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MEXICAN AMERICANS AND WESTERING ANGLOS:  
A FEMININE PERSPECTIVE

SANDRA L. MYRES\*

A NUMBER OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES have focused on the attitudes of westering Anglo Americans toward the Mexican-American population of the Southwest.<sup>1</sup> With few exceptions, however, these studies have dealt with the attitudes of Anglo-American men, and none has addressed the subject of what Mexican Americans thought about their new neighbors. Yet westering Anglo women and Mexican-American women had a good deal to say about each other. An examination of these statements provides an interesting perspective not only on racial preconceptions and stereotypes but also on changing attitudes and the development of cross-cultural relationships.

Westering Anglo Americans who began pouring into the lands of the Louisiana Purchase in the early nineteenth century carried a good deal of cultural as well as physical baggage, and they nurtured a number of preconceptions about the Spanish-Mexican population of the region shaped by centuries of racial and religious prejudice that went back to the time of Elizabeth I of England and Phillip II of Spain. Books critical of Catholic Spain and the Spanish conquest of America by English interpreters such as Thomas Gage, Richard Hakluyt, and William Robertson did much to color attitudes towards the North American Spanish-Mexican population who were generally viewed as "devilish Papists" and "cruel blood-thirsty conquistadors" ruled by an "authoritarian, corrupt, and decadent government."<sup>2</sup>

Such attitudes were reinforced rather than weakened as Americans penetrated Louisiana and began to cast covetous eyes on the Spanish-owned lands to the West. Anglo Americans avidly read reports, books, and articles about lands beyond their new western boundaries; and Spanish California and the *Provincias Internas* of

New Spain (including Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona) became objects of Yankee interest and enterprise. Most Anglo-American writers of the period believed that these vast areas of virgin land and rich resources were obvious fields for future expansion. According to the reports, the people of the region were morally degenerate, their government was corrupt, and they lacked any skill for mechanical operations. Only good government and Yankee enterprise could satisfactorily develop the rich potential of the area.<sup>3</sup>

Even the movement for Mexican independence and the successful establishment of the Mexican nation did little to change Anglo attitudes. North American writers were quick to point out that despite independence and a republican form of government, "the true principles of liberty are but imperfectly understood; and Christianity has acquired but a limited and imperfect influence."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, early contacts between Anglos and Mexicans and growing Anglo desire for additional western land increased ethnic prejudice and helped create an even more unfavorable stereotype of the Mexican population. Newspapers, periodicals, and popular novels such as Robert M. Bird's *Calavar, or the Knight of the Conquest*, as well as school texts, geographies, and travel accounts besieged their readers with anti-Mexican propaganda that fed the spirit of Manifest Destiny and helped to popularize the Mexican War.<sup>5</sup>

Although many books and articles have examined the development of Anglo attitudes toward and stereotypes of the Mexican population of the Southwest, with only minor exceptions these studies have discussed the attitudes of Anglo *men*. But women also went west, and like men, they had a number of preconceptions about the Mexicans and the possible future of the country. What were women's attitudes? Did they differ significantly from those of men? And were these attitudes changed or altered by contact with the Mexican-American population? Conversely, what did Mexican-American women think of their new neighbors, and did their attitudes change upon closer association?

Like westering males, women had read the articles, reports, and letters that painted a negative picture of the Mexican character. Thus, it is hardly surprising that women tended to view their first contacts with Mexicans with much the same mixture of fear and curiosity with which they viewed their first Indians. As in the case

of the Indians, most of the criticism was unjust and the stereotypes unrealistic, but they were indicative of the strong nativist and racial prejudices of the period. Indeed, it is surprising that in the face of such seemingly overwhelming "evidence" of Mexican "ignorance and perfidy" that Anglo women found anything good to say about the Mexican people.

As might be expected, women who lived in Texas during the revolutionary period were not particularly charitable in their remarks about the Mexicans. Indeed, two women who visited Texas during the early years of Anglo settlement played an important role in shaping the stereotype of the Mexican population. Mary Austin Holley, who visited her cousin Stephen F. Austin in Texas in 1831, wrote a widely read book about her experiences that supported the prejudices of many Anglo Americans. In *Texas, Observations, Historical, Geographical, and Descriptive . . .*, first published in 1832, Holley wrote that the Mexican population of Texas was "generally speaking, timid and irresolute" and at the same time "brutal" and "cowardly." Even the savage Comanches, she informed her readers, were "more amicably disposed toward Americans than towards Mexicans" and were "certainly braver."<sup>6</sup> Another prominent woman writer of the period, Jane McManus Storms Cazneau, was somewhat more favorably impressed. "Filial love is a deep enduring trait in the Mexican character," she wrote, "and throws its lights on some of its darker shades." But Cazneau, too, reported that the Mexican government was corrupt and many of the people, especially those in the clergy and "privileged classes," were "cowardly, cruel, and defiant of our laws."<sup>7</sup> Holley and Cazneau clearly believed that the establishment of Anglo-American government, law, and cultural institutions was essential to the future development of the country.

Holley and Cazneau were casual visitors to Texas, but women settlers expressed similar opinions. Mary Helm, who was forced to flee her home in Matagorda during the Texas Revolution, wrote of Mexican "barbarism, butchery and cruelty." According to Helm, Mexicans were weak, cowardly, and lazy, and "the very antithesis of the Anglo Americans . . . the debris of several inferior and degraded races . . . demoralized by a long course of indolence and political corruption. . . ."<sup>8</sup> Austin colonist Mary Rabb similarly cas-



Susan Shelby Magoffin. Courtesy of Mrs. Vernon E. Gravatt.

tigated the Mexicans, contending that they were little better than the Indians.<sup>9</sup>

Of course, like many American colonists in Texas, Helm and Rabb lived in segregated surroundings, and it is doubtful that they had an opportunity to meet, much less get to know, a Mexican. Women who lived in closer proximity to their Mexican neighbors tended to take a more charitable view. For example, Alabama-born Mary Maverick lived in San Antonio de Bexar and, unlike Helm and Rabb, had a number of Mexican friends. It is clear from her memoirs that Maverick admired many Mexican customs; she visited in Mexican homes, learned some Spanish, and added Mexican dishes to her culinary repertoire. Still, Maverick reflected many of the common prejudices of the period. Although she described the Mexican women she met as "nicely dressed" and "gracious of manner," she clearly felt herself superior to them. And Mexican soldiers, she reported, "burnt, and plundered and committed all kinds of outrages."<sup>10</sup>

Outside Texas, contacts between Anglo women and the Mexican population were conducted in a more peaceful atmosphere. Susan Magoffin, who accompanied her husband on a trip over the Santa Fe Trail in 1846, expressed a generally positive opinion of the Mexican population. Magoffin learned Spanish, helped clerk in her husband's store, and made many friends among the Mexicans whom she found a generally charming and delightful people. It seemed clear to Magoffin that many of the prevailing ideas about Mexicans were wrong. "What a polite people these Mexicans are," she wrote in her diary, "altho' they are looked upon as a half barbarous set by the generality of people." Neither was the charge of cowardice correct. "What a strange people this. They are not to be called cowards; take them in a mass they are brave. . . . Take them one by one and they will not flinch from danger." Even when her brother-in-law was jailed in Mexico and the Magoffins were under threat of attack from Mexican forces, Magoffin's assessment of the Mexican people remained balanced:

My knowledge of these people has been extended very much in one day. There are among them some of the greatest villains . . . and some good people too.<sup>11</sup>

Margaret Hecox, who arrived in California in October 1846, after the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, was equally sympathetic. The Americans were greeted with tales of Mexican hostility, she recalled, and were warned that "the natives might attack us." Such was not the case, Hecox noted. Rather "the Mexicans with whom we met treated us most kindly. . . . Never will I forget the kindness of the Spanish people along the way. Particularly the Spanish women, who came to us as we traveled along . . . bringing us offers of homemade cheese, milk and other appetizing food." Later Hecox learned Spanish and seemed fond of her Mexican neighbors, "whom I learned to love like sisters."<sup>12</sup>

Comments like those of Magoffin and Hecox presaged a change in Anglo attitudes towards Mexicans. The annexation of Texas, the successful conclusion of the Mexican War, and the acquisition of California and New Mexico made the Mexican population seem more "American." As a modern commentator pointed out, "Alien ways begin to appear more charming when they are no longer a barrier or a threat."<sup>13</sup> By the post-Civil War period, much of the jingoistic propaganda against Mexicans had disappeared. Popular writers like Bret Harte, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Helen Hunt Jackson sentimentalized the old Mexican ways and created a never-never land of beautiful señoritas, gallant caballeros, and kindly padres. The real Mexicans, deprived of their property and many of their civil rights, were simply accepted as part of the country, a people to be "improved" if possible and if not to be ignored or suppressed, condemned to a second class citizenship.<sup>14</sup>

This changing point of view was reflected in the writings of a number of women who came in contact with Mexican Americans in California and the Southwest during the 1850s and 60s. They were impressed with many of the characteristics of Mexican life, so different from what they had been led to expect. "A new sensation seized me when I saw, for the first time, a *Mexican*," wrote a young New England schoolteacher who hoped to convert the Mexicans to the Protestant religion. "I did not feel, as many others have expressed, that the sight of a Mexican was enough to disgust one with the whole nation."<sup>15</sup> Others, like Anna McKee of Illinois, were surprised to find "this class of people are different from our 'Greasers.' I was surprised to see such elegant dresses—silks, satins

and velvets and what beauties some of the girls were. The men are handsome, too."<sup>16</sup> Many army wives, who had both the education and time to write about their impressions of the land and the populace, were also favorably impressed. They were fascinated by the old style Spanish architecture, local customs, and the "delightful society both Spanish and American."<sup>17</sup> They attended fiestas and bailes, went sightseeing, and visited Mexican homes. Some tried to learn the Spanish language, and a few adopted at least some of the ways of the people. Several found Mexican food delicious and learned to make tortillas and other specialties. One young wife, initially shocked by the "immodest" dress of the Mexican women, soon came to appreciate their adaptation of lifestyle to the vagaries of climate and viewed her Mexican neighbors not as dirty, half-dressed barbarians but as a "scrupulously clean and modest" people.<sup>18</sup>

Other women who took up residence in predominately Mexican towns such as Tucson, Santa Fe, or in one of the smaller villages, were similarly positive in their comments. They found the Mexicans to be active and helpful friends or at least "harmless and inobtrusive" neighbors. They were fascinated by a culture and by customs so different from their own. A young New Mexico settler recalled her Mexican neighbors with pleasure and warmth, a "people so different in many ways from the Americans that I never tired of studying them." Another Anglo woman wrote that even though her father was engaged in a legal dispute over his land title, she was welcomed as a friend by her Mexican neighbors, and "any trace of ill-feeling toward me as a squatter's daughter was entirely dispelled."<sup>19</sup> Several of the army women also commented on the warmth and hospitality of the Mexican people. One declared them an "amiable, smiling, innocent race of people." She was particularly impressed by

the feeling of sympathy in misfortune which pervades all classes of Mexicans. So universal is this sentiment that the bitterest enemy, in the hour of trouble, will receive care and attention. The well known devotion of the Mexican women to the sick and wounded of our army during the war finds no parallel in history.<sup>20</sup>

Of course, some women retained their preconceived prejudices



about the Mexican people and especially about their religion. Despite their deserved reputation for "sympathy in misfortune" and their "mild and inoffensive" manner, Teresa Vielé declared, "they have enough Spanish blood left in their veins to be occasionally raised to deeds of desperation and bloodshed." Moreover, she opined, the peones were "lazy," the priests were "a dissolute, carnal, gambling jolly set of wine bibbers" and the better classes only a pale reflection of their former Castilian grandeur.<sup>21</sup> One young girl recalled her mother's loathing of the "wicked acts" committed by the priests and people who would "flock to the Church for morning Mass and in the afternoon . . . would go to the Bull and bear fight." Determined to protect her children "in this land of no school or religious privileges with a motley web of human life," the shocked mother "gathered her children with others and told us Bible stories on the Sabbath."<sup>22</sup>

Women who traveled along the southern routes to California had only casual contact with the Mexican Americans they encountered along the way, and often failed to understand Mexican customs and criticized Mexican lifestyle. "They do not care as to houses, just so they have shade," one overlander declared, while another noted the failure of the Mexican farmers to fence their loose stock which caused "a good deal of trouble."<sup>23</sup> It was commonly accepted trail lore that the Mexicans were thieves and must be regarded with suspicion. One young woman reported her mother's concern about a Mexicana who "insisted" on doing her washing in return for a favor. "My mother had her doubts as to her motives and each week sent me to the river with her to watch the clothes."<sup>24</sup>

Yet such adverse, even hostile, comments were tempered by curiosity about, and interest in, the Mexican Americans; and many westering women were surprised to find that some of their preconceptions were false. The young overlander who stated that the Mexicans did not "care as to houses" was nonetheless intrigued by the people, and after a visit to one of their homes noted that they were "very nice looking people, white as anybody" and that "their house looked so nice and clean inside."<sup>25</sup> Similarly, another woman commented that "most of those early day Mexicans were very clean. . . . Their houses of mud . . . were someway clean."<sup>26</sup> Despite their "idle ancestry," "viciousness," and "indolence" of which she

had heard much, army wife Mrs. Orsemus Boyd was surprised to discover that the Mexican people she met were "trully hospitable" and made Anglos feel "welcome and yet exacted no reward for time and attention bestowed."<sup>27</sup> Susan Wallace, wife of New Mexico governor Lew Wallace, wrote at some length of the "empty, aimless, and joyless" life of "these sitters in the sun," but she also complimented their "fighting" spirit as "the United States, France, and Austria may testify" and their "'grand air' of Old Spain, descended to all who have a dash of her blood."<sup>28</sup>

A few women were openly sympathetic to the plight of the Mexicans following the American occupation. "This [is a] *most unfortunate race*," wrote one, "I say unfortunate because they have been ill treated by our people. Possessing natural refinement of manners, their *diffidence* we entitle ignorance."<sup>29</sup> Another woman, noting "the different styles, in which the generality of the Americans talk at the unfortunate Spaniards," went on to criticize the poor manners of her countrymen while lauding the patience of the Hispanic population.<sup>30</sup> Few women were so perceptive, however, and most were ambivalent in their attitudes towards Mexicans and treated them with much the same derision and condescension reserved for Negro slaves and poor white servants.

In addition to race and religion, color and social and economic class were important factors in Anglo prejudice (just as they were among the Mexicans themselves). Anglo women usually made a clear distinction between the "Spanish," and usually lighter colored ricos of the upper classes and the "black Mexicans" of the poor peón families. Most confined close social contacts to the ricos, and women who visited the great ranchos and fine homes of upper-class Mexican Americans in California, Texas, or New Mexico were more inclined to find virtue and grace in the Mexican people than those whose acquaintance with Mexicans was limited to mestizo servants or who saw only the jacales of the poor. Describing the Californios, one woman wrote that "some of them are of full Spanish blood, and are intelligent and meritorious citizens [and] soon win the high esteem of the English-speaking Americans." However, she continued, "the lower orders of Mexicans are exceeding illiterate [and] in a religious sense elevated not far above its Indian ancestors."<sup>31</sup> Sometimes even contacts with the "better class" of Mexican

Americans were clouded by remaining prejudice and misconceptions. During a visit to a *rico* home near the Texas-Mexico border, an army wife criticized the dinner as "extraordinary viands of semi-barbaric food" while the dress and manners of her hostess' family reminded her of their unused carriage, "a relic of the departed glories of their line."<sup>32</sup>

Anglo women, then, had a number of pre-established ideas about Mexican Americans and many misconceptions about their culture and character. These preconceptions were not noticeably different from those of Anglo men, which is not surprising since men and women read the same types of material (newspapers, periodicals, school texts, popular geographies, travel accounts, and guide-books), most of which were written by men. Nor is it surprising, given the time and circumstances in which Anglos first encountered the population of the old Spanish Southwest in substantial numbers, that most Anglo men and women had racial and religious biases against the Mexican Americans. However, their prejudice and suspicion were mixed with curiosity about and interest in Mexican customs. Although Anglo women who had only casual contacts with the Mexican Americans rarely changed their opinions, those who lived in predominantly Hispanic communities or who had opportunities to meet Mexican Americans socially usually modified their ideas and came to admire some traits and to understand, even if they did not approve, others. In this regard, women appear to have been somewhat more flexible than men.<sup>33</sup>

Just as Anglo women held positive and negative opinions about Mexican Americans, Mexican American women were ambivalent about the Anglo newcomers. Unfortunately, few Mexican American frontier dwellers could read or write, and few women recorded their reactions to the influx of Anglo settlers. Nor were there extensive oral history projects of the type so helpful in studying the American Indian past. Nineteenth-century anthropologists and ethnologists were interested in Indians, not Mexicans, and they made few attempts to interview the people whose families had lived in the Southwest for more than two hundred years.<sup>34</sup> The few Mexican American women who did leave records of their views of the Anglos, however, were both suspicious of, and curious about, the newcomers. They also expressed a good deal of fear and hostility.

"It is necessary, for the truth of the account," wrote Guadalupe Vallejo, "to mention the evil behavior of many Americans before, as well as after, the conquest."<sup>35</sup> Many feared that the Americans meant harm to them or their families. When the Mexican troops left Tucson in 1853, Doña Atanacia Santa Cruz related, many of the Mexican families went with them because "it was rumored that as they advanced the American troops were seizing all that had formerly belonged to Mexico, abusing and even killing families."<sup>36</sup> Mexicans especially feared *los diablos Tejanos*. "Living in ranches meant constant fear," wrote Arizonian Doña Jesús Moreno de Soza; "there was a saloon near by where the Texans occasionally visited. My husband had a narrow escape once. . . ."<sup>37</sup> And a New Mexico woman recalled in detail "the climax of the feud between the Hispanos and the Texans" on the Llano Estacado in which the Hispanos were "pushed further on, or completely out, as the homesteaders began to take up land."<sup>38</sup>

Most Mexican Americans believed that the Anglos were underhanded and untrustworthy. A young California girl related how frightened she and her mother were when a Yankee ship captain asked her father to board his vessel. "Mother was much afraid to let him go," she recalled, "as we all thought the Americans were not to be trusted. . . . We feared they would carry my father off and keep him a prisoner."<sup>39</sup> Several other California women recorded their suspicions of American behavior that they thought "unreliable" and that "did not inspire confidence." Some were thieves and murderers, they noted. "Our cattle were stolen by thousands," Vallejo wrote; "men who are now prosperous farmers and merchants were guilty of shooting and selling Spanish beef 'without looking at the brand,' as the phrase went."<sup>40</sup>

Mexican-American women also feared Anglos might use legal devices and unfair business practices to defraud the Mexicans of their property. Carrie Lodge related that her mother, Martina Castro Lodge, was "totally unprepared for the problems that came with American rule. Not only was the language foreign to her, but also the concept of property taxes, mortgages and land title regulations." Partly because of this, Lodge continued, her mother lost most of her property and "her mind broke."<sup>41</sup> Many Mexican families had similar experiences. Doña Merced Williams de Rains,

whose husband was murdered and whose property was systematically looted by her Yankee brother-in-law, was clear in her assessment of most of the Americans she knew. "It is imposibel [sic] for me," she wrote a trusted American friend, "to be amongst so many theapes and murders. I wish and hope to settel my business. I wish to cleir everybody out of this place."<sup>42</sup>

Even Americans who were not "thieves and murderers" were less than acceptable to many of the women. Mexican-American women were as appalled as the Anglo women by the "disgusting" customs, manners, and morals of the other group. Ysidora Bandini Coutts, who married an American, was so upset by the bad manners displayed by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant that she "politely but firmly asked the 'Hero of Appomattox' to leave her home."<sup>43</sup> Another woman, also married to an American, was convinced her husband's actions had caused her daughter's death. "Study has killed my daughter," she wrote; "my husband kept her too long indoors, to read in English and French and do silly sums. . . . It is because of Don Perfecto and his learning that she died."<sup>44</sup> The Americans had no regard for the environment, recalled another California woman who pointed to the destruction of a sycamore grove by an American "squatter." "The Spanish people begged him to leave them, for the shade and beauty," she remembered, "but he did not care for that."<sup>45</sup> Even the human environment seemed threatened by strange American customs. "Until the arrival of the Americans," Dorotea Valdez told an interviewer

our population increased very rapidly . . . but since the Americans have taken possession of this country, sterility has become very common, because the American women are too fond of visiting doctors and swallowing medicines. *Este es un delito que Dios no perdona.*<sup>46</sup>

We know less about the specific sources of Mexican-American women's prejudices, but their statements reveal that they shared many of the prejudices about other cultures that were common to westering Anglo women. Although Anglo and Mexican traditions suggested that women were to remain safely in the domestic sphere, protected from the outside world and contact with "alien" peoples,

such isolation was impossible on nineteenth-century southwestern frontiers. Women and men from both groups met, tested their preconceptions of the other, and often modified, even occasionally discarded, many of their preconceived prejudices.

Despite the mutual hostility, suspicion, and frequent misunderstandings between Mexican Americans and Anglos, a good deal of intercultural mixing occurred. Mexican-American women tended to consider Anglos socially and culturally inferior—a feeling shared by Anglos in regard to Hispanic culture—but there was nonetheless a good deal of visiting back and forth, at least among upper-class families, and attendance at the same social functions. Women from both groups exchanged recipes and dress patterns, discussed problems with children and servants, and sometimes became close friends. Anglo women were often attracted by the “exquisite manners” and “graceful ways” of Mexican men and enjoyed the fiestas, bailes, and other entertainments that brought them together.<sup>47</sup> Anglo men found Mexican-American women attractive physically and socially, and Mexican-American women were likewise attracted to Anglo men. As one woman wrote, “the conquest of California did not bother the Californians, least of all the women,” and she and many of her friends married American men.<sup>48</sup>

Indeed, intercultural marriages were fairly common occurrences. Although, as some historians have suggested, the Americans’ motives were at least partially self-serving, other factors were involved. Anglo men valued Mexican-American women as helpmates and as mothers as well as links to powerful Hispanic families or as a means to gain control of land. Although many of these marriages were contracted between American men and upper-class Mexican women, intercultural marriages existed at all levels of society. Marriages between Anglo women and Mexican-American men were less common, but they did occur from time to time, primarily among women and men from “elite” families. Studies of such marriages suggest that they played a significant role in the process of assimilation between the two ethnic groups.<sup>49</sup>

The ethnocentrism and prejudice that prevailed in nineteenth-century America colored and confused relationships between Mexican and Anglo Americans. Examples of the complex patterns of racial prejudice and stereotyping were prevalent in the Southwest,

and neither ethnic group, nor sex, was exempt. The statements of Mexican and Anglo women clearly reflect the misconceptions and stereotypes common to the time, but they also reveal a good deal of intercultural exchange and increased understanding, if not complete acceptance.

#### NOTES

\*Portions of this essay are based on Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico [UNM] Press, 1982).

1. See David Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican American* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1973); James D. Hart, *American Images of Spanish California* (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1960); Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears of Strangers, the Mexican in American Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963); John P. Bloom, "New Mexico Viewed by Americans, 1846-1849," *New Mexico Historical Review* (NMHR) 34 (July 1959): 165-98; David J. Langum, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," *Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1978): 181-96; Harry Clark, "Their Pride, Their Manners, and Their Voices: Sources of the Traditional Portrait of the Early Californians," *California Historical Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1974): 71-82; Richard Peterson, "Anti-Mexican Nativism in California, 1848-1853, A Study of Cultural Conflict," *Southern California Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 1980): 309-28; Beverly Trulio, "Anglo-American Attitudes Toward New Mexican Women," *Journal of the West* 12 (April 1973): 229-39; James M. Lacy, "New Mexican Women in Early American Writings," *NMHR* 34 (January 1959): 41-51; and David J. Langum, "California Women and the Image of Virtue," *Southern California Historical Quarterly* 59 (Fall 1977): 245-50.

2. William Robertson, *The History of America*, 2 vols. (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1822), 2: 50, 205, quoted in Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land*, pp. 69-71. Also see Harry Bernstein, *Making an Inter-American Mind* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), pp. 1-32, and Philip W. Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), pp. 3-38, for other discussions of anti-Spanish propaganda in the British colonies and the early years of the American Republic.

3. See, for example, "Pike's Observations on New Spain," in *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, ed. Donald Jackson, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 2: 58, 60, and William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage Between China and the Northwestern Coast of America, Made in 1804* (1808; reprint ed., Claremont, Calif.: Saunders Studio Press, 1935), pp. 59, 60, 77.

4. J. L. Blake, *A Geography for Children* (Boston: Richardson, Lord and Holbrook, 1831), quoted in Ruth Elson, *Guardians of Tradition, American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), p. 159.

5. On images of the Mexicans and Mexican Americans in popular literature, see Elson, *Guardians of Tradition*, pp. 156–61; Laurence M. Hauptman, "Mythologizing Westward Expansion: Schoolbooks and the Image of the American Frontier Before Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (July 1977): 279–82, and the sources listed in note 1 above.

6. Mary Austin Holley, *Texas, Observations, Historical, Geographical, and Descriptive, in a Series of Letters Written during a Visit to Austin's Colony, with a View to a Permanent Settlement in That Country in the Autumn of 1831* (Lexington: J. Clarke, 1836), pp. 128, 151.

7. Jane Cazneau, *Eagle Pass or Life on the Border* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1852), pp. 60, 81. Although Cazneau's book was not published until 1852, she had lived in Texas prior to the Revolution and wrote numerous letters to friends in the East including bankers, congressmen, and newspaper editors asking support for the Texas Revolution. She also published a number of letters and articles in eastern papers. See Tom Reilly, "Jane McManus Storms: Letters from the Mexican War, 1846–1848," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 85 (July 1981): 21–44.

8. Mary Helm, *Scraps from Texas History* (Austin: privately printed, 1884), pp. 8, 53.

9. Mary Rabb, *Reminiscences of Mrs. John Rabb*, 3E248, Barker Texas History Center (BTHC), Austin, Texas. Other women's accounts of the Texas Revolution in the center's collections include Elizabeth Owens, typescript 2R121, *Story of Her Life . . . Set Down by Her Daughter*, and the account of Angelina Eberly in Mary Austin Holley, *Literary Productions and Notes*, 2E248.

10. Mary Maverick, *Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick*, ed. Rena M. Green (San Antonio: Alamo Printing Co., 1921), pp. 16, 54.

11. Susan Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico, The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin*, ed. Stella M. Drumm (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1926), pp. 130–31, 177, 192.

12. Margaret Hecox, *California Caravan, The 1846 Overland Trail Memoirs of Margaret M. Hecox*, ed. Richard Dillon (San Jose, Calif.: Harlan-Young, 1966), pp. 44, 57, 63.

13. Hart, *American Images*, p. 22.

14. Hart, *American Images*. Also see Robinson, *Ears of Strangers*, pp. 135–61, and Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land*, pp. 140–60.

15. Melinda Rankin, *Twenty Years Among the Mexicans: A Narrative of Missionary Labor* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1875), p. 36.

16. Anna McKee to her Mother, Christmas, 1884, ms. #414, Colorado Historical Society, Denver.

17. Ellen McGowen Biddle, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1907), p. 199.

18. Martha Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of My Army Life* (1908; reprint ed., Glorieta, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Press, 1970), pp. 39, 157–58.

19. Sophie A. Poe, *Buckboard Days* (1936; reprint ed., Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1981), p. 207; Mary Ronan, *Frontier Woman, The Story of Mary Ronan*, ed. H. G. Merriam (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1973), p. 59.



20. Teresa Vielé, *"Following the Drum": A Glimpse of Frontier Life* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1858), pp. 155–56. For other women's views, see Lydia Lane, *I Married a Soldier, Or Old Days in the Old Army* (1910; reprint ed., Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1964), pp. 34, 117–18; Alice Baldwin, *An Army Wife on the Frontier: The Memoirs of Alice Blackwood Baldwin* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1975), p. 59; Mrs. Orsemus B. Boyd, *Cavalry Life in Tent and Field* (New York: J. S. Tait, 1894), pp. 300–301, and Eveline Alexander, *Cavalry Wife: The Diary of Eveline M. Alexander*, ed. Sandra L. Myres (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977), pp. 73, 105.

21. Vielé, *"Following the Drum,"* pp. 156, 113, 183.

22. Sarah M. Cool, *Frontier Life; Incidents and Work in California*, AR33, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

23. Harriet Bunyard, "A Young Girl's Diary" and Maria Shrode, "Journal" in *Ho for California! Women's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library*, ed. Sandra L. Myres (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1980), pp. 224–25, 278.

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26. Marian Russell, *Land of Enchantment, Memoirs of Marian Russell Along the Santa Fe Trail*, ed. Garnet M. Brayer (Evanston, Ind.: Branding Iron Press, 1954), p. 37.

27. Boyd, *Cavalry Life*, pp. 178–79.

28. Susan Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos* (New York: George D. Hurst, 1888), pp. 63, 65.

29. Rachel Frazier, *Reminiscences of Travel from 1855 to 1867* (San Francisco: privately published, 1868), p. 29.

30. Louise A. K. S. Clappe, *The Shirley Letters: Being Letters Written in 1851–1852 from the California Mines by "Dame Shirley"* (1922; reprint ed., Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Smith, 1970), pp. 109–10. (The letters were originally published serially in *The Pioneer; or California Monthly Magazine*, January 1854–December 1855).

31. Emma Adams, *To and Fro, Up and Down in Southern California, Oregon, and Washington Territory, with Sketches in Arizona, New Mexico and British Columbia* (Cincinnati: W.M.B.C. Press, 1887), pp. 132–33.

32. Vielé, *"Following the Drum,"* p. 186, 183.

33. My own studies and those of Glenda Riley, "Through Women's Eyes: Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West" (paper delivered at the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Western History Association, Kansas City, Mo., October 1980), suggest similar conclusions in regard to westering women's views of and relations with American Indians.

34. In the 1870s, H. H. Bancroft arranged for a series of interviews with some of the older Mexican-American residents of California. The interviews were conducted and recorded in Spanish, and a number of women were included. Transcripts of these interviews and those by several other Mexican-American women

are in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif., which is preparing some of them for publication.

35. Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *Century Magazine* 41 (December 1890): 190.

36. Doña Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Mexican Troops Departure from Tucson" as told to Donald W. Page, 12 May 1929, typescript P-D 101, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.

37. Soza Family, Reminiscences of Señora Doña Jesús Moreno de Soza, dictated January 1939, typescript #5731, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

38. Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, *We Fed Them Cactus* (1954; reprint ed., Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1979), p. 63.

39. Prudencia Higuera, "Trading With the Americans," *Century Magazine* 41 (December 1890): 193.

40. Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days," p. 190.

41. Carrie Lodge, The Martina Castro Lodge Family, an interview conducted by Elizabeth S. Calciano, Santa Cruz, 1965, University of California, Santa Cruz, copy in Bancroft Library.

42. María Merced Williams de Rains to Benjamin Hayes, 27 May 1864, Benjamin Hayes Papers, "Scraps," vol. 14, Bancroft Library. Reprinted in Esther B. Black, *Rancho Cucamonga and Doña Merced* (Redlands, Calif.: San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1975), p. 112.

43. Iris Wilson Engstrand and Thomas L. Scharf, "Rancho Guajome: A California Legacy Preserved," *Journal of San Diego History* 20 (Winter 1974): 7.

44. Doña Victoria Reid quoted in Susanna Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano: Hugo Reid's Life in California, 1832-1852* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), p. 154.

45. Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days," p. 190.

46. Reminiscences of Dorotea Valdez, typescript, CE 65:8, Bancroft Library.

47. See, for example, Maverick, *Memoirs*, p. 54; Baldwin, *An Army Wife*, pp. 59-60; Hecox, *California Caravan*, p. 63; Ronan, *Frontier Woman*, pp. 55-57.

48. Angustias de la Guerra Ord, *Occurrences in Hispanic California*, ed. and trans. Francis Price and William Ellison (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), p. 59.

49. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios, A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 19, 124-25, 267; Jane Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process," *Western Historical Quarterly* 7 (October 1976): 365-75; Darlis Miller, "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience, 1846-1900," *NMHR* 57 (October 1982): 335.