remained largely undisturbed. The impact of American occupation did not begin to be felt until several years after the Treaty of Guadalupe had been signed in 1848. Nevertheless, the impact eventually came and it was devastation.

THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE:

The Treaty of Guadalupe was, in effect, the conclusion of the Mexican-American War. This Treaty, besides settling the boundary lines of the newly acquired territory, also included certain guarantees to the residents of the area: First, it guaranteed American citizenship to the Spanish-American and allowed one year for any who wished to leave the territory and return to Mexico. Only a handful took advantage of this provision of the Treaty. Secondly, it guaranteed complete protection of property rights, including land grants made under both the Spanish and Mexican governments. Thirdly, the Treaty also included a promise of political representation and the implied promise of early Statehood. These were the promises made by the American Government by International Treaty to the people of the Southwest.

The Territory of New Mexico was created in 1850. Statehood was not granted until 1912. For 63 years, the people of New Mexico were denied their civil rights. Under territorial status, the New Mexican was denied any effective means by which he could protect his economic life or the means through which he could provide for public education or any effective use of his political influence. Even though the New Mexicans of Spanish descent remained a majority in the territory, they were able to elect only one Territorial Representative to Congress in 63 years. An unholy alliance between the Anglo and the Spanish "rico" class was able to control the political life of the territory to the detriment of the lower classes. Theoretically public education was organized in the 1880's - but in practice, it was not available to the Spanish villagers until after 1912.

The villagers were, for the most part, small landowners. There were a few extremely large landowners, benefactors of large land grants issued by the Spanish kings. For 30 years following American occupation, Anglo-Americans came to New Mexico in small numbers. Many of them were Federal employees, some farmers, ranchers, and quite a few merchants. Many of the original Anglo settlers were Irish-Catholics and much inter-marriage between this group and the Spanish families took place. If this gradual process had continued for another 50 years, the culture of the Anglo-Spanish-Indian would have given America an interesting sociological phenomenon.

The main industry in New Mexico, up to about 1880, was raising sheep. Prior to the American occupation, the sheep were driven all the way to Mexico for marketing. After the discovery of gold in California, thousands of sheep were driven to California every year. By the time of the Civil War, the Southwest was beginning to develop a cattle industry. However, it was not until the railroads came to the West in the 1880's that the cattle industry really became of major importance. As the railroads moved West and the cattle industry developed, the competition for range land became very acute. Since most of the range lands in New Mexico were held by a few large landowners, it was in this area that the

first major conflicts between the Anglo and the Spanish developed. The valleys and arable lands were generally held by the villagers in small holdings. Some of these lands were held in "common" - granted by the kings to groups of settlers and their descendants. With the development of the cattle industry and the coming of the railroads following the Civil War, grant competition for land resources developed in all the West. Huge syndicates began moving in and buying land. In New Mexico, the Spanish-American began to have legal problems with respect to his land immediately after the American occupation. His right of ownership in most cases was based on possession for more than 200 years. Under the Spanish or the Mexican Governments, he had not been required to pay property taxes, and he was unable to prove continuous tenure. Many of the property boundaries consisted of natural or topographical marking and engineering surveys were non-existent. In the case of large land grants, many of the grantees could not prove the legality of their holdings according to American laws. In many instances, papers dating back for 200 years had been lost and proof of ownership required costly legal proceedings extending over many years. Americans introduced a system of property taxes and the New Mexican soon found himself forced to sell a portion of his land to pay taxes.

By the time New Mexico was granted Statehood in 1912, nearly all of the large land grants were in the hands of corporations. The corporations were generally composed of Anglo Attorneys whom the New Mexicans had hired to represent them in the courts. With the possible exception of the American Indian, no other group in American history has been so legally defrauded of his property as the Spanish-American. In the case of the Indian, our conscience has bothered us so much that we have appropriated millions in an effort to compensate him for his loss. The concentration of range lands in the hands of corporations resulted in the erection of fences and the denial of pastures for the flocks of the small landowner. An old Spanish tradition of dividing the land equally among all the children, together with the constricted land resources, soon made landless peasants out of most of the villagers.

When the labor colonies were completed, labor recruiters went to the villages where whole family groups were induced to move to specified colonies. So the Spanish-American was transplanted from a village in New Mexico to a village in Colorado. The villagers came complete - he brought his family, his relatives, friends, his customs, as well as his traditions and folk culture. As a matter of fact, his isolation remained almost intact. Recruitment continued, and within a few short years, the New Mexicans grew in numbers. Due to the fact that he lived and worked on a segregated basis, he remained unassimilated. A different language, religion, customs, traditions and culture value made him unacceptable to the majority community. The ultimate results was increased segregation. Segregated schools and segregated churches followed. Discrimination in housing, public accommodations, employment and social contact became a pattern of co-existence. The social status of the Mexican or Spanish-American in certain areas of Colorado was comparable to that of the Negro in some states of the South. They were excluded from restaurants, barber-shops, theaters, swimming pools, and denied all sorts of public services. They were segregated in schools, churches and housing. More importantly, they were denied employment in any but agricultural work.

The Depression of the 1930's served to magnify the problem for the Spanish-Americans and the Mexicans. Thousands became dependent upon public welfare for their subsistence. Discrimination became even more pronounced as the unemployed Anglo blamed the Spanish-American for his inability to find a job for himself. The economic ills of the Country were blamed on foreigners, and in the eyes of the Anglo, the Spanish-American was a foreigner.

The Bureau of the Census has never been consistent in its enumeration procedures. Therefore it has been most difficult to ascertain the exact growth of the Spanish population in Colorado. Up through the 1940 Census, persons whose mother tongue was given as Spanish were classified as Mexican. Obviously, this classification resulted in erroneous tabulations. Since some of the enumerators themselves were of Spanish-speaking background, they refused to classify themselves as Mexicans.

The 1950 and the 1960 Census made the enumerations on the basis of Spanish surname. While this method of ethnic identification leaves room for some error, experts in this field believe it to be 95% accurate.

The 1960 Census figures indicate the population of Spanish surname persons in Colorado was 157,173.

Colorado Counties with 2,500 or more population of Spanish surname are:

Adams	8,542	Jefferson	2,515
Arapahoe	2,987	Las Animas	7,443
Boulder	3,103	Mesa	2,612
Conejos	4,476	Otero	5,328
Costilla	3,065	Pueblo	25,437
Denver	43,147	Rio Grande	3,477
Huerfano	3,608	Weld	8,931
El Paso	6,135		

NOMENCLATURE:

The matter of ethnic identification has always been a problem to the Spanish-American. Prior to the American occupation, the New Mexican called himself a "mejicano." This name is still used when group members refer to themselves within the group. The name "mejicano" to the New Mexican, has a provincial connotation and does not imply nationality as proved by the fact that they called themselves "mejicanos" long before they were Mexicans. Until the early 1900's, when large numbers of Mexican immigrants began to come to the Southwest, "Mexican" in English and "mejicano" in Spanish, were well accepted terminology. Discrimination and lack of social acceptance of the Mexican immigrants forced the "mejicano" to attempt to coin names in an effort to bring out his own heritage of American citizenship. The "mejicano" may be reluctant to forsake his traditions and his way of life for the sake of complete acceptance; however, he is extremely proud of his American citizenship and his patriotism is insulted when he is referred to as a Mexican. Therefore, such names as Spanish-American, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-named, Hispanos, Latin-American and Mexican-American, have been coined to describe the group. Since none of these names is really accurate and both the Anglo and the Spanish have inherent feelings regarding hyphenation, the question of an appropriate name remains unresolved. The manner in which the Census

figures have been tabulated in classifying all persons with Spanish names or Spanish language as one population group makes the determination of origin almost impossible. It is estimated that 90% of Colorado's Spanish-named population are of New Mexican origin, and the balance of Mexican immigrant background.

New Mexicans and Mexican immigrants or their descendants look alike. They speak Spanish, are generally Catholic, have similar family traditions, and many cultural similarities; yet there are many differences. While they both speak Spanish, they are immediately identified upon oral expression. The New Mexican speaks a Sixteenth Century Spanish, colored by 300 years of colloquialisms found only in literature of that age. Cultural concepts formed by isolation and influenced strongly by a static environment are in many instances different and more firmly rooted in the New Mexican. Traditionally, the two groups have been thrown together in employment, housing and identification. They both suffer the same discrimination and non-acceptance. These factors have tended to merge the two groups into one cultural minority.

The Spanish surnamed Coloradoan constitutes 9% of the State's population. Statistically, he represents a disproportionate number in correctional institutions, has a high rate of juvenile delinquency, public dependency, and more significantly, in school drop-outs. He is referred to as the "Spanish-American or Mexcian problem" and has become the concern of every social agency. Hopefully, an understanding of his history, his traditions and his culture will enable the professional to understand him and help him become a contributing member of American society.

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II

Culture

INTRODUCTION

In this section, are contained four articles written by Dr. Arthur L. Campa and Bernard Valdez. The first article, by Dr. Campa is a presentation made at a workshop in Denver, Colorado, and deals basically with the Chicano Folk Culture. This presentation is on culture in general and in sociological terms, whereas Bernard Valdez deals more specifically with Chicano cultural traits and characteristics.

The first article by Bernard Valdez is a contrast between Spanish Folk and Anglo Urban Cultural Values, while the second emphasizes the family and the effects of Anglo urban culture on the Spanish folk family in detail.

In the last article in this section, Mr. Valdez writes about the educational values of the two cultures and compares them by examples.

Though some of the cultural values and/or behavior patterns described by the authors may not be as implicit in today's Chicanos, they are important if one is to understand the present status and attitudes of the Chicano.

CULTURE PATTERNS OF THE SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Dr. Arthur L. Campa

The subject which I have chosen to discuss with you this afternoon is "Culture Patterns of the Spanish Speaking Community," but before I go any further I should like to define what I mean by culture and what segment of the Spanish speaking community we are concerned herewith. We have pooled our resources in this workshop in order to help each other understand a little more fully the process of acculturation, a process which in time will ameliorate some of the problems which are faced by those who work directly with the Spanish speaking community.

It may be easier to comprehend this process if from the onset we make a distinction between civilization and culture and study the relation which one bears to the other. This dichotomy may be wholly arbitrary on my part, although it has been drawn before, but it is justified particularly when dealing with two cultures, one with a material practical orientation and another one with a subjective personalized tendency. For the purpose of this discussion we can assume that the United States is the most civilized country in the modern world, that is, it has the greatest amount of such material things as cars, paved highways, bathtubs, central heating, museums, libraries, schools and spring mattresses. When these products of our civilization are properly implemented and utilized they help to raise the level of our culture.

Allow me to use a very prosaic example by way of illustration. We have produced an endless list of cleansing agents for every conceivable purpose, everything from soaps, detergents which caress milady's lovely hands, scouring powders, dove-smooth facial concoctions, to shampoos which make us desirable and Z-E-S-T.

Our engineers have also piped water into every home and provided them with washbowls, tubs, showers and sinks of every shape, color and hue to satisfy the most whimsical taste. All this, I believe, is part of our civilization, a commodity which we have in great profusion. When these cleansing agents are properly utilized by our society that create very definite habits and attitudes towards cleanliness and sanitation, and in turn establish higher standards which we consider norms for that part of our culture which is related to cleanliness and sanitation. The result is that the degree to which one's hands, ears, clothing and homes are free from dirt and tattletale grey becomes an index to our level of culture and we end up by expecting spotless-white-sheets, bleached furniture, white bread and white skin which to tan in the Florida sun.

Another example, if I may. We have numerous libraries with untold quantities of informative and self-improving literature, yet we shall not be well informed nor well-read until we make proper use of these culture-producing facilities provided by our civilization. What I am trying to say, seriously, is that the mere possession of a great civilization does not necessarily make us a highly cultured nation. The implementation of our civilization resources can and does broaden our thinking, makes us

more universally-minded, lessens our provincialism and in a sense acculturates us to a universal concept of life. If this were not so, schools would have no meaning.

The process of acculturation has been going on on this continent from the day when the first European set foot on it. In fact, what may be considered the first American culture trait, resulting from this inter-continental contact, and its beginning when Columbus landed on the island of Hispaniola in 1492. Today the use of the commodity which he discovered has grown into a cultural practice which is variously considered a filthy habit, a source of delightful enjoyment for those who wish to live modern, a substantial economic asset for southern Colonels, a leading industry, a handy prop for awkward hands, a means of acquiring wives in the cradle of American aristocracy and the life-blood of some of our leading universities as well as the suspected and much debated cause of lung cancer.

To continue further with the process, every time we eat a potato, candy a yam, serve pumpkin or squash, crack a peanut, eat corn on or off the cob, warm our insides with a hot tamale or drink a cup of Aztec invented chocolate we are indulging in cultural practices which were as displaced Europeans acquired from the inhabitants of the new world, albeit the fact that most of these very savory cultural practices were passed on to North-American immigrants by the earlier arrived and acculturated Hispanic settlers. When we listen to the opera, when we dance to a rumba, a samba, the cha cha cha, or for that matter jazz, when we sing "Silent Night", when we eat smorgasbord, when we prepare a dish of spaghetti or chop suey, when we put on a sombrero and chaps, when we play the guitar and lasso a steer we are still paying homage to culture sources from whence we derived some of the content which has blended into the pattern of American life.

Here in Denver, in a small but very important corner of the U.S. we are concerned with the process of acculturation, and there may be some of us who shudder at the word, thinking that it is a cancerous growth that must be removed before it consumes us by its malignant effects. Our faces grow long and apprehensive when we think about it, just like our European ancestors centuries ago cringed at the thought of biting into a "poisonous" tomato or an "evil looking" potato. Acculturation as such is not a problem but a process, retarded, much to our dismay, by certain conditions and attitudes which we are attempting to study in this workshop.

Our problem would be a lot simpler if the culture lines were clearly drawn and we could consider Spanish culture exclusively, rather than making an analysis of the culture patterns of the Spanish speaking community. I say it would be simpler because Spanish culture would provide us with a complete society where the developmental process would run its full range from the lowest rung of the cultural ladder to the highest. As it is, we are dealing with a community which represents only a segment of a full society, a very complex segment which is not homogenous biologically nor historically, a folk-culture which lacks some of the units of the value system present in a normally complete society. This is a factor which is often neglected in dealing with the Spanish speaking community. When we bank American society against the folk culture of this community we do not come up with meaningful answers to our questions.

This lack of a value system is inescapably the result in a community which is composed to a large extent of people who have lost or who never acquired a complete cultural identity in the culture in which they were born, because of displacement at an early age, because of economic deficiencies, because of being out of contact with their original culture, or because of lack of education. Under such conditions they cannot be expected to represent Spanish culture in a consistent pattern, nor can they wholly represent Spanish society because they are the product of a folk, traditional culture. Having grown up outside of the culture which bestowed upon them the name Spanish, they have not formed the normal attitudes of Hispanic people.

Moreover, there may be certain traits in their folk behavior which are either autochthonous or the result of the mixed Spanish Indian culture of the Southwest and of Mexico with virtues and vices from both. Again, the lack of a directed cultural flow arises to some extent from the fact that a good proportion of the Spanish speaking residents in Denver lost their sense of belonging when they were uprooted from their original heimat, and the society, American society, which they now live lacks for them the personal relationships to which they were accustomed in village life or in the country.

A good number of traits and practices which are attributed to the Spanish heritage of Spanish speaking people here and in the Southwest generally, are in reality traits that one would expect to find in the folk culture of any nation. As a consequence the intermediary step called for is one of urbanization pure and simple. In actuality this is what we are saying when we recommend that the Spanish speaking community acquire more technical competence, that they become more oriented towards institutional and collective living, that they accept and adapt to the change instituted by progress, that they develop acquisitiveness, that they base their behavior on principle rather than on custom and that they manifest a greater faith in formal education. To the degree that they move in the direction pointed out by these objectives they become urbanized. In the process of integrating the Spanish speaking community with American society the conversion of folk culture mores is an essential and indispensable step. In other words, solids must be converted into liquids in order to produce a blend. The Social Sciences Research Council pointed out the importance of this cultural equality in the acculturation process by saying:

"Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted and fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and the receiving cultures." (Italics are mine.)

In other words, the cultural groups involved should be in an essentially reciprocal relationship. If both cultures are going to give and take there must be first this approximation of cultural level. The process will be gradual but it can be accomplished just as it has been already accomplished by individual members of the Spanish speaking community who have been properly oriented either through effective counseling or through their own efforts. An educated Spaniard or Latin American does not need to go through this process because he is already within the societal level which he represents

and his acculturation is simply a translation of his culture into terms understandable to American society. The conversation suggested by the Research Council and alluded to in this paper does not mean that the Spanish speaking community is going to lose its identity. The only way to lose complete identity is through assimilation, but this is a biological process, which is bound to occur though not as completely as it occurred in England in 1066 and in Spain during the visigothic invasions is one which need not trouble us. When the process of integration sets in, once the foregoing conditions have been met, it is valid to consider what is being adopted by both groups and why, as we hope will be done by the panel discussion at the end of the workshop.

The culture of the Spanish speaking community, existing as it does within a dominant urban culture, is lacking in the culturally approved rules and sentiments which motivate overt behavior and integrate into consistent patterns. The patterns of covert behavior followed when dealing with and in the society of their own Spanish speaking folk kinship are much more uniform. Actually what we have is two types of behavior, one used in attempting to conform to the dominant culture, and sometimes frowned upon by the minority culture, and the one which they find more satisfying because it is more natural used in intimate personal relationships, and in familial situations. This ambivalence is likely to give the outsider the impression that Spanish speaking people are hostile to American culture, that they are retrogressive and highly conservative. True, there is a noticeable resistance to the dominant culture, but not for the reasons generally ascribed. In addition to being of a different national origin, the dominant culture is being presented at a level which the average Spanish speaking person has not yet attained and cannot therefore assimilate. Notice for example the rural American in his relations with an equally rural Spanish speaking person, both products of a folk culture, and you will find a greater affinity despite the fact that they may speak a different language.

In attempting to lay bare the warp and woof of the cultural patterns of Spanish speaking people, we shall discover that the community is composed, not of one people but of several groups of people coming into the Southwest and into Denver at different times and from different places. This produces a heterogeneity which retards the process of acculturation. The Spanish speaking colonial was taken into the fold of American culture more through connivance and chicanery than through military conquest. As a result he does not consider himself an outsider in a part of the continent which he helped to conquer and settle 250 years before being transformed into an American citizen. There is a slight feeling, when aroused, that the bearers of Anglo-American culture are intruders in the sun.

The second group consists of Mexican political refugees who started coming into the U.S. at the turn of the century and continued to come until the early twenties. This is a heterogeneous group, culturally and economically speaking. The vast majority were laborers unable to earn a living in a revolution torn country, but there were also a good number of tradesmen such as tailors, shoemakers, barbers, painters, carpenters and masons who had little difficulty in plying their trades in New Mexico where there was a relative scarcity of skilled laborers among the Spanish speaking inhabitants. A cursory survey in the city of Albuquerque as 1930 revealed that ninety percent of the tailors, barbers and shoe makers were Mexican nationals. There was also a sprinkling of professionals whose presence was not noticeable because they circulated in the levels of society commensurate with

their profession and had no trouble in blending with the population. One of these, a school teacher by the name of Octaviano Larrazolo went into politics and became governor of New Mexico in 1919.

The third group is composed principally of laborers attracted and contracted by the cotton fields, fruit ranches, and the sugar beet industry. Except for the depression years, when more went back to Mexico than entered the U.S., this Spanish speaking group continued to increase for a number of years and because of their unfamiliarity with American culture, their lack of training and education plus the fact that they are the most recent to arrive, the gulf between their folk culture and American urban society is much more difficult to bridge.

There is a considerable degree of Indian in the Spanish speaking community, more in the laborer group recently come from Mexico and to a much less degree among the professionals and tradesmen already referred to. The Indian element in the Spanish speaking colonies was assimilated during the initial period of contact as in the case of Anglo-American pioneers, but the process of Hispanization has been so uniform that whole villages have lost their Indian identity and have become wholly Spanish speaking. Today it is difficult to gauge the degree of Indian blood in the colonials and it is unimportant, except for whatever culture content and traits the indigenous inhabitants may have contributed to the pattern of Hispanic culture. In the case of the landed Spanish speaking New Mexican there was little difficulty in blending with the American newcomers once the initial resentment died down, and before long they began sending their children to the schools in St. Louis instead of Mexico City and Chihuahua. As is to be expected this segment of the Spanish speaking colonial society does not enter into our considerations any more than the professional group, limited though it may be, because such people are busy attending to their own affairs whether it be politics, ranching, mining, business or the professions. Moreover, many of them are no longer Spanish speaking and are only so when they learn the language in school.

As stated before, the Spanish speaking community now under consideration consists of a folk culture within the aegis of American society. In addition to those configurations which are attributable to the folk, the community has others which are Spanish, and others yet which may be the result of a mixed heritage. It must be reiterated, at the expense of being repetitious, that the Denver community does not possess all the configurations of the Spanish cultural pattern because a folk culture does not have the full range of a complete society. Individuals who have emerged from this folk culture and have reached the professional level of American society have not done so through Spanish channels but through the avenues provided by the society into which they have been integrated. Within the folk pattern of the community of Spanish speaking people there are traits which characterize Hispanic people the world over. These traits are consistently found today in Spain, throughout Latin America and to a varying degree in Denver as well. The most basic of these traits is passion. Passion in this sense means the subjective feeling which acts as a trigger to Spanish temperament, the motivating force which underlies action, thinking, and life in general. It is something profoundly personal, individualistic and completely detached from a practical and an organized course of action. It is a motivating force which leads to both extremes, and like force in any form, it is capable of good or evil, it can love, it can be tender or it can be vicious and kill.

This purely subjective urge seldom leads to cooperative effort, and for that reason is hardly ever conducive to civic mindedness in Spanish speaking communities. Madariage, the leading Spanish internationalist puts it quite aptly:

"The individual psychology of the man of passion implies a nature rebellious to the chains of collective life."

The man of passion is not guided by the utilitarian or practical standards of the man of action and relies on the dictates of his inner self for whatever he does, with the result that the self acquires an importance which borders on egocentricity and produces an out-and-out individualist. This individualism oriented by the dictates of self-conscience is expressed in the language by saying: "No me do la gana!" It doesn't mean I don't want to but the feeling doesn't move me to do so. Spanish individualism is a defense against the incursion of collectivity and keeps the ego from being fenced in. This is partly the reason why Spanish speaking people are particularly deficient in those social qualities which are based on collective standards. By their tendency to resist association they can achieve a measure of freedom, that is, freedom from social pressure, and this feeling helps to explain the contradictory tendencies of Spanish speaking people.

Humanism is another well known trait of Spanish speaking peoples, but when analyzed it will appear more as a form of generalized individualism resulting oftentimes in personalism. This personalism is apparent in politics, in the interpretation of justice, in making decisions where others are involved and in choosing a course of action. An individual fails to observe a law and feels perfectly justified in doing so because the law doesn't fit his personal sense of justice. If a grievance or even a crime has been committed against an individual he feels that he should take care of the situation personally. The intervention of institutionalized justice represented by a policeman is inimical to him and so he refuses to give any information which would deprive him of the personal satisfaction of settling his own affairs through a personal rather than institutional means.

In politics and in community leadership a person stands out, not for his virtues of collective representation but because he is a personality. Politicians thrive on this man-to-man relationship and do not use issues and platforms when results are to be obtained. The inclination to progress, to self-improvement, to change and to carry through an action to a successful conclusion are, as Mr. Saunders pointed out, characteristics of American society and the result of actions stimulated by objective efforts which do not appeal to Spanish speaking people. Being oriented by passion and subjectivity they lack continuity and perseverance in attaining the same ends as the men of action, and their line of activity results in a series of fitful starts and new beginnings. The sudden explosions to which the man of passion is susceptible can take him, however, to great heights of accomplishment, not by the continuity of his actions but by the force and impetus of his momentary passion. This was what enabled the conquerors to achieve unbelievable successes against odds which a man of action with his objectivity would have shunned. This is the reason why Spanish speaking people are outstanding in sports where outbursts of individual energy are the prime requirement. Notice the number of top ranking tennis players from Mexico, Peru and Ecuador. Also notice how inconsistent a bullfighter can be--at times he is prodigious and at times terrible. The crowds reward him accordingly and without seeking excuses. These personal achievements are in

contradistinction to the man of collective enterprises whose successes are not only his but those of all about him. Washington is not a man alone but the U.S., on the other hand, Cortes is not Spain but simply Cortes.

There exists also a moral principle among Spanish speaking people which is involved in most of their actions and which is a natural by-product of a culture that feels, and has therefore a strong sense of being, whatever the being may be. In English we are likely to hear the expression: "Who does he think he is! or He thinks he is somebody." The counterpart in Spanish is "Soy quien soy y ni al Diablo me parezco." It doesn't matter who the person may be, the important thing is that he is himself, an inviolable being who has attained the distinction of being by the mere fact that he is alive. He may be denied the right to do, and will not resent it too much provided that a course of action is not denied because of what he is, tall or short, blonde or brunette, elegant or careless. In the U.S. we are all granted the right to do but the right of being was not incorporated into the lawbooks. When society denies a course of action or the enjoyment of certain privileges to a Spanish speaking person because of what and who he is, he will invariably turn against the society which has injured his "self" and probably commit excesses. A blow directed at his being injures his honor his amor propio. This wounding of his pride of self, which gives an outsider the impression of being "touchy", can not be rectified by an apology because neither the word nor the practice exist in Spanish, nor can it be settled by compromise because there is no word for another practice which also does not exist. The only recourse is personalism, an individualistic approach which in Latin America is settled by a duel as we have seen by the papers recently.

Another trait which keeps law enforcement agencies on the run is one which is more pronounced among Spanish speaking individuals recently arrived from Mexico. It is a defense mechanism not found anywhere in Spain, and resorted to in the Spanish speaking community in order to offset the criticism which considers an individual inferior from a material viewpoint. This trait, called "machismo", is untranslatable into English, and linguistically is derived from the Spanish word for male, Mache. In a sense it is an undue emphasis on maleness, artificially induced by overt acts comparable to those of the gunslinger elbowing his way to the bar in TV shows. It is a means of calling attention to the self, a way of flattering the ego and gain stature, if successful, in the society of friends and enemies. It is not manliness, because it is provocative, and it has the primitiveness of the beast whereby the animalistic tendencies of the male seeks to prove, to his own satisfaction, that he is "muy macho." The unfortunate features of this type of dramatized virility is that unlike an upsurge of vital energy, it cannot be channeled into useful energy or work. It is an end in itself. I will mention in passing the element of time-perspective, a fundamental element in the Spanish cultural pattern, but I will not enlarge upon it because it has already been explained at length in the article entitled MANANA IS TODAY included into your packet. Suffice it to say that there is a marked tendency among Spanish speaking peoples to move forward with their backs to the future because of being oriented by a present-past relationship in which the future does not figure in their thinking until it arrives. You will observe while traveling in Latin America or Spain that the distances in the highway are given from the point of issue and not to the point ahead so that you can usually tell how far you have gone from a given point but not how far you have to go to reach your destination ahead.

Another part of the culture pattern in Latin American culture, and I say Latin American advisedly because this culture trait is not found in Spain, is negative self-assertiveness. There is a tendency among certain individuals in the Spanish speaking community to assert themselves quite violently against a situation they don't approve of, against a person they dislike, or against a society by which they may have been wronged. This attitude gives the impression that they are carrying a chip on their shoulder and are overtly looking for trouble. In the highly personalized thinking of such individuals is harbored the conviction that the grievance, whatever it may be, can be settled only by them. Instead of fighting for something, they seem to be fighting against something. This form of protest often is a serious obstacle to cultural integration because attention is being drawn to such individuals as dissatisfied members of society and are considered antisocial. The situation somewhat comparable to that of the housewife who does housecleaning because she HATES dirt. In the dirt-fighting, dirt-hating process she loses sight of the positive end result and when finished is too exhausted to enjoy the fruit of her labors because she was motivated by a negative impulse. The one who cleans house because she loves cleanliness will enjoy the anticipation of her accomplishment and will be happy in the cleaning process and at the end. This negative selfassertiveness, I might add, seems to dissipate when the individual finds a positive course of action for his energies.

As a result of the highly underscored subjectivism, individualism or personalism, there is a tendency among Spanish speaking people to disassociate themselves from material things, or at least to keep this association to a minimum. Money, for example, is something to part with rather than something to keep, as a result most Spanish speaking people live beyond their income. There is little attachment to personal property, and will share it with others even though it be the last thing they own. John Steinbeck portrays this quite well in TORTILLA FLAT. This attitude toward material things is called in Spanish deprendimiento. "unattachment." The man who hoards his money is always looked upon with suspicion, while no one will pay much attention to the one who is prodigal with it. In American society, we respect a man with a bank account and Internal Revenue Office begins to investigate when a man begins to spend his money too freely.

We could go on commenting upon other features of the cultural pattern of the Spanish speaking community. As we have seen, some are positive others are not, some issue from Spanish culture others from the New World, and still others from the folk community. The situation is far from hopeless. Some collective responsibility has already been manifested by such organization with the Spanish speaking community as the Latin American Foundation whose orientation is definitely towards an acculturation through education.

The counseling service of the public schools, the recreation centers, the community centers, and the Welfare Council, and the Human Relations Commission are all forces at work in trying to bring about an enlightened integration of our human resources. The work of this workshop is another probe into the process which we all hope will be effective and useful.

CONTRASTS BETWEEN SPANISH FOLK
AND ANGLO URBAN CULTURAL VALUES

by Bernard Valdez

America has been described as the "melting pot" of the World. This implies that all the peoples of which America is composed have merged into one society. If we assume that the cooking process is a continuing process and the safety valve has not exploded, then the melting pot analogy may be a valid one. We must admit, however, that some of the ingredients are as yet unmixed and the cooking process is incomplete.

The Spanish-American has cultural concepts very distinct from those prevalent in American urban society. Some of these concepts he brought with him from provincial Spain. Other value concepts he borrowed from the Pueblo Indian. For more than 300 years he has mixed, tested and fortified them. In his isolated environment, these values have enabled him to survive against tremendous hardships.

His problems now arise from different cultural value concepts which are challenging his own. Some of these new and different concepts are in direct contradiction to many of the traditions which have been a party of his way of life. Some of these traditions involve his attitude toward his family and the concept of the meaning of life itself.

Some basic contrasts in values between the two cultures - The Spanish-folk and the Anglo-urban- can be seen in the following areas:

THE FAMILY

Anglo-Urban

Spanish-Folk

Marriage

Marriage gradually drifting into a partnership relationship with strong considerations of mutual and common interests of concern only to parties involved. Family approval not necessary.

Marriage assumed as an institution with romanticism attendant to folk societies. Consideration of mutual interests secondary. Family approval of great consideration.

Family Roles

Confused family roles, resulting from partnership status. Much independence between husband and wife. Dual employment common.

Distinct family roles. Husband is head and provider of family. Wife exclusively concerned with household duties.

Children

Strong tendency toward small families. Children encouraged to become independent at early age. Institutions outside home exercising increasing influence.

Large families considered an asset. Children subordinate to parents, extending into maturity. No external influence.

Anglo-Urban

Spanish-Folk

Extended Family

Extended family relationships severed upon marriage. Grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins not considered part of immediate family.

Very close family ties maintained and extended into several generations. All blood relations considered part of immediate family.

Security

The role of the family in providing security during individual crisis diminishing. Shift to agencies, such as insurance and government, increasing.

Individual security during periods of crisis provided by family structure. The church only outside institution.

Recreation

Family recreation increasingly replaced by organizations and commercial interest. Highly organized by peer groups separating the family into age and sex classifications.

Recreation is the natural product of family functions. It is rarely organized or commercialized.

Religion

Religious training has been assumed by the church. Administered by the organization of peer groups.

Religious activities are an integral part of family life providing both religious training and recreation.

Home

The home is rapidly drifting into a place with hot and cold running water used mostly for rest. Even much of the preparation and consumption of food, now done outside the home.

Home used as the center of production and consumption. Many items used and consumed by the family are produced by combined family effort.

EDUCATION

Tradition

Universal secular education was part and parcel of English traditions at the time of settlement in America. These traditions became an important part of American heritage and moved westward with the covered wagon.

Universal education was not a part of Spanish tradition during the colonization period. Public education did not come to the Southwest until after 1880 and to the more remote villages until after 1912.

Emphasis

American education is compulsory, highly competitive, with clearly defined goals to prepare students for continued competition throughout life.

Education in the Southwest limited to select few. Oriented to philosophy, literature and religion - never competitive or pursued with aggression.

TIME ORIENTATION

Personal goals

In the most industrialized society in the history of man - machines regulate daily routines and time schedules, careful planning and hopes for the future make up the concept of the purpose of life. This purpose is summed up in the word "success."

Personal planning or goals in the agrarian society are limited to daily routines and the rhythms of the seasons. The concept of "success" is part of the personal inter-relationships between the family or immediate community and does not involve material translations.

Time

The proper use of time is of consuming concern in industrialized society. Time is valuable - time is money. Wasting time is like wasting money. Time should be spent profitably, even when it is leisure time.

Time is a fit of life to be enjoyed to the fullest - and to be enjoyed, it must not be postponed. The concept of wasting time is not understood. There is no guilt complex to mar the enjoyment of the present.

The Future

Since the dominant goal in life is success, to achieve this goal we must make elaborate plans for the future. Therefore, the culmination of life is always in the future.

Success, being a part of personal daily inter-relationships without material translations has no significance for the future. The future is entirely in the hands of God. The language is replete with proverbs to fortify this concept.

BUSINESS -- TRADE & PROFIT

Tradition

While the "Boston Tea Party" is symbolic of American freedom and independence, it is also symbolic of trade and commerce. The British tradition of trade and commerce has now been assumed by America on a world-wide basis.

Trade with India was the initial motivation for Ferdinand and Isabella in sponsoring Columbus. Trade and commerce became secondary, colonization and conversions became the primary concern of Spain.

Anglo-Urban

Spanish-Folk

Profit Motive

Business transactions involving trade and profit have become synonymous with Americanism, free enterprise and the American way of life. Government efforts to regulate business or profit are considered suspect and strongly resisted.

Making a profit from a transaction between two individuals is considered immoral. Transactions between people are made on the basis of need for each other's product.

Money

Commercial experience has resulted in a highly complex financial science. Understanding the handling of money fostered by cash allowances to children, piggy banks, savings accounts, and school curriculum.

Monetary system very limited in agrarian society. Barter system without profit motive not conducive to experience in handling money.

Competition

Competition is an integral part of achievement concepts. Competition is encouraged beginning within the family and continuing in scholastic endeavor, sports, business life, social life, and even permeating denominational religious organizations.

Competition in agrarian folk societies discouraged. Competition not compatible with family life, or inter-personal relations prevalent in folk cultures. Achievement concepts between individuals in competition not understood.

Sales Practices

High pressure sales techniques involving psychological assault, including degrees of misrepresentation and baited with "nothing down" and "pay later" highly developed and accepted.

No experience in high pressure salesmanship or resistance to system. Postponement of payments psychologically deceptive, due to time orientation.

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations

American life revolves around a complex system of organization. The very foundation of democratic government has a basis of political organizations. Business, commerce, civic endeavor, social life, education, and even churches are founded on this basic principle.

In a patriarchal society, there is no real need for organizations. In the simplicity of agrarian society, family groups are able to meet their needs without the complexities of organized effort. Also, since organizational goals involve the future, time orientation limits their use.

Leadership

Organizational experience conditions the individual to function in organized situations. Organizational goals give substance to individual goals, thereby promoting the concept of community achievement and a desire for change and progress.

Lack of organizational experience promotes individualism and thereby reduces the individual's ability to function in organized situations. This has a tendency to limit his horizons and stimulation for progress.

SYMPTOMS OF CULTURAL DISINTEGRATION

American society is moving and changing very rapidly. Cultural value concepts are modified almost daily. Mobility, mass media of communication, and intensive industrialization are but a few of the factors responsible for these rapid changes. While these changes are responsible for much of our progress in improved standard of living, they also account for many of the social problems which we face today.

The Spanish folk culture values moving from small villages or rural areas to urban centers are immediately challenged at every point. The villager's value concepts about his life, his family and his own role within his family are assailed daily. Because of economic conditions his initial contacts with urban culture are usually with people already in conflict with urban life. Therefore his first view of urban life is a distorted picture. His efforts to assimilate distorted value concepts often result in serious consequences.

Family Life

American family life shows symptoms of serious disintegration. Divorce rate is the highest in the World. One out of three marriages end in divorce. The rate of desertions is estimated to exceed the rate of divorce. Marital insecurity is believed to account for many other social ills.

The ability of the husband to maintain his status as head and chief provider of his family is the foundation for the preservation of the paternalistic family. The new arrival from a rural setting is ill-equipped to maintain this role in our industrial economy. His lack of skills and inability to compete result in low wages, sporadic employment and inadequate income. The financial pressures soon force the wife into the labor market. This results in the loss of face and self-respect for the husband. The wife begins the inevitable process of emancipation from paternalistic traditions. These conflicts often result in marital discord. Desertions, separations and divorce are apt to follow.

Morality

Recent studies and investigations indicate a breakdown in our moral standards. Increasing pre-marital and extra-marital relations are gradually becoming accepted patterns of behavior. Illegitimacy and abortions are now condoned with a broad-minded attitude.

Once the process of marital disintegration has begun with divorce, separation or desertion, the progression to moral laxity will follow.

Emotional Problems

Mental illness is now considered the number one problem in the United States, and while much progress has been made in the cure and treatment of mental illness, we are still unwilling to look at some of the causes of emotional strain. Alcoholism, formerly considered a moral problem is today classified as an emotional or mental illness. The rate of alcoholism is climbing at an alarming rate.

The removal of the protective shield of security provided by the family in the folk culture leaves the individual naked and insecure during periods of crisis or emotional stress. His unfamiliarity with institutions and red tape involved in securing assistance add to his frustrations. Mental illness and emotional problems crop up, alcoholism, as an escape, becomes common.

Crime & Delinquency

*In 1960, there were 154,390 personal crimes reported to the police in the United States. Personal crimes involve murder, suicide, forcible rape and aggravated assault. During the same year, there were 1,706,370 property crimes reported. Property crimes involve robbery, burglary and larceny over \$50, and auto theft. This means that only 8% of the crimes committed in the United States are committed against ourselves or our fellow man. But it also means that 92% of the crimes involve property. The other significant thing about crime in the U.S. is that while the annual rate of increase against the person is only 5%, the annual increase against property is 15%. It would appear from these figures that we are becoming a frustrated materialistic society and our concepts could stand some re-evaluation.

In the paternalistic society, with tightly knit family traditions, the pressures of conformity are most effective. When these pressures have been removed by the disintegration of family life, the individual is often unprepared to cope with the pitfalls of the urban community. The confusion of roles and the conflicts between the husband and wife often produce tragic consequences for their adolescent children who are themselves besieged with problems of cultural transition. Adolescence within the normal and secure family can be a traumatic experience for some children. Adolescence in a broken home, complicated by cultural conflicts, economic disadvantages and social rejection, can only lead to delinquency and crime. When 10% of a population group constitutes 65% of juvenile delinquency rates it is terribly obvious there is a need for drastic evaluation.

* Statistical abstract of United States, 1962, Bureau of the Census, pg. 148, No. 188.

IMPLICATIONS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN CULTURE ON FAMILY LIFE

By Bernard Valdez

The Spanish-American living in isolation in small villages for several centuries has developed very distinct family patterns. Isolation, lack of mobility, agrarian economy and the Pueblo Indian influence combined to create an environment conducive to extreme family cohesiveness.

The family pattern of the Spanish folk culture is basically paternalistic. This pattern dominates the whole family structure. The father is the head of the family. This role is carried on by the oldest male member of the family and it is relinquished only upon death. In this structure, the grandfather is in effect the authority figure and titular head of the family clan.

IMMEDIATE FAMILY

Family blood relationships retain an intimate association for as long as these relationships are traceable. Blood kinships are sought out and maintained. Grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces and cousins, regardless of the degree of kinship, retain almost the same attachment as brothers and sisters. The lack of mobility tends to fortify and extend the immediate family structure.

EXTENDED FAMILY

The Spanish folk culture family is not confined to members related by blood or marriage. It is extended by a complexity of spiritual relationships recognized by the church and fostered by tradition. This system of family extensions has been tagged by the sociologists as "El Compadrazgo."

Godparents are used for such occasions as baptisms, confirmations and weddings. Godparents serving in any of these occasions become "compadres" to the natural parents of the child or children involved. "Compadres" thereby assume the same intimate associations as blood relatives. The godparents also assume the role of second parents to the child and child is trained to treat his godparents with honor and respect due the natural parents. The solicitudes which follow in terms of gifts and affection produce a bond of love, thereby making the extended family relationships equal to those of the immediate family.

To appreciate fully the potential growth of family extensions in this culture setting, let us assume a hypothetical family with five children:

By the very fact that the husband and wife have been baptized, confirmed and married, they start their married life with an extended family of ten persons. With the baptisms, confirmation and marriage of their children, they will acquire an extended relationship to 30 more people for a total of forty. If this family is invited to reciprocate the same functions with their friends, then the potential is limitless. This chain reaction of family extensions is inter-related to blood relationships, since very often blood relations will serve as godparents to blood relatives.

THE VILLAGE

Because the pattern of colonization of the villages originated on a family basis, the village in fact is nothing more than a family extension. Even after three hundred years of colonization, it is not uncommon to find isolated villages with not more than a half-dozen surnames. Blood relations and extended relations criss-cross the whole village population.

FAMILY ROLES

The Father

It has already been stated that the father is the head of his immediate family. In the agrarian society, he is concerned with planting and harvesting, providing shelter, and food for his family. This role of being the chief provider is never relinquished, nor is it assumed by anyone else, except in cases of illness or extreme emergency. During periods of crisis, the family will come to the rescue and fulfill any need occasioned by the emergency. The family members always stand ready to meet their moral responsibility. This assistance may vary from temporary economic assistance and nursing care during illness, to foster parenthood for orphaned children.

The Mother

The mother is responsible for all domestic duties. She is responsible for training her daughters in domestic duties. She is traditionally expected to be frugal and ingenious in running her household, but is never expected to work outside the home. By the same token, the husband or male children are not expected to do household chores.

Male Children

Boys are trained by the father to perform duties traditionally assigned to males. The discipline of boys is the responsibility of the father. Boys are allowed a lot of freedom on the assumption that this will prepare them to assume their male roles.

Female Children

Girls are trained by the mother to assume the responsibility of homemaking. They are not allowed a lot of freedom and are closely supervised and shielded from male contacts.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Dating is not allowed. Romance develops as a result of contact at fiestas, dances, and family gatherings. Romance between young people is not recognized by parents until engagement occurs. Engagement is a very formal process by which the parents of the intended groom will solicit the parents of the intended bride for the proposed marriage. This process will assure the complete approval of both families.

IMPLICATIONS OF FAMILY STRUCTURE

The implications of the Spanish folk culture family which is confronted with the complexities of urban life are numerous. It is difficult to assess the emotional strain involved for the family that leaves the village for the urban center in search of a livelihood. The father, mother, and their children, are not a complete family in the Spanish folk family sense. All blood relatives and extended family relations are missing from the concept of the complete family.

The father, whose orientation in an agrarian economy has been geared to nature, now becomes enmeshed in the gears of a machine. His lack of industrial skills, limited education, limited use of English, his religion, his customs and culture, make him a misfit as an urban worker. His inability to compete results in sporadic employment, the lowest wage levels, insecurity and poverty. His inability to maintain his role as the sole provider of his family starts to erode his male ego. His humiliation in begging for public assistance from female social workers destroy his concepts of male dominance. The endless interrogations by a myriad of impersonal institutions demanding scores of forms and signatures and the inevitable shuffle from agency to agency leaves him confused, frustrated and demoralized. He is soon made aware that he functions in a culture dominated by female figures and in self-defense, he begins to push his wife forward as a shield to his male pride.

The mother soon finds herself assuming responsibilities formerly assumed by the husband. She becomes aware that other mothers and married women are employed out of the home and that very often it is easier for her to secure employment than it is for her husband. Often, sheer necessity will force the husband to allow his wife to work out of the home. This practice, which is perfectly acceptable in Anglo-American families, will cause the husband to lose face and self-respect.

At this point, the process of emancipation from paternalistic traditions begins for the mother:

1. She demands assistance with domestic duties which traditionally she had assumed, and which the husband resists taking over.
2. She attempts to have a voice in the management of family funds, while the husband interprets it as an invasion of his rights.
3. She resents pregnancies as an economical and physical handicap, while the husband will interpret this resentment as a rejection of his affections.
4. She will become overly permissive with her daughters in the light of her changing values, thereby creating discord and dissention for the whole family.
5. Her newly-acquired role will demand that she make decisions formerly made only by the husband, thereby adding to the confusion of roles and diminishing status of the husband.

While the parents are undergoing the process of transition and readjustment from one set of values, which they understand, to another set which is strange to them, their children will encounter similar conflicts.

The first doubt will arise at the point where the children realize their difference from their playmates and school companions. Their complete ignorance regarding their ethnic identification or historical origin will frustrate and confuse them. Their awareness and recognition of the obvious differences such as the language of their parents or food habits in their home will cause them to feel ashamed of their home and parents.

Following the phase where the children become aware of their ethnic differences, it is only a question of time until they face the first manifestations of rejection. Generally, these manifestations will arise in the playground or in the classroom in the form of name-calling. The seed of hatred and resentment will have been sown, and the pattern of conflict with their environment set.

This pattern of conflict is soon brought into the home. Male children with an allowance of excess freedoms in the agrarian setting find themselves subject to the many temptations and delinquency pitfalls of city life. The female children, closely supervised in the multi-family setting of the village culture, are left unsupervised while the father and mother are employed outside the home.

If the father and mother are successful in bridging the cultural transition and in holding their marriage together, they will remain as the bulwark of strength to their children and help them in their own cultural transition. If the parents should fail to make the adjustment and the family breaks down, a chain reaction of family disintegration is sure to follow.

The children of the Spanish folk family living in the urban center face many problems of adjustment. Some of those problems involve the whole spectrum of cultural concepts. Some of the most important concepts involve attitudes toward educational achievement, competition, material achievement, time orientation, leadership and organization, and success. All of these differences can be bridged without sacrificing human values, if the family structure remains strong and secure.

We have scores of agencies and we spend millions of dollars in the areas of detention, correction, and rehabilitation. We spend a great deal more in providing economic assistance through categorized public welfare and other public institutions. Nearly all of these resources are spent to cure the symptoms of family disintegration.

We are doing almost nothing in the area of strengthening family life - we are instead preoccupied in dealing with the pieces after disintegration takes place.

IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURAL VALUES TO EDUCATION

By Bernard Valdez - Consultant

American Educational Traditions

Universal secular education was part and parcel of English tradition at the time of American colonization. These traditions became an integral part of American heritage and educational philosophy. As Americans moved westward, the principle of universal education was nurtured and cultivated in the western frontier. Almost every wagon train moving westward included, among its passengers, a school master or the proverbial school marm. The sod school house and the log cabin were followed by the well known "little red school house". These traditions, abetted and encouraged by government, the churches, and private endowments, provided the foundation for American Education. The aggressive character of the American pioneer, the keen competitive orientation of our educational philosophy.

Spanish Educational Traditions

Universal education was not an accepted pattern of Spanish traditions during the colonizing period in America. In Spain, even to this date, education is principally a church function. As the Spanish Conquistador and the Catholic padres advanced to conquer and convert the Indian, their educational objectives were limited to rudimentary religious training.

The establishment of Spanish Presidios and the pattern of colonization which evolved under the partnership of the Church and the Spanish Crown, relegated education to a limited functional degree.

Mexico was conquered by Cortes and his army in the years 1519 to 1521. By the year 1540, Father Bartolome, who accompanied Cortes' army, was using the sons of Aztec chiefs to teach the Indians to read and write. This laudable movement was soon halted by orders of the Spanish Government which feared the consequences of a literate exploited majority.

The Order of Jesus Christ (Jesuits) which was founded by a Spanish soldier (Ignasius de Loyola) in 1536 and recognized by Pope Pius Paul III in 1540, established 150 colleges in Europe in the following one hundred years. The Jesuits were expelled from Spanish America in 1773 by order of the hierarchy of the Spanish church. The Jesuits were most aggressive in pushing for the protection and education of the Indians in the New World. In Paraguay, they had organized the Indians into agricultural cooperatives and introduced them to schools and education. This was too much for the feudal patrons who needed submissive peons or slaves on their plantations.

It is most interesting to speculate what the pattern of development would have been in Latin America if the Order of the Jesuits had been allowed to disseminate their seditious book learning. The Catholics in the United States and Canada, where the Jesuits have had complete freedom, have done fairly well.

The Orders of Mercy, Dominicans, Franciscans and others who followed the Spanish colonists into the American Southwest were great builders and agriculturists. The missions they built and the products they raised from a semi-arid and unfriendly environment, constitute a living monument to their devotion and pioneering spirit. Their constant battle for survival and their pre-occupation with religious duties gave them little time for the education of the colonist and the Indian.

The missionaries of the Southwest were great recorders of church history. The records of births, baptisms, confirmations and weddings were carefully made and kept through centuries of church history. It is interesting to note that each distinguished missionaries as Fathers Kino and Serra who were fearless explorers among the fiercest Indian tribes, distinguished themselves as builders and agriculturists and not as teachers and scholars.

In New Mexico, the padres assigned to serve the Spanish colonists and the Indians in remote and isolated villages and pueblos were soon as mentally isolated as their parishioners. Available literature was generally limited to religious books, religious poetry and song. As the isolation extended in time into generations and eventually into centuries, literary isolation, became more pronounced. The folk ballads which evolved in this isolation, including corridos, coplas, versos and even romantic songs were intertwined with religious themes. La Virgencita (the Virgin Mary) was not only appealed to by sinners but also by young lovers to further the cause of romance. Three centuries of spiritualistic orientation developed a mentality and a folk culture wherein God and the Saints were a part of everyday life. Living in close proximity to nature, God and the Saints, infused the language with the same spirituality. A few examples of the spiritual embroidery of speech are as follows:

Buenos dias - Good Morning, became, "Buenos dias le de Dios," or May God give you a good day.

Como esta Usted - How are you? was always answered with "Muy bien, gracias a Dios," or Very well, thanks to God.

Buenas Noches - Goodnight, became "Buenas Noches le de Dios," or May God give you a good night.

Adios! Goodbye, became "Que Dios vaya con Usted," or may God be with you.

Any plan involving the future regardless of how small or insignificant was presupposed with "Si Dios es servido" or If it pleases God. This close association with deity made God responsible for almost everything and man responsible for almost nothing. Life, health, sickness and death were in the hands of God. Good crops and crop failures, wealth and poverty, good fortune and misfortune, the present and the future were all in the hands of God. Man could pray and man could wish - but it never entered his mind that he could influence the outcome of his welfare or the future.

American education is secular, practical, objective, highly competitive, materialistic and strongly motivated by a future orientation.

Secularism - the very fact that public schools are tax supported of necessity makes them non-sectarian. This non-sectarianism de-emphasizes the spiritual aspects of life and therefore emphasizes the material and the practical.

Practicalism - American concepts of education are a means to an end. The three R's of themselves are not enough. There must be a practical application to any learning.

Objectivity - the objectivity of your educational pursuits starts at the elementary level and progresses to the secondary level. Lack of objectivity and personal goals beyond the high school is considered abnormal.

Competitiveness - Competition in our educational system is the key to scholastic achievement. Psychological techniques are extensively used to achieve a maximum of competition in scholastic endeavor. The spirit of competition is not only fostered in the classroom or the school, but is also highly encouraged in the home. Children are stimulated and motivated to higher achievement from early childhood.

Materialism - In an industrial society with strong materialistic tendencies, education of necessity must embrace the dominant values of our culture. Education, to be practical and objective, must have well defined goals. These goals are generally translated into material values. Good jobs, better paying jobs and prestige positions are only a few of the value symbols used to motivate students to higher learning.

Future orientation - The goals and objectives of our educational system are geared to future goals. These goals do not assume the same value concepts in a culture oriented to the present.

Motivation - Educators are often frustrated at their failure to motivate children coming from a Spanish folk culture environment. While children adopt many value concepts from the classroom, the initial values originate within the home. When the values learned in the home are in conflict with those taught in the school, the child becomes confused. If the values taught in the classroom are not supported in the home, then the acceptance of these values is unenthusiastic and does not motivate the child to exert his best efforts to achieve.

Compare the probable mental attitude of a child from a middle class urban Anglo family with that of a child from a low-income Spanish folk oriented family.

Johnny will begin his learning process by playing with carefully selected educational toys. His building blocks will surely consist of alphabetical symbols designed to assume an educational process as soon as he begins to enunciate oral sounds. From this moment on, every technique will be used to stimulate his mental process of learning. Readily available resource materials, including children's books, encyclopedias, pictures, poems and nursery rhymes, will be a part of his daily life. As a member of a literate family, Johnny will be exposed to daily conversations and discussions which will stimulate his curiosity for more learning.

When Johnny is finally enrolled in the first grade, he is most likely to have participated in school situations involving pre-school and kindergarten and very likely, Johnny can count, knows the alphabet, prints his name, and reads one-syllable words. From this day on, every paper and every report card brought home by Johnny, will be an occasion for much comment and conversation from his family. Hereafter, Johnny will be the object of every motivation technique known to his parents and his teachers. Throughout his

student life, Johnny will be encouraged to join and participate in many student organizations designed to enhance his learning process and motivate him to higher achievement in learning. Competition will be an accepted way of life for Johnny.

Juanito's toys will not be selected with the same objectivity. His building blocks are likely to have animal symbols, rather than the alphabet. Books, encyclopedias and story telling are not likely to be a part of his daily life. Nursery rhymes will likely be oral folk rhymes passed down to his mother from previous generations. Juanito will also be exposed to family discussions, but these discussions will deal with daily and routine family problems.

When Juanito is finally enrolled in school, he is forced to enter a world completely strange to him. While in his childhood mind he has looked forward to entering school with other children, he soon discovers his inability to keep up with his peers. If Juanito's family used Spanish in the home as the predominant means of communication, Juanito will, in effect, be attending a foreign school. If Juanito's parents are bi-lingual and use both languages in the home, he will often become confused in the classroom. If Juanito's teacher is inadequately trained and fails to understand his handicap, she is apt to assume that he is mentally slow and assign him to coloring pictures rather than being challenged to keep up with his fellow students.

While Juanito's parents will have a sense of self-satisfaction in that their child is attending school, their responsibility will end there. Juanito will face his problems of adjustment alone. The papers and report cards which he brings home will not illicit much comment from his parents. Juanito attends school because the law and the dominant culture demands that he must. Learning and the goals of education have very little meaning for Juanito. If Juanito is fortunate enough to be possessed of above average intelligence, he will likely catch up with his colleagues and make an adjustment on his own. He may even be infused with the spirit of competition and excel as a student. Given only a few motivating factors, he may even aspire to higher education.

However, if Juanito is unable to cope with his initial disadvantages, he will become progressively retarded. This will affect his behavior and his personality. Juanito's frustrations will produce an inferiority complex which is likely to result in anti-social behavior in school and his community. At best, the eventual result will undoubtedly be a premature drop-out from school and at worst, delinquency or crime.

The problems which have arisen in most of our large cities with respect to school drop-outs and high rates of juvenile delinquency are beginning to be of concern to educators and school administrators. Several school systems have conducted studies dealing with special problems of the culturally disadvantaged child. Denver's school system is presently engaged in a two-year study on equality of educational opportunity. Hopefully, the professional is finally becoming aware of cultural differences in their dealings with their clients. Respect and appreciation for other people and their culture viewpoint will often make our work less frustrating and thereby more fruitful.

III

Intercultural Relations

INTRODUCTION:

This section is comprised of three articles by Dr. Arthur L. Campa in which are described various factors of intercultural relations. Dr. Campa's articles are written from a sociological point of view with some emphasis on acculturation. There may be some repetition, but the repetition is necessary for understanding the different factors emphasized in each article.

In the first article, "Language Barriers in Intercultural Relations," Dr. Campa writes about the cultural implications of language and the difficulty of translation because of the loss of cultural content in translating one language to another. He also related this process of mechanical translation to much misunderstanding of the Chicano people.

The second article, "Mutual Understanding" deals with the Chicano of the Southwest in terms of the bicultural situation in which there is some coming together of the two cultures.

He examines the nature of the Spanish and English Cultures in Europe before being transported to the "new World" and what motivating factors brought them across.

Along with this examination, Dr. Campa describes the modification of the two cultures through the years to what he calls co-existing cultures with similarities and contrasts, and explains difficulties in areas of cultural differences.

The last article of this section, "Spanish, Mexican, Native--The Problems of Nomenclature," addresses itself specifically to the Chicanos of New Mexico, but would apply to most of the Chicanos of the Southwest.

The article gives some insight as to why the Chicano people are identified by different terms and hyphenated labels; why certain terms are acceptable to some, while rejected by others, and how these terms and labels came into being.

LANGUAGE BARRIERS IN INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

by Dr. Arthur L. Campa

We have become accustomed to think of man as a member of a particular race, with a corresponding language, and with a culture that represents his biological and linguistic origin. There is no doubt that the nature of man is the sum total of these basic determinants, but the assumption that these factors are necessarily correlated lead to misleading conclusions in our cultural understanding. The relationship of race, language and culture seems obvious at a first glance, so we unwittingly accept their correlation. In fact, much of the "knowledge" which we have regarding other cultures is nothing more than traditional relationship which we have inherited as standards of knowledge. In the Southwest, for example, there is a marked tendency to designate as "Spanish" any culture trait, culture content, or characteristics observed in persons whose native tongue is Spanish. They refer to tortillas, chile, and tamales as "Spanish food", and, because this fare is characteristic of many Spanish speaking individuals, they also conclude that Spanish people are very fond of hot foods. Again, there are many Hispanicized people in the Southwest, whose racial origin is autochthonous, but whose language is Spanish. These people have certain physical characteristics such as dark hair, olive complexion, and dark eyes. As in the case of chile and tamales, many people conclude that all Spanish people are olive skinned and have dark eyes. The concept is carried further when they say, "The white people and the Spanish."

Correlations, such as the above, can be judged in a better light because they are current, but we also have some which we have taken for granted for so many centuries that we do not question them today. The British are said to be Anglo-Saxons because they speak a language whose basic pattern is Anglo-Saxon, that is, English. Yet, as race goes, the Islanders are Celts who were Anglo-Saxonized by the Anglos, Saxons, and Jutes. Likewise, the Celt-Iberians of what is now Spain were Latinized and today speak the language of Hispania, although racially they were little different, if at all, from the Celt-Iberian inhabitants of the British Isles before the Germanic invasions.

The modern Spaniard intuitively prefers to be known as a Galician, a Castillian or an Andalusian rather than a Spaniard, even though all of them may speak the same language. They may be more aware that the culture-content of their region is not expressed by linguistic classification. Even more confusing is the generalized term of Latin in combination with race. The "Latin race" includes Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, three different cultures whose relationship is that their respective language evolved from vulgar Latin some 2000 years ago. Actually, except for a few culture traits which develop uniformly in a common milieu, there is little similarity among these three peoples. There is a common assumption that these nationalities are similar in physical appearance. This similarity is comparable to that which exists among dogs of mixed ancestry, if you will pardon the comparison, but it does not establish a generality. The tendency to correlate language, culture, and race is carried to its greatest extreme when someone speaks of a "typical" Spaniard, Frenchman, etc. The American whose mind is set on standardization finds it difficult to accept the non-conformity of a short, dark complexioned Swede, a red-headed Spaniard or a fair-haired Mexican. During the last war, many American soldiers were really amazed

upon landing in Italy to find that the Italians were not all short, dark and stocky. The insistence on using any of these determinants, but principally that of language, closes the door to the possibility of total understanding. If a person is blond he must be Anglo, if he is Anglo he can't be dark, if he is dark he is Spanish, (or French or Italian, because all these "Latin races" are dark!), if he speaks Spanish he eats Spanish food, he eats enchiladas, the latter must be Spanish food, and ad infinitum or ad absurdum.

Even in cases where the language and culture were the same at one time, they soon parted company when part of the group set up a separate political entity. Take the United States and England as an example. When Mr. Chamberlain returned home with a compromise with Hitler, he was hailed for his successful mission in England, while in America he was scorned for having compromised. Americans compromise, but unlike the English, they hardly consider it a victory. Again, take the word "clever." An Englishman speaking of a "clever girl" to another Englishman need not explain, but an American would not know what to expect of a girl so defined.

Spain and Spanish America also have grown far apart linguistically and culturally. Identical words do not have the same meaning at all in many cases. When a Spaniard says "Me choca" he means that he is taken by something different. A Mexican means that something is repulsive to him. The "Chulo" is an individual type in Madrid; in Mexico it means something beautiful, and in New Mexico it means a lap-dog. When a Spaniard says to someone "Vaya a pasearse," it is equivalent to the English "Go to hell." The New Mexican will tell you "Vaya a pasearse," meaning to drop in sometime.

Scholars realized long ago that the original linguistic correlations were being modified, but until recently there was little scientific evidence to prove it. Now we have in Spanish such studies as those of Dario Rubio, La Anarquia del Lenguaje, and the monumental work of Santamaria in his three volume Diccionario de Americanismos.

In the Southwest, where we have to deal with Anglos, Mexicans, and New Mexicans, we have a marked example of the cultural implications of language. The situation is far more complicated in this region because we must communicate our thinking in many cases by translating back and forth between two languages and in three cultures. A word in Spanish does not represent the same culture content or trait that its linguistic equivalent does in English. Let us go back to the word "compromise." The uncompromising Spaniard in whose culture, so strongly individualistic, ideas and concepts need not be alike, there is no need for compromise; hence the word *compromiso* means a duty or an appointment. Many object to being called Mexican in English, but they use currently the term "Mexicano" in Spanish without any objection. Linguistically translated, "Mexicano" means Mexican, but culturally speaking the English rendition does not connote the same thing. The Spanish speaking individual in the Southwest does not achieve a real understanding of English by translation, but by a closer acquaintance with the culture that the language represents. And only in cases where the culture content of each language is understood can we have a bilingual individual. In passing, we indirectly seem to encourage a lack of real comprehension of language through our requirements for advanced degrees in which a candidate with the aid of a dictionary and some cramming is able to pass "successfully" a test in language.

Those who have studied the problem of education among Spanish speaking students tell us that there is a cultural lag which holds back these students. The pit of it is that in most schools the only thing that is open to such a student is translation of words which linguistically seem to have a close relationship, but which culturally represent totally different concepts. Take the case of Juan in a school somewhere in the Southwest. He has a certain amount of "amor propio" which is mistranslated as "pride," and then because it does not mean the same in English, Juan is said to have a "false pride." One day he gets into trouble with Pedro, one of his schoolmates and, there being no word "compromise" in their vocabulary nor in their culture-content, they resort to physical arguments. The teacher insists that Juan "apologize" to Pedro for what he did. "Go on" she insists, "apologize to him." Again Juan doesn't know what to say, because there is no word in Spanish for it, nor does the apologizing custom exist. The teacher is assuming that just as words are linguistically translated, so are cultural patterns. She continues, "Tell him you're sorry." This he refuses to do because he is a product of a realistic culture, loathe to change the realism of the past by the instrumentality of mere words. So he stays after school for being stubborn, disobedient and generally incorrigible. Juan still doesn't know the meaning of "apology," but if he is intellectually curious he may look up the word in Velasquez dictionary where he will find it mistranslated linguistically as "apologia." Not knowing this half dollar word he looks it up in the Academy dictionary where he finds to his amazement the following definition, "Discurso en alabanza de una persona" (an utterance in praise of a person). Now he is mad at the teacher! The following day he can't find his pencil. When asked by the same teacher if he lost it, he promptly replies that he hasn't. Actually the pencil lost itself from Juan. "Se me perdio" (it lost itself on me). That's it! After school, Juan is walking home and someone asks him if he missed the bus, but by now we know that he was not the active factor in this situation. The bus left him, "me dejo." He is a versatile boy, but don't make the mistake of saying he is "versatil;" this would mean he is superficial and changeable.

In addition to isolated words, there are also psychological attitudes characteristic of a given culture, which are difficult to understand and much more difficult to overcome in the process of acculturation. Punctuality is something that an American understands as mechanical precision. It is a byproduct of an industrial and highly mechanized culture. The American dramatizes this event with whistles, lights, and gunfire. Even the clock "runs" while in Spanish it simply "walks" (el reloj anda). My Mexican friends insist that a five o'clock appointment can be kept punctually until six. That is, it is five until it is six. To an American, the hour is a gear timing concept, and rightly so, because American industrial life is geared. This postulate is what wears so much rubber at intersections, and causes people to spend even days in line in order to be the first person to enter when the gates open. We have been pushing this to such an extent that our time perspective projects up beyond the present and into future and we publish the Saturday Evening Post on Thursday and the magazines come out one month in advance. This to a Spanish speaking person is still incomprehensible. He still is sticking to the present and says "manana" to the rest. Manana does not arise because of any consideration of the morrow, that would be an American culture trait, but rather because the morrow is not at all considered. Manana stems from the Spanish concept of reality which gives pre-eminence to the present, that is, to reality. He calls the present "actualidad," that which really exists.

No one will deny that the sum total of behavior patterns, values and attitudes which make up any culture is reflected in the language of the culture providing that the culture content can be properly determined. It should be also realized that each language attempts to correlate its culture with little or no reference to similar correlations in other languages. When the language is forced to conform arbitrarily to the patterns of another culture we have the sort of thing that has grown up in the Hispanized English and Anglicized Spanish spoken in New Mexico. If both culture-content and vocabulary are lacking, the practice to adopt both in order to preserve the newly acquired concept in its own mold. This process adds such words as esprit de corps, savior faire, petite, al fresco, sombrero, patio, corral, etc.

The problem of race, culture, and language correlation was accentuated when representatives of the United Nations attempted to iron out their differences at the council table. An interesting report of what happened at the meeting of the United Nations in Paris in 1949 is given by Ina Telberg in the September '49 issue of The United Nations magazine, in an article entitled "They don't do it our way."

She reports that the Russians are disliked because of the length of their speeches and for their irony and sarcasm, a traditional custom of the Russians in their political speech-making which has nothing to do with Russia's present government. The Latins, on the other hand, do not employ sarcasm but do sprinkle liberal doses of poetic imagery and literary allusions. The Cuban delegate to the Social Committee of the Assembly in Paris, tired of the Chairman's constant interruptions, protested, "Not being all Nordics and Anglo-Saxons, we can not fit into the pattern of brevity, terseness and conciseness which you demand of us, Mr. Chairman. Such patterns befit the Northerners, but we like an orator to be imaginative, emotional, moving..." Another Latin American delegate pleaded that the expression "From the cradle to the grave" be inserted in the Article of the Declaration of Human Rights. A Western European delegate pronounced, "Such phrases have no place in a serious document." "But the Declaration should be beautifully worded," argued another Latin representative. "It's a legal document, not a poem," muttered a pragmatic delegate. The United States delegate whispered an aside, "Why not 'From the womb to the tomb' --it rhymes at least!"

There were also numerous cross-cultural misunderstandings when American delegates attempted to find a common ground by means of jokes which insulted the Russians and left others cold. Then too, there was the concept of time or what the psychologists call time perspective. Noon meant meal-time to the American Chairman, but it meant nothing of the sort to the Orientals who insisted on keeping the meetings open all day. A western European speaking on the Declaration of Human Rights said, "Man is of divine origin, endowed by nature with reason and conscience." To which a Buddhist interposed, times the situations were farcical. A Chinese delegate was listening to a discussion in English when a Russian said, "Gentlemen, let us not behave like a bull in a china shop." The Chinese delegate promptly raised his hand and said, "Mr. Chairman, I should like the Soviet delegate to explain just what China has to do with his objections."

Our system for the teaching of language in America is based on the false assumption that language is a mechanical process which, given a set of rules and translation, can be acquired and successfully learned by anyone. That in itself is not so bad were it not for the fact that many seem to believe that the process ends there. It might be helpful for us to emphasize the culture content of language rather than the mechanics of translation. Language as a means of effective communication would then transmit much more meaning of each other's culture.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

By Dr. Arthur Campa

The adaption of man to his environment seems to be a never-ending struggle because he is a human being rather than an animal endowed with fixed attributes for his survival. Man adapts himself to all manifestations of nature whether it be climate, topography, flora and fauna and also adapts to other men either singly or collectively. His adaption can be passive or he may struggle to overcome his physical surroundings. Thus, some men move mountains or tunnel through them, while others go around them or over them; some remove trees, change the course of rivers, make dams or plant trees depending upon their needs. Some move to wooded areas, if it is trees they want, or settle in the desert if they don't want them. Some join clubs and societies in order to be in the company of other men, while others seek the cloister or a cave wherein to live alone. Some remain single in order to find solitude, and others marry and even practice polygamy.

Our attempt to solve our problems of *modus vivendi* stems from the fact that our society has grown to the point where living together has become inevitable. But our case is not unique. People all over the world are faced with a similar problem, and more acute than ours perhaps. We do not put up iron curtains and brick walls, except in our own minds some times, and we share in common in America much more than it would seem at first glance.

Perhaps we are trying to look at our present bicultural situation too close, as though it had been created by the present generation. Some aspects of the lack of mutual understanding are current, but in the main the causes that make two cultures drift apart or fail to come together go back many years and even centuries. It may be that our lack of perspective has stood in the way of comprehension.

When we look at Spanish and English cultures in the light of world culture, and in contrast with some of the other cultures of the world we find them very much alike. But as we focus upon these cultures in detail, or better yet, when we find them coexisting as we do here in the southwest, we find some contrasts and also some interesting similarities. In order to fully understand the mutuality or the lack of it in these cultures we must examine their nature in Europe before they were transported to the new world, and also study the motives that brought them across.

English culture was an insular culture, highly integrated and closely organized, whereas Spanish culture was peninsular and highly individualized. Moreover, the Spaniards came to the new world in an enterprise of discovery--not to discover the new world but to discover a new route to India. They continued their search for this new route until they finally achieved it by sailing around South America. They continued in that same frame of mind in search of something; of land, of riches, of gold and also in search of the kingdom of heaven upon the earth. Ponce de Leon was looking for the fountain of youth, and the early fathers were looking for souls to save.

The English, on the other hand, came to a land already discovered-- they sought it as a haven, a refuge from political and religious persecution. They proceeded to build their homes, raise families and build a new nation. This insular group had no desire to assimilate another race of people nor acculturate any of them. They wanted to live apart and maintain their identity.

The Spaniards came on the height of a humanistic wave and set up the type of organization which gave them independence and personal liberty at the expense of the natives. The encomienda, the hacienda and all other political, administrative units were subdivisions of the larger Empire where the king held the biggest stakes, and spread from Cheseapeake to Patagonia and as far west as the Phillipines. These two forms of social organization, the closely knit organization and the individualized form of culture date back to colonial days, and eventually led to totally different types of culture orientation.

Anglo-American culture began by being absolutist, that is, a culture wherein all dominant values were considered the same for all cultures regardless of time and place. Such values as kindness, justice, charity, love, honesty, etc. were considered as the superior social order for man and were of a philosophic-religious nature expressed in the Ten Commandments and in the American constitution. All men are created equal.

The Spaniard on the other hand developed a relativist viewpoint with less moral implications in man's actions. Values were looked upon as the result of social conditions and man's degree of civilization. This was a more indulgent way of looking at life. Of course, some of these values have been modified in both cultures, but before any changes occurred they brought about many of the conditions with which we are faced today.

Anglo-American culture modified its original absolutist nature and became somewhat universalized, that is, it began to admit of certain universal values, understanding among which was the recognition of mutual assistance. Anthropologists maintain that without this value there is a tendency for many species to disappear. We find today mutual assistance in the welfare programs, social security, etc., and in its universal sense the present-day Foreign Aid Program of the U.S. is the ultimate of this culture value. This does not mean that we accept other nations' cultural values, but that we are willing to engage in universal pluralism by extension of our universal values, that is, we can coexist without the acceptance of each other's values. If we analyze our situation in the southwest, we'll find a sort of universal pluralism.

The situation has not remained static as we shall see. There are many areas in which both cultures, Spanish and English, in the southwest have crossed each other's borders without fear of recrimination and with considerable understanding. Linguistically, English is the language of the dominant culture, and is the language used by both cultures, but even those greatly opposed to each other's cultures find it necessary to use partially or wholly the English and Spanish language. (The most effective swearwords for the Spanish speaking are found in English and vice-versa.) Seriously, the English language borrows more from Spanish in the Southwest than from any other modern language and the inverse is true of Spanish. How else would you speak of chaps, lariat, sombrero, bronco, tomato, potato and chocolate than by using words that have come into the English language through Spanish. And what would a Spanish speaking person do without beisbol, futbol, club, control, lider, etc. I think that linguistically the two cultures have gone beyond coexistence and having reached a mutual understanding.

from a practical or an organized course of action. It seldom leads to cooperative effort and for that reason is hardly ever conducive to civic-mindedness in the community. On the other hand this culture-trait brings a lot of personal satisfaction and enjoyment. Duty may dictate that a student prepare his lesson today and necessity may likewise advise the same, but when the telephone rings, the feeling takes over and she says: "Yes, I'll go dancing," which you must admit is more enjoyable.

But in order to follow the dictates of feelings there must be a compensating sense of time which helps to assuage the conscience. Those of us who have been reared under the dictates of duty and necessity would be constantly thinking about these two values even while dancing in the most attractive company, but the Spanish speaking individual has also a different time perspective which completely erases any sense of guilt. He "feels" that he must enjoy today what he cannot enjoy manana and, anyhow, tomorrow will be another day. Something will turn up, and if it doesn't, the time to worry about it is manana, not today, caramba while with a nice girl and dancing the Cha Cha Cha! In American culture our time perspective has become so deeply ingrained in our personality that we feel a profound sense of guilt whenever we are late or miss an appointment. Because of this strict sense of duty and necessity, we find ourselves telling our host that we are late because we missed the bus, because the car wouldn't start, because we had car trouble or because unexpected callers dropped in just as we were about to leave. In Spanish speaking society, where time perspective is not governed by the postulates of duty, a person arrives late to a party and merely greets the host with an intimate abrazo, a warm feeling, and does not feel the need to fabricate an excuse. No need for white lies.

This difference of time perspective is awkward in a society that is constantly running ahead of the clock with 1962 cars in 1961, spring fashion showings in the winter and next month's Reader's Digest today. Notice that the Revista Hispanica Moderna, a journal of Ibero-American literature is behind one whole year, while the Saturday Evening Post tries to sell you subscriptions for a year hence and like the Reader's Digest and other American magazines it is weeks ahead. Spanish culture is the reverse of this. The present is so important that there is little time left to think about the future. Lately we have seen a modification on both sides, a compromise perhaps occasioned by comment and understanding. That is, Anglo American culture is beginning to emphasize more enjoyment of the present and Spanish culture is giving more importance to the future, a happy solution to a cultural problem.

There is another area of cultural difference which is probably the most difficult to understand because it is so involved in cultural values and that is the sense of being. It is exemplified by such a question as might be heard in ordinary conversation. One usually asks when wishing to identify someone: "What does he do? or What does her husband do?" It is a natural question for a culture where action is important. In Spanish such a question would be awkward to phrase. "Que hace ese senor?" would mean what is he doing here? or Why isn't he here? The counterpart is "Who is he?" And all that need be said is that he IS Mr. So. and So. Being is the most he can be, because it is the distinction that can be attained simply by being alive. It is on this point that Spanish culture whether folk or cultivated is a bit touchy. A blow directed at a person's being injures his amor propio, at his pride of being. In other words he believes that he has the right to be, whether tall or short, blonde or burnette, elegant or careless.

The action culture is more concerned with the right to do and is constantly defending it as a constitutional privilege. The real problem comes when you try to equate these these two cultural values. One is more static and the other more mobile, that is, the right to do enables a person of lowly being to become a person of consequence. But the other tends to stratify society and cause the individual to remain in the same state of being year in and year out, and for generations sometimes. An ideal fusion of these two values would be for one to respect the sense of being and the other to try action as a sort of "operation boot-straps".

When we deal with culture-traits on paper and examine their relative values we can easily speculate as to what would be the ideal assimilation of both extremes, but unfortunately human society does not always follow such a desirable development. If it did we would not be here today. Oftentimes, when two cultures meet and one becomes the dominant culture, the other tends to set up defense mechanisms which are in reality inimical to both sides. One of these is negative self-assertiveness. Under social tension and pressures, some Spanish individuals in the Southwest, and particularly where they are very much in the minority, react violently against situations they don't approve of, against a person they have come to dislike, or against the society by which they may have been wronged. Instead of fighting for something, they seem to be fighting against something, and such an attitude is usually a serious obstacle to cultural integration, because attention is being drawn to individuals as dissatisfied members of society who are considered anti-social.

Another problem is that of confusion, leading either to self pity or self hate, and every action on the part of the dominant culture is interpreted by such expression as "They do it because they hate us," or "They do it because they feel sorry for us." At this point the individual becomes thoroughly disoriented and then he ends up by saying "I don't give a damn," and the shooting starts. This is the point of no return. This is of course what happens to individuals of a given culture, whether Spanish or English, when they lose their sense of values completely.

There are a number of culture traits in Spanish society which are supposed to be distinguishing characteristics, such as courtesy. Not that courtesy is absent from the Anglo inventory, but the manner in which it originates is different. Courtesy to the Anglo-American is more objective, it is propriety more than feeling. Again it is a matter of duty and necessity. What is the right thing to do under given circumstances? If you must know, you consult a manual much in the same manner in which a lawyer would consult a law book to clarify a point of law. Not only that, but there are people who make a living advising as to what proper behavior is under such circumstances as weddings, coming out parties, etc. In Spanish culture, courtesy is a human attitude, and individual feeling of one person for another. However, the same attitude does not prevail towards collective society or to an impersonal institution such as the law, within the result that there is less regard for the latter.

In conclusion, we can see that there are many points of contact where both cultures not only accept each other but they recognize their virtually intrinsic values. In cases where the two cultures are apart they are not necessarily inimical except among individuals who have lost the values of both cultures. The cultural poles can be brought closer together, with

Economically the same interrelations are apparent right here at home. The Spanish speaker buys dry cereals, corned beef, ham and eggs, fried chicken, and hamburgers along with all other Anglo American products on the market. And the Americano has parlayed chile con carne, tacos and tamales through drive-ins, assembly line production, canned goods and TV frozen dinners into one of the most lucrative enterprises today. In fact, he has learned two things in this acculturation process: how to make edible hominy and how to prepare Spanish rice.

Socially and artistically the degree of cultural or mutual understanding is greater and with no resistance from either side. Spanish speakers indulge in jitterbug and Anglos do the samba with equal facility and success. They can dance to Tommy Dorsey or Xavier Cougat or a typical mariachi. Artistically, there is even admiration for each other's products. American runs all the way down to Mexico to purchase art objects with which to beautify house interiors and the Spanish speakers patronize everything from Neusteters to Montgomery Ward depending upon their income. This artistic fervor has gone so far that museums in Colorado Springs boast of valuable collections of Santos carved by Spanish artisans, and recently a Mexican artist residing in Denver has offered to paint a mural at the University of Colorado.

Where then do the two cultures begin to drift apart, or rather, where have they failed to come together and understand each other. The great differences occur in attitudes, in points of view and in the way each other looks at things. For example, the insular culture is concerned with unmixed racial stock, and rejects those whose skin tones differ from his, be they yellow, brown, red or black. The other, being peninsular and accustomed to mixtures over the centuries may show some preference for the lighter color tones, in some cases, but he does not reject or exclude the darker shades nor even dislike them. Not when so many songs have been written to his "morena garciosa del rostro encendido." This is also why the conquest produced so many mestizos from the Southwest to Chile, and so few in the north American continent.

But before going into some of the cultural configurations wherein both cultures differ, it must be understood that hardly any trait of culture can be well understood when taken out of its general setting. In the case of Spanish culture as we see it in the Southwest, with very few exceptions, it is a folk culture, part of a whole society such as exists in Spain or in Latin America. The representatives of this culture are for the most part folk whose immediate need is urbanization because they live in a community. They are the result of a "natural" will in which personal relations are based on kinship and neighborliness, functioning through concord folkways and mores which are complemented or cemented by a uniform religion in most cases. This is the ideal town or village life, a country life as it were, which when it moves into a large city usually locates on the periphery.

The sanctions that govern folk conduct are almost sacred and they don't like to be told how to handle their affairs or how to behave. The profile of Spanish speaking folk society is rather marked and consists of additional elements to those which a folk society pure and simple advert. For example one of the basic differences is the one which stems from individualism or personalism. This in turn derives from the individual's responsiveness to feelings rather than necessity or duty. Feeling is a subjective passion which acts as a trigger to Spanish temperament, the motivating force which underlies action, thinking, and life in general. It is completely detached

benefits to both. The great problem is how. In my way of thinking, the starting point is for both cultures to know and understand themselves before they venture into the mission field. Then they are in a position to know each other and achieve the mutual understanding and acculturation so greatly desired. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that before cultures can reach any degree of approximation they must be at the same level, and in this case there is a great difference between a Spanish folk culture and an Anglo complete society. The configurations of urban society with all virtues and defects should be first presented, followed by an analysis of folk culture with the objective in mind of eventually bringing about mutual acceptance through knowledge and understanding.

SPANISH, MEXICAN, NATIVE
The Problem of Nomenclature

From:
Spanish Folk-Poetry in New Mexico

One of the difficult problems that confronts anyone making a study of New Mexico is the selection of an appropriate term to designate the Spanish-speaking inhabitants. Such names as "native," "Spanish-American," "Spanish," and "Mexican" are applied to them, but none of these is restrictive or accurate enough. Those who come from that part of the United States where the human family is divided into two colors, often refer to New Mexican as "non-white" by implication. They speak of "white people and natives."

On the whole, the terminology is very misleading because it is based on prejudice and confused notions of race and nationality. As a result, any name applied to the New Mexicans, if we may call them that for the time being, expresses an attitude of mind rather than a clear concept of race or culture.

Race consciousness is relatively new in New Mexico. Prior to the American occupation it did not exist because the Mexicans, like the Spaniards were not concerned with distinctions of race or color. A man was a Spaniard in colonial days when born in Spain; if born of Spanish parents in the New World he was a creole; if born of mixed ancestry a "mestizo," and simply an Indian if he was unmixed with European. After the wars of Independence in Spanish America, the creoles became nationals of whatever country they were living in. By virtue of this political change everyone in New Mexico became a Mexican after 1821 and remained so until 1846 when the United States government took over the Southwest.

Those who still think in terms of the past century insist that they are New Mexican. The New Mexican resents this, not on the basis of nationality but on the assumption that he belongs to a different race. He too makes the mistake of thinking that Mexican is a racial term. Since he is actually no different in appearance from the inhabitants below the Rio Grande, Americans classify him in the same category despite his American citizenship. In those places in the West where the Alamo episode is still remembered, New Mexican find their citizenship of little avail.

The New Mexican's first reaction, as a result of this "American" attitude, is to disassociate himself from anything that carries a Mexican implication. To do this he must insist on his difference in origin. He is a "direct descendant of the Spanish conquerors," bearing in mind that anyone who came into New Mexico before 1848 may be considered a "conqueror." As a child of the conquerors he can logically claim to be of "pure Spanish blood." When this line of thinking is carried to its logical conclusion, the deductions are that the New Mexicans are not "Mexican," for the latter have no Spanish blood, and that there is no aboriginal admixture in the former. Being American citizens, the next step is to combine the concept of race with that of nationality and the hyphenated Spanish-American is the result. Such a name serves a triple purpose; it lifts from the New Mexican the opprobrium of being a Mexican; it makes him a member of the "white" race, and expresses his American citizenship.

The difficulty with "Spanish-American" is that, while it suits the New Mexican in the abstract, there is little in his appearance and origin that upholds the distinction he is trying so hard to make.

In the first place, the color-conscious Anglos, noting the preponderance of aboriginal blood in many of those who call themselves "Spanish" or "Spanish-American," hesitate to refer to them as such because Spanish connotes European to them. Again, the majority of Mexican laborers who come to work in the United States are mestizos and Indians who do not differ greatly from those individuals whom the Anglos do not classify as Spanish. Because of the association of Mexican with the darker skinned laborer from the south, this purely national term is applied to the darker shades, and that of Spanish to the light complexioned. From a cultural view-point, the differences between the New Mexican and the Mexican are regional distinctions that occur within a similar culture.

The substitution of the name "Spanish" for everything in New Mexico does not change the substance of traits that are undisputedly Mexican. The "Spanish" suppers given by clubs and church societies are in reality Mexican dishes to which no truly Spanish palate is accustomed. The "Spanish" songs sung by school children and by radio performers in New Mexico are as Mexican as tortillas de maiz, chicharrones de puerco, chile con carne, and the sopaipillas at Christmas time. The real cultural differences between the region north of the Rio Grande and that below are those which the New Mexican has acquired by close contact with American life. In a sense, it is his dehispanization, his falling away from Spanish, that stamps him as a different individual. The Mexican is different in that he preserves his Spanish language, literature, and menu. The New Mexican is educated in English and naturally acquires traits and habits that are American.

A number of well-meaning people who wish to avoid the vexing problem of race and nationality refer to the New Mexicans as "natives." Unfortunately, there are those who employ the same term in the derogatory sense, and has a legal claim to the distinction of native, and of late such considerations have entered the "native son" movement. In any case, the name is too general to identify a group of people who differ so greatly from the usual American that they themselves never say "nosotros los americanos," although they may express a political concept in English: "We Americans."

The choice of a suitable term depends upon the two groups concerned: those who apply the name, and those to whom it is applied. Both have divergent ideas regarding race and nationality and in most cases such notions can, be he German, Swedish, Irish, or Jewish, prefers to call the New Mexican "Mexican" or "native," while the latter prefers to be known as "Spanish" or "Spanish-American." Obviously they are not Mexicans, and they have not been since 1848; neither are they natives exclusively. Few can prove conclusively to be of Spanish descent, and none of them are Spanish-American, considering that such an adjective applies to people in Spanish-America. On the other hand, there are valid reasons why New Mexicans may claim in part any or all of the foregoing appellations. Legally and nationally they are Americans; linguistically, Spanish; Spanish-American, geographically; culturally, Mexican; native by birth, and New Mexican by state boundaries. What are they racially, since that seems to be of so great concern? The answer to that question may be found in the history of the conquest.

The trouble with all the terminology developed in New Mexico is that it is based on a logic that excludes the human factor. The whole thing is characterized by anomalies which attempt to justify prejudices and defense mechanisms. If we look at the problem disinterestedly we will be forced to reject race and nationality as a criterion by which to arrive at a happy solution. Logic cannot be used exclusively because the folk and most of the New Mexican population consists of it, is illogical. It is to the general folk that we should go in order to find a proper term. It is not a matter of what people are called by others, nor what they would like to be called, but what they call themselves when speaking in an unbuttoned frankness. They are all Americans; they know it, yet they never speak in Spanish of themselves as nosotros los americanos any more than they say nosotros los espanoles.

The folk in their naive simplicity have cast aside all preoccupations of race, in fact, they are above racial distinctions, and, in the tradition of their forebears, are not much concerned with skin tones. They conceive of their own kin in realistic terms such as nosotros, nuestra gente, la raza, and nosotros los mexicanos. By mexicanos they do not mean Mexicans; neither can it be translated as such. In fact the term must remain in the language in which it was conceived. Mexicanos, the culture that still nurtures them when out of school. Mexican art, dress, music, and food are still the rule among these mexicanos north of the river. Mexicano de Mexico, is the phrase that distinguishes the Mexican national. By inference it admits of a mexicano on either side of the river.

Thus the entire gamut of names is run in an effort to find a suitable term for the New Mexican who became indefinable when his thinking was plagued with defense mechanisms and inaccurate notions of race. Meanwhile he retains his own nomenclature. Mexicano in Spanish expresses to him a concept of culture that no other term, not even a translation of that same term, can convey.

IV

Attitudes and Status of the Chicano

INTRODUCTION

In this section are five pieces of work written by Prof. George Sanchez, Dr. Ralph Guzman, Manuel J. Martinez, Vincent Garza, Homer Bigart, a writer for the New York Times, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales.

All are recent works or articles, with the exception of "The American of Mexican Descent" by Professor George Sanchez. However, Professor Sanchez describes the status of Chicanos and attitudes, to some degree, as do the other authors. Throughout most of his article, he makes reference specifically to Texas, however, he maintains that the same conditions prevail throughout the Southwest.

Dr. Ralph Guzman, like Professor Sanchez, defines some problems of the Chicano and touches on certain areas in which the Chicano is on the move.

Manuel J. Martinez, in his article "The Art of the Chicano Movement and the Movement of Chicano Art," describes the role of the Chicano artist in the new movement. He does so by first examining the historic aspects of Indian, European, Spanish and Mestizo art and explains how they relate to make up the Chicano art.

In his article, "How Do We Get You To Listen," Vincent Garza expresses his attitudes and frustrations as a Chicano. These attitudes and frustrations which he describes are his personal point of view, but they are shared by many.

The article reprinted from the New York Times describes various elements of the movement within the Chicano community. It addresses itself primarily to three leaders of the Chicano people: Cesar Chavez, Reies Lopez Tijerina and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, and to some degree, their leadership roles and activities.

The last article is a poem, "I am Joaquin," by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, which, in the opinion of this writer, expresses all the pride, heritage, and culture that is "Chicano."

THE AMERICAN OF MEXICAN DESCENT

By Prof. George Sanchez
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There are almost four million persons of Spanish-Mexican descent in southwestern United States, the vast majority of whom are citizens of this country. They began coming here from Spain and New Spain as long ago as the sixteenth century, and have continued to come from Mexico. Unlike such groups as the Italians, the Irish, the Poles, the Spanish - Mexicans of the Southwest are not truly an immigrant group, for they are in their traditional home. As an Indian, the Spanish - Mexican was here from time immemorial; and his Spanish forebears were in this region long, long before John Smith and his fellows pioneered in Virginia. In other words, historically and culturally he belongs here. That fact has been dramatically attested to by his spectacular loyalty to his country in time of war. There is no need to document here the right of the American of Mexican descent to full citizenship and to an equitable share in the good things associated with the American way of life. There are a vast literature and voluminous records that conclusively support this right and that refute any suggestion that if he doesn't like the treatment he receives here he should go back where he came from.

It should be unnecessary to have to underscore the perfectly elementary concept that we Americans of Mexican descent have the rights of Americans and that, if historical precedence is to be the criterion, our rights and needs have priority over those of other "nationalities groups". In moments of bitterness over the sad state of affairs among our people, we might well point out that we did not ask the United States to come here--that we are, in effect, subject peoples for whose well-being the United States has a very special moral obligation, an obligation that has been most pointedly overlooked. The Indian, the Negro, the Filipino, the Puerto Rican, and all other peoples in a situation similar to that of the Mexican-American have been the object of our national solicitude, of our sense of social and moral responsibility.

Not so the Mexican-American. He has been, and he continues to be, the most neglected, the least sponsored, the most orphaned major minority group in the United States. The conscience of the nation, that of the philanthropic institutions, that of our mass media of communication, and even that of the very public officials who owe their elections to the Mexican-American has not barely stirred over his plight. It is wondrous, indeed, that he has not become permanently embittered and thoroughly disillusioned. His faith in ultimate justice and his hopes for the new day attest to his strength of character and to his devotion to his country. I do not believe that it is necessary to detail here the facts of the disadvantaged state of the Mexican-American. Reference to the reports of the United States Bureau of the Census will reveal that persons of Spanish-surname in the Southwest are at the bottom of the scale on virtually every criterion measuring health, wealth, education, and welfare. Reference to other standard works will reveal in interpretative detail what the Census reports in cold, monotonous statistics.

I have in mind, for instance, the book (The Uneducated) by Ginsberg and Bray of Columbia University. In that book the authors analyzed the facts of rejections for educational reasons from the draft of World War II. They found that Texas had the second highest rejection rate for non-Negroes: 63 per 1,000 (the highest state had 64). A dot-map of these rejections makes the southern third of the state (where the Mexican-American population is concentrated) completely black, while the rest of the state is virtually clear. A similar study by a medical college team found that, whereas Texas had one-twentieth of the national population, it contributed one-fourth of the deaths from infantile diarrhea. Again a dot-map showed the lower third of the state completely black and the rest clear. Not long ago it was revealed that in Texas the deaths per 100,000 from tuberculosis was 40 for "Anglos", 50 for Negroes and 160 for "Latin Americans". These fantastic contrasts, these shocking facts are duplicated in years of schooling, in housing, in income. From all of these facts one can draw only a picture that is most dreary, most humiliating.

But this is not all. Come to the Capitol in Austin, Texas, and count the number of persons of Spanish-surname who have positions (and we include janitors) there. Do the same in Washington in the offices of the congressional delegations from the Southwest. Do the same for other state and federal appointments. While no one would be so foolish as to ask for proportionate representation in governmental posts for the Mexican-American, surely the current state of affairs wherein the Mexican-American is almost completely and systematically excluded from governmental appointments is a national scandal. And it is preposterous to suggest that this exclusion is a function of his lack of qualifications!

Here it is well to make special note of the fact that not only are the poor and the uneducated among the Americans of Mexican descent discriminated against, but their more fortunate brethren, those who are much better off economically and much better educated, are in much the same boat in so far as equitable treatment is concerned. This population group has thousands of families who are of the middle and upper classes, who have members that are well educated and highly regarded in virtually all fields of learned attainment but who still find it difficult to compete with colleagues of lesser stature professionally but who are of higher stature, and have preference, because they belong to the dominant group. Just as the Mexican-American day laborer is given differential treatment in wages, tenure, and advancement, so are his more fortunate brothers and sisters--the lawyers, the doctors, the teachers, the business men, the nurses, and all other Mexican-Americans who are above the stoop-labor level. While, here, I speak only of Texas, it would not be hard to document that in every one of the southwestern states the situation of the educated Spanish-speaking American is not very different from that which prevails in Texas--where we have virtually no state or federal appointments; where a Spanish surname places the applicant "behind the eight ball"; in public employment of any kind; and where, in business of the self-employed professions, his name militates against his getting a fair "shake".

In San Antonio, compare the wages paid to Anglos and Latins for the same services at all levels. Remember that, in a recent session of the Texas Legislature, a measure setting fifty cents as a minimum wage was soundly defeated! Some school systems still try, by devious means, to segregate "Mexican", and it took a 1954 U.S. Supreme Court judgment to end the prac-

tice in some Texas counties of systematically excluding Americans of Mexican descent from juries. The Colorado Supreme Court has had recently to make such a ruling, too. This bill of particulars could be extended on and on to pile fact upon fact, documenting beyond any shadow of doubt that the American of Mexican descent has been treated very shabbily by a country to which he is intensely loyal and by governments and governmental officials he has supported wholeheartedly.

Probably nowhere has the mistreatment of this population group been so flagrant or so devastating as in the field of labor-politics and labor-economics. We have exposed the Mexican-American, time and time again, to the most unconscionable exploitation as cheap labor. During World War I, some of us saw the cattlecar trains loaded with peasants from the interior of Mexico brought to work here as cheap labor in the beet fields of Colorado, in the mines of Arizona, in the cotton fields of Texas, and in the gardens of California. During the World War II, we have seen the hundreds of "wetbacks" who were permitted to swarm across our southern border to earn as little as 15 cents an hour, to live in the most profound misery, and to create misery for the American citizens whom they displaced. We see, today, the Bracero, in vastly larger numbers than during the peak of the war emergency, continuing to displace (at 50 cents an hour) his American citizen-cousin and to beget misery for his and for those whom the latter, in turn, displaces. Hundreds upon hundreds of persons commute daily from Mexico to the United States to take jobs that are sorely needed by American citizens who live in extreme poverty because wages are so depressed along the border by that commuter, by the Bracero, by the wetback. Nowhere in the American scene is there such an uncontrolled and inhuman exploitation of the common man. These, indeed are forgotten people. Millions of them, strangers in their own homes! In comparison to a recital of woes of the Mexican-American, Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" is cheerful.

Again, I do not believe that it is necessary here to elaborate upon these unfortunate circumstances or to document their existence. Standard authoritative references will give the reader the facts in detail and will convince him, if convincing he needs, that the picture has not been overdrawn in this brief statement. It is not pleasant for one to expose the misery of his people, and I prefer not to dwell over-long on the details. I feel under compulsion to make the above statement, however, so that the broad reforms that are proposed very briefly below may be placed in proper context.

1. Extensive research has been conducted into the multitude of problems and issues presented by the Mexican-American. There is an extensive literature on the findings of this research. However, there is no truly comprehensive and authoritative exposition of the complete picture of the circumstance of the American of Mexican descent. There is nothing in that literature like Odum's "Southern Regions of the United States," nothing like the Hoover Commission's "Recent Social Trends". This is because the Mexican-American has had virtually no sponsors among the foundations nor in government. A massive investigation of his condition, and of the circumstances leading to that condition, is urgently in order.

To the government, to the philanthropic foundations, or to a combination there of, this should be a ringing challenge.

2. The American of Mexican descent is, in the main, uneducated. This fact can be documented spectacularly, and there is no point to citing the data here. On the other hand, he constitutes a natural resource, both for the rehabilitation of his people and in other services to his country. That is beyond question--and that, too, need not be elaborated upon here. Further, as subject-peoples, isn't there some sort of special obligation toward the Mexican-Americans on the part of the United States? Why couldn't all of these considerations be fused into a program of federal aid in the education of Mexican-American youngsters? To serve in government posts, to become teachers of Spanish (or of English in Spanish-speaking countries), to minister to the medical needs of their people, et cetera, et cetera?

It should be emphasized again, however, that there are many thousands of Mexican-Americans who, by the grace of one kind of good fortune or another (usually hard-earned), are not uneducated and who can pull their weight with the best of them in their particular lines of endeavor. These well-educated and experienced persons--lawyers, doctors, professors, pharmacists, accountants, nurses, and others--constitute a reservoir of talent for the immediate needs of the United States in foreign affairs that, otherwise would take many years to develop. It would be short-sighted, indeed, to ignore this native cultural resource--this strategic advantage in international relations.

3. The Mexican border must be much more stringently regulated. The perennial free-and-easy dipping into the cheap labor reservoir of Mexico is an intolerable burden on the backs of the American of Mexican descent. This recommendation is made without prejudice to our desire that the United States do everything possible to aid in the economic rehabilitation of the people of Mexico. It is also made without prejudice to the rights of growers, businesses, and industry in the Southwest to conduct profitable enterprises. The recommendation is made, simply, in a rationale that is based on the premise that we cannot afford to subsidize the progress of Mexico or that of our businessmen with the misery of the Americans of Mexican descent.

4. The plight of the agricultural migrant worker is a most frustrating one; whether he be Anglo, Latin, or Negro. The Mexican-American is a major victim of this unfortunate phase of our economy. Remedial action to relieve him of the consequences of migrancy and seasonal labor is an imperative. Minimum wage laws, provision of educational opportunities, the reinstatement of the old authority of the United States Employment Service, and many other procedures need to be scrutinized to see how this very difficult and depressing situation can be remedied.

5. The most tangible features of the easily documented misery of our people should be attacked forthwith. It is not possible to give priority to the extremes of the disadvantaged circumstance of the Mexican-American. Health, certainly, ranks high on the list of priorities--infantile diarrhea, tuberculosis, malnutrition. . . The conditions revealed by the statistics in this field are intolerable in an enlightened and well-to-do society. So are those picturing the status of the aged, of the dependent, of the widowed and the orphaned. The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has a ringing challenge in all of these areas.

6. That same Department has broad challenges in the field of Education. What will it do to capitalize on the Spanish language of our people as a natural cultural resource? What will it do to recruit and train our youngsters for service in foreign parts where their cultural heritage makes their competence

particularly significant? Along the same lines, what will our Department of State, and other federal agencies with programs in foreign parts do to utilize the talents of our Spanish-speaking citizens who are professionals in various fields of endeavor? It is my contention that cultural and human resources of the Mexican-American, properly cultivated, will redound to the improvement of his people generally as well as to the success of the nation's international program.

Notice should be taken at this point of a fallacious conclusion that has had currency for many years, a conclusion attributed to people in our Department of State and one which, it is said, has determined policy (unofficially): that the American of Mexican descent is not well-received in Latin America, that he may have dual allegiance, and that, all in all, he is poor risk as a representative of the United States. This is a dastardly canard. Even a most cursory examination of the record would prove that the very opposite is true. For many years, Americans of Mexican descent have operated with resounding success all over Latin America--as educators, as salesmen, as government officials. One wonders about the motivation behind the dissemination of the canard!

7. In mentioning the field of Education one cannot escape the thought that the Mexican-American child would gain greatly from well-planned federal aid to education in the states. Since, educationally, he is low man on the totem pole, the equalization of educational opportunity, on both state and national bases, would improve his educational status. We are not at all frightened by the dire predictions of "federal control". We are much more frightened by the demonstrated irresponsibility of local control in the education of our children!

8. It cannot be emphasized too much that one of the reasons for the neglect of the Mexican-American in the Southwest has been that his own leaders have not been his spokesmen. That is, decisions as to his needs have been arrived at on the basis of the opinions of individuals poorly qualified to make far-reaching judgment about the Mexican-American--and that includes non-Latin officials whom he helped to elect and some of his own people who are, at best, only incidentally concerned over the crises faced by their fellows. We believe very strongly that to understand this population group--its needs, its hopes and aspirations, and its very sense of self--one needs to go to the "grass roots". Those grass roots, however, include not only the common man, but they include the business and professional men who identify with the common man and seek nothing from him but everything for him. The local, state, and federal elected official rarely fills either role, and it is they who have been called on to speak for the American of Mexican descent. And they have either not known what the true score is, or it has not suited their individual ambitions to read the score correctly. I could name names, but that is not my purpose here. It is my purpose, however, to underline the fact that only the Mexicanos can speak for the Mexicanos, and that it would be well to assess very carefully the claims of any individual, Mexicano or otherwise, who would speak for us.

9. I could specify numerous other areas where I think the millions of Americans of Mexican descent warrant consideration, areas in which claims for them could be made very legitimately and in which opportunities that they present for the enhancement of national prestige could be easily substantiated. I will refrain from any such elaboration, and limit myself to the perfectly simply statement that, were our nation to think only in terms of

enlightened self-interest, it would seek the well-being of her citizens of Mexican descent because that would be intelligent, positive, international good politics. What do the uncounted millions of under-privileged people elsewhere in the world think of the foreign policy protestations of the United States as they learn of the circumstances of these millions of Americans of Mexican descent? We know that our nation does not restrict its international good works to the dictates of mean political advantage; but isn't it fine that human decency at home and international good politics go hand-in-hand as we face the problems of the Mexicanos, our forgotten people?

There can be no satisfactory concluding statement to an article such as this one which tries the impossible task of portraying in brief space the myriad ills of the Mexican-American, the possible remedies--his current misery, his promise. Maybe it is enough at this point to express the thought that, just as we do and should afford to go to the aid of disadvantaged, under-developed peoples in other countries, we can and should afford to look after our own disadvantages, under-developed peoples. The conservation of human resources, like charity, too, should begin at home. Let us be good neighbors with the Latinos across our borders, of course; but, as we mount our good neighborly efforts, let us not forget the Latinos across the railroad tracks! This, among other things, might just be the proff of the pudding.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS ON THE MOVE

An important minority group, spirited and hopeful,
seeks its rightful acceptance

By Ralph Guzman

Ralph Guzman is assistant director of the Ford Foundation supported Mexican-American Study Project at the University of California at Los Angeles. Former assistant director of the Peace Corps in Peru, he is presently completing a doctorate in political science at UCLA.

Today the turbulent game of American politics includes a new group of aggressive players. They call themselves Mexican-Americans--sometimes simply Mexicans. Most of them live in the Southwest. They are more than five million strong.

Their sudden appearance upon the field of politics has surprised politicians, government officials, labor leaders, and the general populace. For, until recently, few people outside of the states of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California knew the Mexicans. To most Americans, "minority" meant Negroes, and, occasionally, Puerto Ricans.

Mexicans have burst upon the national scene with dramatic force. They were seen last spring on national television marching with their Virgin of Guadalupe on a 300-mile hike from Delano, California, to Sacramento, the state capital.

In Albuquerque, New Mexico, fifty or so Mexican-American leaders walked out of federally sponsored conference on equal employment that excluded Mexicans from the planning.

More recently, the power structure in the state of Arizona was startled to see Mexicans kneeling beneath the Phoenix sun praying for God's intercession with the White House.

And this month, a group of Mexican-American farm workers started a 380-mile, 2 month march from San Juan to Austin, the State capital. The march, scheduled to end on Labor Day, is in protest of the miserably low wages paid Texas farm workers.

Mexican-Americans are well known in the Southwest. There they have long been the silent occupants of the back rows of society. But they are hardly known on the East Coast, and they are only slightly mentioned in Washington, D.C.

Like the Negroes, the Mexican people have been a principal source of docile menial labor, and like their colored brethren, Mexican-Americans have been thought incapable of militant social action.

Apathy, defeat, and social alienation are some of the more common terms that have been used to describe the Mexican. The political behavior of these Spanish-speaking Americans has been labeled bizarre, irrational and unpredictable.

Whatever the balance of society's judgement the fact is that today Mexican-Americans are no longer sitting in the ante-rooms waiting to be judged. Their struggle for full membership in American society has begun.

This struggle has a young spirit. It seems to reflect the ex-GI's of World War II and Korea and the education that was acquired under the GI Bill of Rights. It reflects the labor union movement; the Roman Catholic Church and Fred Ross, a modest, little-known community organizer. Ross introduced Alinsky-type mass-action techniques to the Southwest in the late 1940's, and had considerable influence on young Mexican-Americans who today have risen to leadership in the Mexican-American community, organized labor and other areas.

Present, too, in this Mexican spirit are the unmistakable influences of poverty and social deprivation. For while the spokesmen for this minority group are mostly young and middle-class, few appear to have forgotten the urban and rural slums where they were born.

True, the social context of America has changed. Because of this change the emergence of the Mexican minority has been more rapid. There is, indeed, a growing national concern for equality and opportunity for all citizens.

Gone are the lynchings in the Southwest of the late 19th century in which Mexicans were invariably the principal victims. Gone, too, are the more blatant examples of de jure school segregation and other discriminatory practices.

Today, there are a few federal programs designed to help the poor. Also present are limited local programs, some sponsored by government and others by private groups, created to remove the pressure of poverty and racial discrimination. These programs were forged by many forces, not the least of which was the Negro civil rights movement. They are part of the yeast of social change affecting Mexican-Americans.

Negro militancy has been an unescapable lesson of life to the Mexican people. The pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento in the State of California reflects this lesson. And so do the Albuquerque walkout, the street prayers in Phoenix and the long, hot summer march in Texas.

Mexican-Americans have drawn from the dramatic struggle of the Negro people. But they have added artistry of their own.

The "Corridos" (ballads) composed to celebrate great happenings, the Teatro Campesino (farm workers theater), the Peregrination (pilgrimage) to Sacramento, the vivid symbols and declarations which have enlivened the long Delano Huelga (strike) are all colorfully Mexican.

What is new about the Mexican "revolt" within the United States is its dual character. It is, at once, Mexican and American. As recently as one generation ago the "twain" did not meet. The differences were clear and well-defined.

Today, both worlds have blended. In the urban areas and in the rural sector the symbols of action are, indeed, Mexican-American. But they include something that remains Mexican.

For example, Mexicans march with the Virgin of Guadalupe and with their parish priests. This, alone, is reminiscent of the Mexican revolution when local priests led the uprisings. The front line participation of women is also related to the revolutionary role that Mexican women had in past epochs.

The American character of the Mexican struggle is its growing sense of organization and emerging pragmatic priorities about what to do. It is this aspect of Mexican militancy that the young men seem to emphasize. For here is found the language of issues, strategy and goals.

It is useful to examine these demands and to raise the questions: What are the Mexican-Americans trying to communicate to American society? What is the Mexican-American agenda for social action?

The social hurts are deep and they have often been rubbed with the salt of official neglect. These hurts make up the Mexican-American agenda for social action. Among the more salient are:

Education. The median school year completed by Mexican-American youngsters in 1960 was 8.5. On the other hand, Negro children completed 10.3, while the rest of the population finished 12 years. Generally speaking, school systems have failed the Mexican-American people. "Drop-outs" is an American, middle-class conclusion. Among Mexican-Americans a better work is "forced-outs".

Housing. Residential segregation is getting worse. The teeming barrios are not disappearing—they are, instead, becoming increasingly more Mexican-American.

Health. Life destroying diseases are conspicuous among these people. Tuberculosis, for example, which has almost been eradicated in other parts of the country, is still a killer of the Mexican poor.

Employment. Mexican-Americans are, in large part, an unskilled pool of industrial labor. With few skills, little formal education and limited ability to speak English, many are doomed to live unemployed and disillusioned lives unless massive job-creating and training programs are specifically designed to meet these critical needs.

Politics. It is extremely difficult for Spanish-surnamed individuals to run for public office and win—even in heavily Mexican-American neighborhoods. Gerrymandering, an age-old American political technique, has been successfully employed against these American citizens. Other tactics of divide and rule continue to be effective. Attempts at political organization and political action by Mexican-Americans, themselves, have in the past been fragmented by the built-in resistances of an alienated and proud people.

Voting. Mexican-Americans are still not fully enfranchised. The protective clauses of the federal voting law have not yet been fully tested. A Mexican-American who votes in the State of California may not necessarily have the same privilege in the State of New Mexico. Literacy tests, often casually administered, have frustrated potential Mexican-American voters.

Old Age. The problem of the aged is severe. Housing and medical care for Mexican-American senior citizens is not always obtainable. And, when care is available many are not aware of its existence. Others, born in Mexico, do not qualify.

Youth. Mexican-American youngsters are predominantly city-dwellers. Mexican-American youth suffers from the impersonal nature of the metropolitan environment. The Mexican-American population is essentially young--median age is almost 28 years. Traditionally, poverty has been most devastating among the young. Social rebellion is always high when the fulfillment of youthful dreams is low. Riots are seldom started by senior citizens.

Civil Rights. The protective power of the American Constitution is not generally realized. When justice is withheld, Mexicans rarely complain--because they do not know, and because they often live in fear of constituted authority.

Government. The gap between the Mexican people and most agencies of government is enormous. The resources of government are unknown. Those that have been identified are not often understood. Conversely, governmental agencies appear to be unformed about the Mexican-American population. Mexican-Americans are conspicuous by their absence in policy-making and policy-implementing areas.

Farm Workers. Although relatively small in number, Mexican-American farm workers still represent a sizable economic problem. These are the people who live in the "Appalachias" of the Southwest and who, in spite of the generous Great Society continue to pick the grapes of wrath. Largely unorganized, poorly educated and frequently exploited these migrant farm workers represent an unconscionable anomaly for Americans everywhere--and a heartbreaking task for organized labor. The meaning of labor organization is not yet fully understood by farm workers and their unionization lags seriously behind that of urban-industrial workers.

These are social wounds and weaknesses for which a new breed of Mexican-American leaders is demanding attention.

Vigorous, issue-oriented men, creating broad, strong constituencies, are emerging. They are young. They are labor leaders, educators, lawyers, social workers, artists, government workers. They are creating new organizations and experimenting with new techniques. They are challenging "established" ethnic leaders and demanding political unity in place of scattered, weak organizations mired in isolation, jealous and narrow. They are dedicated. Political patronage or special appoint-

ments will not buy them. They demand effective action on basic social problems.

How well they succeed will be determined by their own ability to reach and shift five million Mexican-Americans in the Southwest into the main stream of our society.

This is a new era and Mexican-Americans are activated Americans. They are telling America that they, too, are entering the game; that they, too, belong.

How well they succeed will be directly related to their own abilities to replace fragmented, weak organizations by effective political unity, to utilize ethnic identity as a root-force for progress within the larger society and to develop leadership dedicated to the fulfillment of the rising expectations of all Mexican Americans.

THE ART OF THE CHICANO MOVEMENT AND THE MOVEMENT OF CHICANO ART

by Manuel J. Martinez

To understand the present cultural values of our people, it is necessary to understand the history of Mexico, to which we are still closely related. Mexican history is known mainly through its literature and art and it is the literary and artistic expressions that bring life and cultural nationalism within emotional grasp.

Unlike many of the styles of contemporary art, many concepts and forms of Chicano Art come from its own traditions. This is not to say that Chicano Art is an imitation of Indian, Spanish, or Modern Mexican Art, in technique or otherwise. The most Ancient Art of our history is purely Indian and is still considered the natural and most vital source of inspiration. Then following the conquest of Mexico came Colonial Art which is based fundamentally on Spanish-European principles of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. And then came the Modern Mexican Art movement dominated by artists who were Mestizo (the offspring of Indian and Spanish blood) and whose work has both Indian and European influences.

Chicano Art is a new born baby with Ancient Indian Art as a mother, Spanish Colonial Art as a father and Modern Mexican Art as a midwife. Or we can see it as a branch extending out into the Southwest United States from the great Bronze Tree of Mexican Art. Taking the roots of that tree for granted as being Indian and Spanish, we can move up to the trunk of the tree which is known as Modern Mexican Art.

It would be wrong if we first looked up definitions of art in textbooks and then used them to determine the past principles for the modern artistic movement of Mexico. We should start from historical facts, not from abstract definitions.

What are some of the historical and artistic facts of the modern art movement in Mexico? Or, from the Mexican point of view what are some of the significant features in the development of this movement? Despite all the conflict, confusion, and bloodshed of the Mexican Revolution, it created a new spirit. A revolutionary spirit that inspired new leadership and began to be felt and expressed by the writers, the musicians, the poets and the painters. Each felt that it was his duty and privilege to share his talents in the social cause of bringing about a new Mexico. Art for art's sake began to die. The new art would no longer serve as a privilege of the rich or a mere decoration. Since Mexico was largely illiterate, painting had to become the medium of visual education, monumental in size, and become public property.

Some of the more advanced artists and pioneers of this new aesthetic concept formed a group in 1922 known as the "Syndicate of painters, sculptors, and intellectual works." Among those who allied themselves into this group and who brought forth the first original expression of Modern Art on this continent were: Ramon Alva de La Canal, Jean Charlot, Fernando Leal, Xavier Guerrero, Carlos Medina, Roberto Montenegro, Jose Clemente Orozco, Fermin Revueltas, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros and Maximo Pacheco.

The open-mindedness and foresight of Jose Vasconcelos, minister of Education, must be given credit for opening the doors to the usefulness of monumental painting on the walls of public buildings. Under his program, Vasconcelos patronized the artists and they were given but one instruction: To paint Mexican subjects. It was the first collective attempt at mural painting in Modern Art.

Then followed the fruits of the "Mexican Renaissance." The rebirth of creative enthusiasm and a time for the people to again recognize human values and their expressions in a creative form.

The Mexican painters have shown in their work the long and exciting history of the Mexican people. Great murals were done by men who sought truth and justice for their people and all of humanity. Mexican modern art was essentially an art of the revolution. No where else in the world can the people of a country see so much of their own story told pictorially on the big walls of their public buildings.

Like the modern art of Mexico, the new Chicano art is essentially an art of social protest. Generally speaking, however, there are two types of Chicano Art. The first is an art that makes up the cultural front of the Chicano movement that is sweeping the Southwest. An art that reflects the greatness and sacrifices of our past. An art that clarifies and intensifies the present desires of a people who will no longer be taken for granted as second class citizens and whose time has come to stand up and fight for what is rightfully theirs as human beings.

The art of the Chicano movement serves as a shield to preserve and protect our cultural values from the mechanical shark of this society, that has been chewing and spitting out our beautiful language, music, literature and art for over a hundred years. The artists use their own media in their own way to strengthen the unity of our people and they help to educate us about ourselves since the educational system has failed to do so.

The other type of Chicano artists are those who find it difficult to allow themselves to be used by any cause, by any institution, or by any government. They realize that the artist has spent centuries to free himself from the domination of a social hierarchy, the church, or government control. They love the past but refuse to be trapped by it. Their primary interest is to convey a point of view or an idea. Whereas the Chicano artist of the movement generally uses any method to achieve his goal.

The Chicano Artist who refuses to plunge into the movement, yet wishes to deal with social concerns in this society, cannot escape the realities in his life in the lives of people around him and in the times in which he lives. These things will inevitably begin to show in his work. Art works that are characterized as works of social protest are really just the product of the artist having to deal with the realities he sees. How does he respond to these realities? He writes a poem, a play, a song; he paints a picture, a mural, or models clay or wax.

The Chicano artist will work with his own "raw materials" of his social concerns in his own way. Most importantly, the artist is devoted to his art, and he loves color, form, composition, structure, and rhythm.

There are times when the Chicano artist, like other people, attempts to escape his humanness, but cannot. His commitment is to himself and to humanity. He loves art and he loves his people. It is this love for humanity that he can reveal to others and in doing so help fulfill their humanness. It does not mean that he is not going to reveal the countless evils of our life, but it is to show you that we must get back our humanness if we are to live on this world peacefully.

HOW DO WE GET YOU TO LISTEN?

Vincent Garza, Consultant
West Side Health Board

In posing this question to you, I ask you to do a very difficult thing of placing yourself in a minority indigent's shoes. Condition yourself to believe that you are distrusted, disliked, ridiculed, mocked and submitted to various indignities because you were born!!

Ask yourself how you would feel to wait in line and have a counter girl erase the smile from her face that she had been lavishing so freely on the prior Anglo persons. Know she did this because her "God-fearing" parents had made jokes about "niggers and spicks," and, when you presented yourself, you were identified with these jokes.

Anticipate your feelings on walking into a restaurant and, although they serve you, you are subjected to the most careful scrutiny by every individual present. You are being scrutinized, not because you wear tight pants, hair down to your shoulders, a low cut dress or a micro skirt that is the common dress of the so-called "proper Anglo society," but because you have an out-of-season tan or an unbleached color.

Place yourself in the position of knowing a condescending Anglo who says, "Oh, I like Mexicans and Negroes. In fact, some of my best friends are Mexicans and Negroes," and goes back to her local P.T.A. and vigorously opposes any school bussing program, who rises up in indignant anger when school officials try to pass a bond issue which will give a very small portion of added benefits to poverty schools. Have the same condescending Anglo very righteously support a bond issue for a swimming pool at George Washington High, but oppose any bond issue for safety railings or renovation of fifty-year-old poverty area schools.

Place yourself as a minority person who has a deep desire to believe in American democracy and all that it stands for, who has fought side by side with the Anglo in all of this country's wars to defend our country and its motto of "Liberty and Justice for All."

Imagine yourself in a group which, although representing a minority in the community, has historically sustained more draft calls, war casualties and injuries than the dominant society, and see the same dominant society consider you an inferior person and a subject of scorn.

Also imagine yourself to have the honest desire to objectively show how your ethnic group has been forgotten in this Nation's "Equality for All" motto; enroll in every conceivable organization and speak to every sociologist, psychologist and politician. Explain your group's problems, submit intelligent solutions to these problems and receive for your efforts-----sympathetic talk.

Picture your reaction, as a black man, to having a Negro conference in Washington, D.C. with political leaders who say they are interested in ending discrimination, while at the same time, a civil rights bill in Congress is

being subjected to a filibuster movement by the same "undiscriminatory politicians."

Then envision yourself as a Mexican-American, attending cabinet hearings in El Paso, Texas, submitting to the various cabinet secretaries intelligent solutions to your group's problems. List to these political leaders the statistics of how you are the most disadvantaged group in the Southwest. Assist in the development of a comprehensive problem and solution report to be submitted to the President of the United States. Then, as a reward, have the President respond that all the multifold problems of employment, poor health, and other discriminatory-derived problems which face you, as a Mexican-American, are going to be solved by the implementation of bilingual education!!

I again ask you to put yourself in the shoes of a minority. Let the condescending Anglo pick your brains for information which looks very impressive on reports, but only assists the writer in his promotions and salary raises. Have the Anglo listen to your problems, write a report on the problems, request money to alleviate these problems and then apply the program in his way, with the sole objective of perpetuating his position, his agency, his ideas, with no real meaningful attempt or even desire to alleviate your problems; but only the problem of his "not-big-enough" bank account.

I ask of you, the majority, after putting yourself in the minority's shoes, "Are you not hurt, frustrated, confused with you ideal of democracy, deflated in your confidence in manking?" "Are you not defeated in your peaceful objectives?" "Are you not tired and angry?" And, I ask you, "Should we riot?" "Would you in our shoes?" "Is there any other way to get you to listen?"

"MILITANCY SPURS HISPANO FIGHT"

by Homer Bigert, Writer
New York Times, 1969

Five million Mexican-Americans, the nation's second largest minority, are stirring with a new militancy. The ethnic stereotype that the Chicanos are too drowsy, too docile to carry a sustained fight against poverty and discrimination is bending under fresh assault.

The Chicano revolt against the Anglo Establishment is still in the planning stage, however. No national leader has arisen. La Causa, as the struggle for ethnic identity is called, has only a fragmented leadership of regional "spokesmen." No one really seems to want a chief, for as one young militant explained: "it's too easy to corrupt, buy off or assassinate a single leader."

The Mexican-Americans are a distinctive minority, separated from the dominant culture by a great gulf of poverty and differences in language and culture.

California, with two million, and Texas, with a million and a half, have the most Chicanos. New York probably has less than 10,000 and they are completely submerged by the massive Puerto Rican presence.

Some in New Mexico claim descent from Spanish explorers. Others say they were derived from the ancient Aztecs, and stress their Indianness. But the vast majority describe themselves as mestizos, people of mixed Spanish and Indian blood.

They all have a common complaint: they say the Anglos treat Chicanos as a conquered people by suppressing their Spanish language in the schools and discriminating against them in jobs, housing and income.

Consigned in the main to menial jobs, they earn a little more money than the Negro, but because their families are larger, the per capita income is generally lower: \$1,380 for Mexican-Americans, against \$1,437 for non-whites in the Los Angeles area.

The worst-off Chicanos are the farm workers. Testifying last December before the Civil Rights Commission in San Antonio, the local Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey observed that migrant farm workers lived "in the awful reality of serfdom."

Like other ethnic groups, the Chicanos are drawn to cities. The crowded urban barrios are usually adjacent to the Negro ghettos, and the rising ferment among Mexican-Americans has been stimulated in part by the Negro civil rights movement.

There are varying degrees of Chicano militancy:

In the Spanish-speaking ghetto of East Los Angeles, barrio toughs boast of grenades and other explosives cached for the day of revolt against the gringo.

In Denver, Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales plans a massive nationwide school walk-out by Chicano students on Sept. 16, Mexico's Independence Day. Corky, a former prize fighter, claims total victory in last month's strike at a high school in the west side barrio, a strike marred by violence in which, Corky says, a dozen police cars were disabled.

In New Mexico, Reies Lopez Tijerina the quixotic former evangelist who raided a courthouse two years ago to make a "citizen's arrest" of a district attorney takes a visitor on a tour of a "pueblo libre," a proposed free city-state in the wilderness where Chicanos will control their own destiny.

Unfortunately, 90 per cent of the pueblo is national forest. This does not bother Tijerina's followers. They claim the land under Spanish royal grants made prior to American sovereignty. They have chopped down the boundary markers and other signs of gringo occupation.

They have even held a mock trial for a couple of forest rangers who fell into their hands. Tijerina himself is under a two-year Federal sentence for aiding and abetting an assault on a ranger. His conviction is under appeal.

Tijerina, ... in the back seat while his lawyer, Bill Higgs, takes the wheel, suddenly comes to life. At a high pass where the road cowers under skyscraper rocks, the leader shouts: "Here's our port of entry for the Free City of Abiquiu."

Straight ahead, gleaming in the sun, is the Abiquiu Reservoir of the Chama River and on either side, sloping gently to the mountains, are wide stretches of grazing land. The black tower of Flint Rock Mesa looks down on a bowl completely empty of cattle and men.

"To me, this is holy ground," cries Tijerina with some of his old Pentecostal fervor. "here we will build a city dedicated to justice. This is our Israel! And just like the Jews we are willing to die for our Israel, yes sir."

Mexican-Americans are as diverse as any other people. Cesar Chavez, the gentle, introspective, sad-eyed director of the California grape strike, is totally unlike either the fiery Tijerina or the somberly wrathful Corky Gonzales.

Chavez has been called the spiritual leader of the Chicano moderates. His tiny bedroom at Delano, Calif., where he spends most of his time (he is afflicted with muscular spasms) is adorned with photos of his heroes--Ghandi, Martin Luther King, both apostles of nonviolence-- and of his political mentor, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

His belief in nonviolence seems unshakable. He told a visitor: "Those of us who have seen violence never want to see it again. I know how it tears people apart. And in the end we lose.

I am not saying we should lay down and die. I think I'm as radical as anyone. But I think we can force meaningful change without the short cut of violence."

The strength of the militants is impossible to gauge. Tijerina contends he has 35,000 members in his Alianza; Corky Gonzales says he can muster 2,500 for a demonstration in Denver. Barrio militants in Los Angeles say they have "gone underground" and refuse to discuss strength.

"Our people are still frightened, but they are moving," commented Chavez, who said he had no wish to become a national leader. "I'm at most a leader of our union, and that union is very small," he said.

Three years ago, the Mexican-American community had no staff-funded organization except Chavez's organizing committee. Today there are several including the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (which resembles the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.) and the Southwest Conference of La Raza (The People), both of which are supported by the Ford Foundation.

The grape strike is now in its fourth year. The main issue is no longer money. Most of the table grape growers against which the strike is directed have raised wages. The main issue now is recognition of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and Chavez says he expects a long tough fight before that is achieved.

This week Chavez extended the strike to the Coachella Valley of Southern California. The strikers expect even more trouble in organizing the workers there than in the San Joaquin Valley, for the Coachella vineyards are only 90 miles from the border and a plentiful supply of strike breakers can be recruited from the hordes of "green carders" who pour across the frontier each day in search of work.

GREEN CARDERS: These green carders, so-called from the color of identification cards, are aliens who are allowed to commute to jobs in this country. They are a constant source of cheap labor, undermining wage scales in the border region and frustrating union attempts to organize not only the farms but also the new industries that are settling in dozens of frontier towns from Brownsville, Texas, to San Diego.

Chicanos are demanding a tightening of the immigration laws. They would curb the commuting by requiring the green carders to reside in the United States. Then, confronted by higher living costs on this side of the border, the Mexicans would no longer be willing to work at depressed wages and might be more receptive to joining a union, the Chicanos believe.

The grievances of the Mexican-Americans, most of whom live in California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado, with sizable colonies in the Middle West (founded in the last century by construction gangs for the Santa Fe Railroad) sound familiar: job discrimination, miserable housing, social isolation, lack of political power (the result of gerrymandering the urban barrios) and exposure to a school system completely insensitive to Mexican-American history and cultures.

ESCAPE ROUTE: In only one respect is the Mexican-American better off than the Negro. Provided he is not too swarthy and provided he has money, the Chicano can escape from the barrio and move into Anglo middle-class districts.

He is worse off in other respects. Of all the minorities, only the American Indian makes less money than the Chicano. A linguistic and cultural gap separates the Mexican-American from the Anglo. Proud of his ancient Spanish-Indian heritage, the Chicano is less eager for assimilation than the Negro.

Most Chicano children speak only a few words of English when they enter school. It can be a traumatic experience, especially in districts where Chicano pupils are spanked if they are overheard using Spanish in the halls or on the playground.

Recalling the first encounter with the strange and threatening atmosphere of an Anglo public school, Arnulfo Guerra, now a successful lawyer in Starr County, Tex., said that when a Chicano wanted to go to the toilet he had to wave his hand and try to say: "May I be excused?" Mr. Guerra said with a laugh that for a long time he believed that "bisquez" (be excused) was the Anglo word for toilet.

Children caught speaking Spanish were sometimes humiliated, he said, by having to stand with their nose pressed against the blackboard inside of a circle of chalk. If overheard on the playground, they were made to kneel and ask forgiveness.

Besides being confronted with an alien language, the Chicano pupil finds that the attitudes, social relationships and objects depicted in his lessons are entirely outside his home experience. He is constantly admonished that if he wants to be an American, he must not only speak American but think American as well.

MANY DROP OUT: Their school dropout rate (34 per cent for Chicano children enrolled in grades 7-12 in Texas) is the highest for any minority group.

In San Antonio, which has the second largest Mexican-American colony (about 350,000 Los Angeles is first with about one million), a hearing conducted last December by United States Civil Rights Commissioner J. Richard Avena disclosed subtle forms of discrimination.

School officials admitted, according to Mr. Avena, that junior high school counselors tended to steer Chicanos into predominantly Mexican-American vocational high schools. This betrayed the counselors' ethnic stereo-type of the Chicano as an individual inherently equipped only for vocational training and unsuited for the Anglo college preparatory schools, he said.

The school system is a prime target of Chicano wrath, "Cultural rape" is a term frequently used by Mexican-Americans to describe what they call the system's attempt to make little Anglos out of their children.

PUNISHMENT BAN: School strikes and boycotts in the Southwest are becoming an almost daily occurrence. In Texas, Chicano pressures has obliged the school districts of San Antonio, Austin, El Paso and Edcouch-Elsa (adjacent towns in the lower Rio Grande Valley) to stop the punishment of children using Spanish in schools or playgrounds.

In Denver a few weeks ago, Corky Gonzales made the school board suspend a teacher accused of "racist" remarks.

The teacher denied having called a Chicano "stupid," denied having said: "if you eat Mexican food you'll look like a Mexican," and his denials were supported by some students who said he had been quoted out of context.

However, the school board seemed intimidated by the disorders that attended the walkout. Stones and bottles were thrown at police cars; a 26-year old Mexican-American was struck by a charge of birdshot fired by a policeman; 16 others were injured, and more than 40 persons, including Corky, were arrested.

MEXICAN HISTORY: The board made a number of concessions: more emphasis on Mexican history and literature in west side barrio schools, a re-evaluation of the counseling programs (Corky charged that some counselors were urging Chicano youths to join the armed forces) and Mexican food in the cafeteria.

A grand jury returned no indictments on the Denver outbreak, although it found that "the inflammatory statements of Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales at Lincoln Park bordered upon violations of the anarchy and sedition laws of the state." It exonerated the patrolman for shooting the demonstrator and praised the police for "remarkable self-restraint in the face of vile abuse and obscene taunts."

Corky Gonzales, 40 years old, father of eight children, was one of the top feather-weights from 1947 to 1955. A former Democratic district captain in the barrio, he gave up politics because, he said, "I was being used." Then he founded a militant organization, "Crusade for Justice."

On a recent warm April day a visitor to Corky's headquarters, a former Baptist Church in the decaying Capitol Hill district of Denver, was led upstairs to a room ...Corky, when he arrived...went directly to his office, a musty, cluttered room that had been the minister's study. He was no longer a featherweight, but he still looked trim and tough. He had grown a bushy black mustache, and he wore a pendant symbol of his movement--a three dimensional head representing Spanish father, Indian mother and mestizo offspring, mounted on an Aztec calendar plaque.

NO REPRESENTATION: "How can there be justice," he demanded bitterly, "if we don't have our people on the jury system and the draft boards?"

Denver Chicanos had lost faith in the political system, he said, because every Mexican-American who achieved office in the country was "absorbed in the Anglo Establishment and castrated by it."

Chicano schoolchildren were being perverted, he said, by "middle class aspirations," and the middle class was "dying and corrupt." He was against competitive society: "Success today in this country is learning how to cut throats."

Corky said he believed the best way to unify Mexican-Americans was through nationalism.

To foster Chicano nationalism Corky held a five-day conference in Denver at the end of March. About 1,000 youths from five southwestern states showed up.

COALITION ISSUE: The convention nearly broke up on the issue of coalition with Negroes. Some barrio youths, resentful of Negro dominance in the civil rights movement, insisted on maintaining racial separateness.

Corky, who had quarreled with the black leadership of the Poor People's March on Washington a year ago, preached a modified ethnic nationalism, and he prevailed. Coalition with the blacks might be feasible later, he said, but meanwhile the Chicano must first achieve enough self-reliance to "do his thing alone."

As a first step toward liberating the Chicanos, Corky told the youths to go home and prepare a nationwide walkout of Mexican-American students on September 16.

Down in Albuquerque, meanwhile, Tijerina, was plotting his own demonstration. It would be held on June 5, the second anniversary of his shootout at the Rio Arriba County courthouse, an event as significant to Mexican-Americans, Tijerina believes as the Boston Tea Party was to the gringos.

Inside this fortress Tijerina discussed the future. The June 5 anniversary would be peaceful, he said, unless the gringo interfered. Some new Chicano families would be settled in the free city-state of San Joaquin and there would be a barbeque.

"Are you in rebellion?" he was asked.

"I don't know," he replied thoughtfully. "it's a matter of interpretation. The government has raped our culture. So I think the government is in revolt against the Constitution. It's our constitutional obligation to go on the cultural warpath to save our honor and identity. We demand that the government cease the illegal occupation of our pueblos."

Tijerina said he had signed a treaty of mutual respect with the Hopi Indians, pledging mutual support against any aggressor.

Another plan for territorial revision was being advanced in Texas by Dr. Hector P. Garcia, founder of the American GI Forum, an organization of moderate Mexican-Americans.

SEPARATE STATE: Dr. Garcia proposed that South Texas, which has a large Chicano concentration, be made a separate state. This would give the Mexican-Americans a chance to send one or two Senators and several Congressmen to Washington, he said, thereby easing the frustrations of political impotence.

The new Chicano militancy, with its cry of "Brown Power," can be heard even in Texas where Mexican-Americans have long complained of brutal suppression by the Texas Rangers and by the state and local police.

Last month more than 2,000 Chicanos paraded through the border town of Del Rio, ostensibly to protest Gov. Preston Smith's decision to shut down the local projects of VISTA, the domestic Peace Corps, but also to cry out against discrimination.

Normally such demonstrations are small and sedate, the Chicanos parading behind a priest carrying the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

But this time the priest and the Virgin were forced to yield the front of the line to militants of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), and they tacked a manifesto on the courthouse door warning that violence might erupt if demands for equality were not met.

Two years ago Tijerina and his band raided the courthouse in the northern New Mexico hamlet of Tierra Amarilla to "arrest" the district attorney for "violation of our civil rights."

He said that the district attorney, the sheriff, the state police and the forest rangers were all conspiring to deprive the Mexican-Americans of ancestral land, insisted that the Federal Government had welshed on a promise, continued in the protocol to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (which ended the Mexican-American war in 1848) to honor some old Spanish and Mexican land grants.

A jury acquitted Tijerina of kidnaping and other charges growing out of his bloodless coup.

Tijerina's headquarters are in a blue and white two-story adobe building on a quiet Albuquerque street--quiet except when terrorists are trying to bomb the place. Tijerina, a hawk-faced man vibrant with nervous energy, said he suspected the Minutemen, a right-wing Anglo organization, of perpetrating three explosions, the last of which wrecked a dozen automobiles in the headquarters parking lot.

The leader of the Alliance of Free City-States has taken a few precautions. His apartment above the ground-floor meeting hall is protected by a steel door, by 18-inch concrete walls and by a triple-layered steel and cement floor.

One of the founders of MAYO, Jose Angel Gutierrez, 22, said the organization's goals were the formation of political units independent of the Republican and Democratic parties ("only Mexicans can really represent Mexican interests") gaining control of schools, and the building of economic power through the weapon of boycott.

ATTEMPT FAILS: But the cause has had serious setbacks in the Rio Grande Valley. Attempts to organize farm labor have failed completely. Unemployment is high. And a powerful friend of the Chicanos, the Rev. Ed Krueger, was recently dismissed by the Texas Conference of Churches as its field representative in the lower valley.

Mr. Krueger said he had been under pressure from conference officials to "work with the Establishment instead of with the poor," and that his superiors were also displeased because he refused to withdraw a suit against the Texas Rangers, a suit alleging that the Rangers manhandled Krueger and his wife when they tried to photograph a farm strike in Starr County two years ago.

The dismissal of Krueger was investigated by a panel headed by Dr. Alfonso Rodriguez, in charge of the Hispanic-American ministry of the National Council of Churches. The panel reported "tragic conditions of alienation, polarization, conflict and tension" in the valley, adding that the tension had been aggravated by Krueger's dismissal.

CALMER REGION: Further west, El Paso and Phoenix show scant signs of Chicano militancy, despite their teeming barrios. In El Paso, where thousands of Mexican-Americans still live in squalid, rat-infested, barrack-like "presidios," some of which have only one outhouse for 20 families, about the only recent demonstrations have been peaceful "prayer-ins" on the lawn of a slumlord's agent.

In Phoenix a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Miguel Barragan, field representative of the Southwest Conference of La Raza, said it was difficult to involve the older Chicanos because they were prejudiced against political solutions, recalling the turmoil in Mexico. And the newer migrants feared police harassment and loss of jobs.

Yet the priest warned: "If there are no immediate changes in the Southwest, no visible improvement in the political and economic status of the Mexican-American, then I definitely foresee that our youths will resort to violence to demand the dignity and respect they deserve as human beings and as American citizens.

HATE COMMON: "I see the barrios already full of hate and self-destruction. I see an educational system doing psychological damage to the Mexican-American creating self-identity crisis by refusing to recognize his rich cultural heritage and by suppressing his language.

"And therefore, to me, burning a building and rioting is less violent than what is happening to our youth under a school system that classes as 'retarded and inferior' those with a language difficulty."

In California Mexican-American demands for larger enrollments of Chicanos at the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses of the University of California were receiving sympathetic attention. And Berkeley was planning a Department of Ethnic Studies in which Mexican history and culture would be taught.

But in East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights, these concessions were taken as insignificant crumbs.

Basically, people are tired of talking, said a youth in Boyle Heights barrio. "A confrontation is inevitable. It's not unusual to see people going around with grenades and TNT. The tension is here; the weapons are here. The new underground organizations of ex cons, addicts and dropouts make the Brown Berets look like Boy Scouts."

Across town, on the UCLA campus, a neutral observer gave a pessimistic but somewhat milder assessment. Prof. Leo Grebler, a German-born economist who directed a four-year study of Mexican-Americans for the Ford Foundation, a study soon to be published, recalled how Gunnar Myrdal in his classic study of the Negro in the United States had been over-optimistic about the nation's ability to cope with the racial crisis.

I AM JOAQUIN

By
Rodolfo Gonzales

I am Joaquin,
Lost in a world of confusion,
Caught up in a whirl of a
gringo society,
Confused by the rules,
Scorned by attitudes,
Suppressed by manipulations,
And destroyed by modern society.
My fathers
have lost the economic battle
and won
the struggle of cultural survival.
And now!
I must choose
Between
the paradox of
Victory of the spirit,
despite physical hunger
Or
to exist in the grasp
of American social neurosis,
sterilization of the soul
and a full stomach.

Yes,
I have come a long way to nowhere,
Unwillingly dragged by that
monstrous, technical
industrial giant called
Progress
and Anglo success . . .
I look at myself.
I watch my brothers.
I shed tears of sorrow.
I sow seeds of hate.
I withdraw to the safety within the
Circle of life . . .
MY OWN PEOPLE

I am Cuauhtémoc,
Proud and Noble
Leader of men,
King of an empire,
civilized beyond the dreams
of the Gachupín Cortéz,

Who also is the blood,
the image of myself.
I am the Maya Prince.
I am Netzahualcōyotl,
Great leader of the Chichimecas.
I am the sword and flame of Cortéz
the despot.
And
I am the Eagle and Serpent of
the Aztec civilization.

I owned the land as far as the eye
could see under the crown of Spain,
and I toiled on my earth
and gave my Indian sweat and blood
for the Spanish master,
Who ruled with tyranny over man and
beast and all that he could trample
But . . .
THE GROUND WAS MINE . . .
I was both tyrant and slave.

As Christian church took its place
in God's good name,
to take and use my Virgin strength and
Trusting faith,
The priests
both good and bad,
took

But
gave a lasting truth that
Spaniard,
Indian,
Mestizo
Were all God's children
And
from these words grew men
who prayed and fought
for
their own worth as human beings,
for
that
GOLDEN MOMENT
of
FREEDOM.

I was part in blood and spirit
of that
courageous village priest
Hidalgo
in the year eighteen hundred and ten
who rang the bell of independence
and gave out that lasting cry:

"El Grito de Dolores, Que mueran
los Gachupines y que viva
la Virgin de Guadalupe" . . .
I sentenced him
 who was me.
I excommunicated him my blood.
I drove him from the pulpit to lead
a bloody revolution for him and me . . .
 I killed him.

His head,
 which is mine and all of those
 who have come this way,
I placed on that fortress wall
to wait for Independence.

Morelos!

Matamoros!

Guerrero!

All Compañeros in the act,
**STOOD AGAINST THAT WALL OF
INFAMY**

to feel the hot gouge of lead
 which my hands made.

I died with them . . .

I lived with them "

I lived to see our country free.

Free

from Spanish rule in
eighteen-hundred-twenty-one.
Mexico was Free ? ?

The crown was gone
 but
all his parasites remained
 and ruled
 and taught
with gun and flame and mystic power.
I worked,
I sweated,
I bled,
I prayed
 and
waited silently for life to again
 commence.

I fought and died
 for
 Don Benito Juarez
Guardian of the Constitution.
I was him
 on dusty roads
 on barren land
as he protected his archives
as Moses did his sacraments.
He held his Mexico

in his hand
 on
the most desolate
and remote ground
which was his country,
And this Giant
 Little Zapotec
gave
not one palm's breadth
of his country's land to
Kings or Monarchs or Presidents
of foreign powers.

I am Joaquin.
I rode with Pancho Villa,
 crude and warm.
A tornado at full strength,
nourished and inspired
by the passion and the fire
of all his earthy people.

I am Emiliano Zapata.

"This Land

This Earth

is

OURS"

The Villages

The Mountains

The Streams

belong to Zapatistas.

Our life

Or yours

is the only trade for soft brown earth
and maíz.

All of which is our reward,

A creed that formed a constitution
for all who dare live free!

"This land is ours . . .

Father, I give it back to you.

Mexico must be free . . ."

I ride with Revolutionists
 against myself.

I am Rural

Course and brutal,

I am the mountain Indian,

superior over all.

The thundering hoof beats are my horses.

The chattering of machine guns
are death to all of me:

Yaqui

Tarahumara

Chamula

Zapotec

Mestizo

Español

I have been the Bloody Revolution,
The Victor,
The Vanquished,
I have killed
and been killed.

I am despots Diaz
and Huerta
and the apostle of democracy
Francisco Madero.

I am
the black shawled
faithful women
who die with me
or live
depending on the time and place.

I am
faithful,
humble,
Juan Diego,
the Virgen de Guadalupe,
Tonatzin, Aztec Goddess too.

I rode the mountains of San Joaquin.
I rode-as far East and North
as the Rocky Mountains
and
all men feared the guns of
Joaquin Murrietta.
I killed those men who dared
to steal my mine,
who raped and Killed

my Love
my Wife

Then
I Killed to stay alive.
I was Alfego Baca,
living my nine lives fully.
I was the Espinoza brothers
of the Valle de San Luis.
All,
were added to the number of heads
that
in the name of civilization
were placed on the wall of independence.
Heads of brave men
who died for cause or principle.
Good or Bad.

Hidalgo! Zapata!
Murrieta! Espinozas!
are but a few.
They
dared to face
The force of tyranny
of men
who rule
By farce and hypocrisy

I stand here looking back,
and now I see
the present
and still

I am the campesino
I am the fat political coyote

I,
of the same name,
Joaquin.
In a country that has wiped out
all my history,
stifled all my pride.
In a country that has placed a
different weight of indignity upon
my
age
old
burdened back.

Inferiority
is the new load . . .
The Indian has endured and still
emerged the winner,
The Mestizo must yet overcome,
And the Gachupin will just ignore.
I look at myself
and see part of me
who rejects my father and my mother
and dissolves into the melting pot
to disappear in shame.
I sometimes
sell my brother out
and reclaim him
for my own when society gives me
token leadership
in society's own name.

I am Joaquin,
who bleeds in many ways.
The altars of Moctezuma
I stained a bloody red.
My back of Indian Slavery
was stripped crimson
from the whips of masters
who would lose their blood so pure
when Revolution made them pay
Standing against the walls of
Retribution,
Blood . . .
Has flowed from
me
on every battlefield
between
Campesino, Hacendado
Slave and Master
and
Revolution.

I jumped from the tower of Chapultepec
 into the sea of fame;
 My country's flag
 my burial shroud;
 With Los Niños,
 whose pride and courage
 could not surrender
 with indignity
 their country's flag
 To strangers . . . in their land.
 Now
 I bleed in some smelly cell
 from club,
 or gun,
 or tyranny.
 I bleed as the vicious gloves of hunger
 cut my face and eyes,
 as I fight my way from stinking Barrios
 to the glamour of the Ring
 and lights of fame
 or mutilated sorrow.
 My blood runs pure on the ice caked
 hills of the Alaskan Isles,
 on the corpse strewn beach of Normandy,
 the foreign land of Korea
 and now
 Viet Nam.

Here I stand
 before the Court of Justice
 Guilty
 for all the glory of my Raza
 to be sentenced to despair.
 Here I stand
 Poor in money
 Arrogant with pride
 Bold with Machismo
 Rich in courage
 and
 Wealthy in spirit and faith.
 My knees are caked with mud.
 My hands calloused from the hoe.
 I have made the Anglo rich
 yet
 Equality is but a word,
 the Treaty of Hidalgo has been broken
 and is but another treacherous promise.
 My land is lost
 and stolen,
 My culture has been raped,
 I lengthen
 the line at the welfare door
 and fill the jails with crime.
 These then
 are the rewards
 this society has

For sons of Chiefs
 and Kings
 and bloody Revolutionists.
 Who
 gave a foreign people
 all their skills and ingenuity
 to pave the way with Brains and Blood
 for
 those hordes of Gold starved
 Strangers
 Who
 changed our language
 and plagiarized our deeds
 as feats of valor
 of their own.
 They frowned upon our way of life
 and took what they could use.
 Our Art
 Our Literature
 Our music, they ignored
 so they left the real things of value
 and grabbed at their own destruction
 by their Greed and Avarice
 They overlooked that cleansing fountain of
 nature and brotherhood
 Which is Joaquin.
 The art of our great señors
 Diego Rivera
 Siqueiros
 Orozco is but
 another act of revolution for
 the Salvation of mankind.
 Mariachi music, the
 heart and soul
 of the people of the earth,
 the life of child,
 and the happiness of love.
 The Corridos tell the tales
 of life and death,
 of tradition,
 Legends old and new,
 of Joy
 of passion and sorrow
 of the people: who I am.
 I am in the eyes of woman,
 sheltered beneath
 her shawl of black,
 deep and sorrowful
 eyes,
 That bear the pain of sons long buried
 or dying,
 Dead
 on the battlefield or on the barbwire
 of social strife.

Her rosary she prays and fingers
endlessly
 like the family
working down a row of beets
 to turn around
 and work
 and work
 There is no end.
Her eyes a mirror of all the warmth
 and all the love for me,
And I am her
And she is me.
 We face life together in sorrow.
 anger, joy faith and wishful
 thoughts.

I shed tears of anguish
as I see my children disappear
behind the shroud of mediocrity
never to look back to remember me.
I am Joaquin.

 I must fight
 And win this struggle
 for my sons, and they
 must know from me
 Who I am.

Part of the blood that runs deep in me
Could not be vanquished by the Moors
I defeated them after five hundred years,
and I endured.

 The part of blood that is mine
 has labored endlessly five-hundred
 years under the heel of lustful
 Europeans

 I am still here!

I have endured in the rugged mountains
of our country
I have survived the toils and slavery
of the fields.

 I have existed
in the barrios of the city,
in the suburbs of bigotry,
in the mines of social snobbery,
in the prisons of dejection,
in the muck of exploitation
and
in the fierce heat of racial hatred.

And now the trumpet sounds,
The music of the people stirs the
 Revolution,
Like a sleeping giant it slowly
rears its head

to the sound of
 Tramping feet
 Clamouring voices
 Mariachi strains
 Fiery tequila explosions
 The smell of chile verde and
 Soft brown eyes of expectation for a
 better life.
And in all the fertile farm lands,
 the barren plains,
the mountain villages,
smoke smeared cities
 We start to MOVE.

 La Raza!
 Mejicano!
 Español!
 Latino!
 Hispano!
 Chicano!
or whatever I call myself,
 I look the same
 I feel the same
 I cry
 and
 Sing the same

I am the masses of my people and
I refuse to be absorbed.

 I am Joaquin

The odds are great
but my spirit is strong

 My faith unbreakable

 My blood is pure

I am Aztec Prince and Christian Christ

 I SHALL ENDURE!

 I WILL ENDURE!

V

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