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**She Was Our Mother: Manifest Destiny and Misconceptions in
New Mexico, 1845-48.**

by

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A Plan B thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

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Abstract

The story of how New Mexico became part of the United States is well known, along with many of the different legends. In an effort to shine new light onto this historical stage I took many of the same documents that other scholars have used and studied them from a colonial viewpoint. New Mexico appeared to be further along in its nationalism and economic development than other areas of the continent before the United States took an interest in it, but the American movement west can, and should, be read as an early United States colonial expansion. This new reading deserves its own narrative, which is provided here.

In order to undertake this new reading I have examined some key issues including the misconceptions that many Americans held towards New Mexico and its people, the economic relations between Americans, New Mexicans, and Native Americans, and the importance of Manifest Destiny in the push westward. None of these are new subjects, but a colonial reading of the documents provides a new perspective that will demonstrate how different the United States' advance into New Mexico was from other westward movements.

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And finally to the person who gave new meaning to my life halfway through this process, my son Teancum. His birth endowed me with new dedication and motivation to better myself in hopes of granting him a better life than I could ever dream of obtaining.

“She Was Our Mother: Manifest Destiny and Misconceptions in New Mexico, 1845-48.”

Introduction

Miguel Hidalgo y Castillo issued *El Grito de Dolores* early in the morning of September 16, 1810 starting Mexico’s long road to independence. Every person in the area known as New Spain at the time felt the effects of such a move, no matter how far they found themselves removed from the capital, Mexico City. Because of the vastness of the burgeoning nation, the strength of their convictions seemed to fade the further away from Mexico City the people lived, much like the ripples of a stone dropped in water. The territory of New Mexico found the ripples of Mexican independence particularly weak. The Spanish Crown and its regents in the New World saw little value in the arid lands of New Mexico. The few families who had moved there did so in hopes of conquering another large Native American empire, but found the Pueblo people much poorer than their southern neighbors, such as the Aztec. Nevertheless, Spain, and later Mexico, wished to hold on to the land partly to extend their borders and also to provide trade routes to other parts of North America, such as California and the United States. Mexico’s hold and power in New Mexico remained weak and in the summer of 1846 the United States sought to take advantage of this compromising position.

The United States government sent General Stephen W. Kearny to New Mexico with a mission to annex the territory and bring it under American control. American politicians believed that the people of New Mexico would welcome them with open arms as liberators, sent to bring them a new hope and brighter future as American citizens. So

strongly did they believe that New Mexicans would quickly switch allegiances that Kearny issued a proclamation to the governor and the inhabitants of New Mexico prior to leaving Missouri, warning him of his intentions and informing all of the New Mexicans that the American government would improve their daily lives. The American government felt strongly that Kearny would meet little resistance in New Mexico based on the deteriorating relationship between New Mexico and Mexico proper. At least a small part of this dream came true as “the conquest of New Mexico was complete; achieved without the loss of a man or the firing of a gun.”¹ In a way, the lack of opposition by New Mexicans served to strengthen the United States’ claim of Manifest Destiny and the right to continue expanding west. Also, the simple fact that the edge of the United States’ expanding empire continued to draw closer to New Mexico resulting in more trade and influence from the American people led them to believe that the New Mexicans had already begun the process of Americanization. In this paper I will argue that Americans’ conception of New Mexicans were erroneously centered on three distinct ideas: the assumption that New Mexicans were eager to become part of the United States, the conjecture that previously established trade unions had already begun to draw New Mexicans into the United States, and the imperatives of Manifest Destiny, which in some ways made it immaterial to Americans what New Mexicans truly thought. I will also argue that these three themes misread and misunderstood the desires and history of New Mexicans.

¹ Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2007), 87.

The story of New Mexico is well known to most Americans, but the small details often escape to casual student of history. In researching a well-explored area it is difficult to find a new way to discuss the topic. I was not immune to such hardships and originally set out to relate this well-known story from a new perspective, from the lower-class view, but many of the lower-class New Mexicans were uneducated and did not leave any records behind. I searched in vain for newspapers that would grant some insight into their worldview, but the sources proved to be out of my reach. Nevertheless, I persisted with the topic and focused my attention on a different reading of the well-worn sources. The approach I took became a colonial reading of the materials to bring a new approach to the documents bringing new life to narrative because the documents are explored differently. This approach allowed me to avoid a hegemonic view of New Mexico's history. The people whom I discuss present their own views based on their race, class and/or gender.

North American Misconceptions

New Mexico remained a fairly isolated part of the Mexican empire from its conquest until the invasion by the United States. New Mexicans not only found themselves separated geographically from the main body of Mexico, but politically and economically as well. Santa Fe lies over 1,400 miles north of Mexico City, but only a little over half that distance to the edge of the United States' most western borders and the New Mexicans were even closer to Texas. Because of the shear difference in distance between the two spheres of influence, New Mexico became a blend of two different

cultures while trying desperately to hold on to their history. “New Mexico was too far from the center of power and Mexico in too much turmoil itself to effect significant changes in her outlying provinces,” resulting in a sense that the independent Republic of Mexico lacked interest in the welfare of New Mexico and its people.² Americans saw this lack of concern as a sign that they could convince New Mexico to join their country with little persuasion. Recent events in New Mexico, such as the Rebellion in Rio Arriba, also played a significant role in the perceived ease that New Mexico could become part of the United States. Three major events swayed the American government’s decision that the mid-1840s were the opportune time to expand their territory into lands controlled by Mexico.

TEXAS INDEPENDENCE

The first of these events in this long series of historical justifications came about because another of Mexico’s northern territories declared its independence and left the fold. The problems that existed between Mexico and Texas are too numerous to mention here and have been discussed at length by other historians; for the purpose this study it is important to note that independent Texas added a great deal of stress to Mexico’s northern territories because the New Mexicans believed that Texas allied itself too much with the United States and that the American colonizers of Texas were the chief actors behind the independence movement. The Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, Don

² David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 7.

J.M. de Castillo y Lanzas, decried the United States' involvement within Texas, saying that Mexico had generously allowed American citizens to enter and colonize Texas, but that the United States "bent upon possessing themselves, early or late, of that territory, encouraged emigration thither with that view, in order that, in due time, its inhabitants, converting themselves from colonists into its masters, should claim the country as their own, for the purpose of transferring it to the United States."³ The seeds of discord between the United States and Mexico had been planted well before General Kearny entered New Mexico, but they would persist for a great deal longer. At the time that the United States army entered New Mexico, Texas had been an independent nation, recognized by the United States and the principal European powers, for roughly nine years.⁴ At the time of American annexation of Texas the Mexican government had also concluded to recognize it as an independent state.⁵ As will be discussed shortly, the annexation of Texas played a contributing role in the increasing tensions between the United States and Mexico, based mostly on the territory being claimed by both parties. Tensions remained high between Mexico and independent Texas throughout most of the mid-1840s because Mexico feared that the independence movement would spread outward into other parts of Mexico leading to troops from both countries being deployed to the border in order to prevent any perceived threat of invasion.⁶ The people of New Mexico feared the independence fervor, because they desired to maintain their unique regional identity and to not be lost among Mexicans and Americans. New Mexicans

³ Quoted in Twitchell, *Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico*, 24.

⁴ Twitchell, *Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico*, 33.

⁵ Twitchell, *Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico*, 33.

⁶ Twitchell, *Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico*, 33.

exhibited plenty of signs that they would not seek independence or annexation to the United States, but most of these signs were blatantly ignored by American politicians and troops.⁷

New Mexican officials consistently sought aid from the central government of Mexico regarding relations with Native Americans and economic issues. Pleas for help went out as early as 1829 and continued afterwards, asking for troops to strengthen their position and affirming that New Mexico sought to be an integral part of the Mexican republic. Manuel de Jesus Rada, a pastor turned politician, wrote to the Mexican government with the goal of securing happiness, prosperity, and aggrandizement of the territory of New Mexico, which as he points out, remained extremely isolated but continued to be a truly integral part of the “Grand Mexican Republic.”⁸ Many of the points made in this report would resurface as reasons why the United States felt that they could easily persuade the inhabitants of New Mexico to swear allegiance to a new country. Mexico, it seemed, had continually neglected their northern territories by failing to send troops, to establish industry and culture, to grant judicial rights to New Mexican judges so that they would not be required to appeal to Mexico City, and to have any form of autonomy.⁹ According to de Jesus Rada, New Mexico suffered greatly because the Mexican government forced the inhabitants to seek approval for a great deal of minor

⁷ Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848-1912* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 11.

⁸ Manuel de Jesus Rada, *Proposición hecha al Soberano Congreso General de la Nación por el diputado del territorio de Nuevo México* (México: Imprenta de C. Alejandro Valdés, 1829) reprinted in Weber, David J. editor, *Northern Mexico on the Eve of the United States Invasion: Rare Imprints Concerning California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, 1821-1840* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), Imprint No. 4. Translation is my own.

⁹ Ibid.

issues, but instead of granting the requests they were met with an air of neglect.

Frustrations quickly built until 1837, when a rebellion shocked the Mexican republic and gave ground to the belief that New Mexicans were unhappy with their lot in life.

1837 REBELLION

Mexico's fears seemed to come to pass in 1837 with a rebellion in New Mexico. Simply referred to as the Rebellion in Rio Arriba, or sometimes the Chimayo Rebellion, in reference to the area north of the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) in New Mexico, this movement cemented into American minds the thought that New Mexico wanted to break away from Mexico and that it fell upon Americans to help them do so. The reasoning behind the rebellion proved to be much more complicated than a simple step towards independence. Once Americans launched their invasion into New Mexico this rebellion would be one justification for their actions.

From the perspective of the American traders in New Mexico in the 1830s, particularly those who stood to gain from American expansion, the Native Americans had always been ripe for insurrection against the Mexican government and the timing seemed perfect in 1837.¹⁰ The true rebellion came about because of a change in the central Mexican government in 1835 and the appointment of a new governor for New Mexico. The problem arose because the new governor, Albino Perez, was not a native New

¹⁰ See Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1844 reprint 1954), 92.

Mexican, but an outsider, an agent of the newly formed Mexican government.¹¹ Even scarier, when Governor Perez tried to raise a militia to defeat the joint Pueblo and insurgent forces he could only muster 150 men who were then soundly defeated.¹² Thanks in part to Perez's struggles to regain control; Manuel Armijo replaced him as governor of the territory of New Mexico returning power to the local people. Americans interpreted such actions as a cry for help as they moved away from the oppressive Mexican government whereas; New Mexicans understood it as a means to regain local control.

Although Americans, and particularly Texans, received the brunt of the accusation for causing the insurrection, the truth is that they were not involved.¹³ One of the reasons that New Mexicans believed the rebellion to be the act of Texans is that they had seen how a large portion of American citizens had slowly taken over Texas and those same people claimed that the eastern border of Texas extended the entire length of the Rio Grande which would have cut Santa Fe in half and taken a large portion of the productive part of New Mexico. However, the insurrectionists rose up in order to protest the new form of government in Mexico City, demonstrating that they still considered themselves part of the newly founded Mexican Republic and that they were not seeking independence from it as believed by many Americans. Mexico's central government replaced the Constitution of 1824 with a new set of laws that attempted to centralize the government and weaken local control in the different departments of Mexico and a large

¹¹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 92-93.

¹² Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 93-95.

¹³ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 95.

part of these new laws required a tax which New Mexico had not paid before and could not afford to pay due to lack of a viable economy.¹⁴

Another underlying cause of the rebellion was socioeconomic inequality, as many of those who fought made up the poor class. Many of the lower class, or *genízaros*,¹⁵ used this protest to seize property and hopefully improve their lot in life.¹⁶ American traders and businessmen who resided in New Mexico also feared that they would have property seized, but did not join in the fighting.¹⁷ These men who understood the minds of the New Mexicans better than the American government officials knew that these actions were a self-contained movement, and not a cry for help as it would be interpreted later, despite indications that a plan had formed that would push New Mexico towards seeking annexation by the United States. The American consulate in New Mexico at the time, Manuel Alvarez, reported that the purpose of the rebellion was to protest against Santa Ana's centralist government, but his warnings held little merit once Americans began to believe that New Mexico was being oppressed and needed liberation.¹⁸ These rumors upset the insurgents and other New Mexicans even more than the actual rebellion.¹⁹ Reports indicated that the rebels complained against the neglect of Mother Mexico towards them, they had no real connection to Mexico other than language and some customs, mainly of the religious nature, and their disaffection caused them to lash

¹⁴ Janet Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba, 1837* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 17.

¹⁵ *Genízaro* refers to full-blooded Native Americans raised in Spanish Culture.

¹⁶ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 94.

¹⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 94 and Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 17.

¹⁸ Thomas E. Chávez ed., *Conflict and Acculturation: Manuel Alvarez's 1842 Memorial* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1989), 9.

¹⁹ Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 40.

out in this way.²⁰ Although traders such as Josiah Gregg and W.W.H. Davis found that a majority of New Mexicans supported the ideas and intentions behind the rebellion they did not support an independence movement or seek annexation from the United States.²¹ However, Gregg expressed his theory that these farmers had been manipulated by certain rich citizens of the area who hoped to elevate themselves into position of power.²² New Mexicans understood that they held a unique position of power that they had seldom had before. They could use the desire of the United States to expand and Mexico's wishes to retain land to play the two powers off of each other and it is probable that they allowed false rumors to spread to both the United States and into Mexico. This theory is strongly based on the opinion of Gregg that the rural New Mexicans remained uneducated and easily manipulated because of their lack of understanding of international politics.

TEXAS-SANTA FE EXPEDITION

A second event which occurred only a few years later increased the pressure that New Mexicans felt as they continued to search for the place they belonged in the world. With a sense of neglect hanging over their territory the New Mexicans had to face a new threat from independent Texas. In 1841 a small group of Texans left San Antonio with Santa Fe as their destination. This small expeditionary team would meet many hardships on the trail and further complicate issues between Mexico, Texas, and the United States.

²⁰ Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 7.

²¹ Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 38.

²² Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 95.

The group sought to lay claim to land north of the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) as Texas had already sectioned it off as belonging to the new independent nation. The theme of Manifest Destiny influenced their decision greatly because they believed that every person in North America not only deserved to be free from the oppressive Mexican government, but that they all wanted independence similar to Texas. Even with all the signs and indication pointing towards New Mexico willing to fight to improve Mexico and to find their niche in the country, many travelers still strongly alleged that New Mexico would gladly join Texas or the United States if only given the chance.

American traders felt that the Texans, who at this time were not officially American, but were often considered such, had been mistreated because New Mexicans misunderstood the nature of the expedition.²³ The Texans claimed that their only intention was to open up trade routes, but New Mexicans feared that the Texans were trying to plot another independence movement. New Mexicans pointed out that the Texans had brought military units with them, a clear sign that their intentions were not peaceful. Claims from the Texans stated that these men accompanied them only for protection from Native Americans, but in a territory still reeling from a revolution and because of Texas' history the New Mexicans felt they had reason to fear.²⁴ The real reason that this small expeditionary group had soldiers along with them on their journey was that they hoped that they would be able to persuade the New Mexican people to join

²³ See Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 162.

²⁴ George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, Comprising a Description of a Tour Through Texas, and Across the Great Southwestern Prairies, The Camanche and Caygüa Hunting-Grounds, Withan Account of the Sufferings From Want of Food, Losses from Hostile Indians and Final Capture of the Texans, and their March , as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico with Illustrations and Maps, Volume 1* (Dallas: Degloyer Library and William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies Southern Methodist University: 1846 reprint 2004), 3.

with them to throw off the yoke of Mexican oppression and join Texas and these soldiers would help keep the peace as the transfer of powers took place.²⁵ A large part of this assumption on the part of the Texans was due to territory disputes. When Texas had declared its independence from Mexico it claimed much of the land east and north the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande). Texans did not limit the distance west that their land extended and so believed that their claim also held in the territory of New Mexico which would have essentially cut out the most productive part of the territory.²⁶ Mexico had not accepted the extent of land that Texas wanted and had continued to argue that Texas only extended to the Pecos River. The expedition tried to use the disputed land as an excuse and justification for them travelling so far into Mexican territory with soldiers, but Manuel Armijo, the New Mexican governor did not believe them and had them arrested.²⁷ The prisoners would be marched south until they reached Mexico City, a fate that none of the members dreamt was possible.²⁸

Immediately following the arrest of the Texans, many Americans fell under attack throughout New Mexico, resulting in some deaths and causing many Americans to feel that they were in imminent danger.²⁹ A few New Mexicans, mostly merchants, but also others who would benefit from an American takeover, expressed sympathy towards the prisoners, but the majority of them rejoiced in seeing the Texans laid low, a sure indication that the New Mexicans did not share the same democratic fervor that many

²⁵ Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, 30.

²⁶ Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 6.

²⁷ Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, 151.

²⁸ Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, 151.

²⁹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 162.

Americans claimed and hoped that they did.³⁰ The American army would not learn from the lessons that his expedition afforded them and entered New Mexico with a similar attitude only to find that they were not wanted. The American people assumed that their great nation and divine mission would persuade everyone and anyone to surrender and join them peacefully. The desire of New Mexicans to keep out any independent-minded foreigners provided an example of how strongly New Mexican identity actually fell closer to their Mexican neighbors than to their Anglo ones.

The same land dispute would greatly influence the US-Mexico War. The United States declared ownership of the same land that independent Texas had, once Texas annexation was finalized in 1845, which only added to the already high tensions between New Mexico and Texas.³¹ The United States hoped to use the budding trade and economic relations between it and New Mexico to subjugate the citizens and they hoped that New Mexico's loyalty would follow money instead of culture. Americans used trade as a way to civilize foreign people, a divine right they believed they possessed to help spread their way of life from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. New Mexico appeared to be the perfect place for this experiment because the native people had yet to be tamed and the New Mexicans had failed to do so up to this point.

³⁰ Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition Vol. 1*, 155-7.

³¹ Twitchell, *Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico*, 33-34.

Trade Relations

The traders and trappers who had become familiar with New Mexico provide key insight into the manner in which Americans viewed New Mexicans' level of commitment to Mexico. The United States had strengthened its economic hold on New Mexico beginning in 1821 when the newly founded Mexican government openly allowed trade with the United States, something that the Spanish Crown had prohibited previously.

ENTRANCE OF AMERICAN TRADERS

After gaining independence, Mexico chose to allow American traders to operate in their country in open for the first time. The influence that these traders had on the economy and on the culture of New Mexico is immeasurable. Because of the proximity and variety of goods, the inhabitants of New Mexico increasingly chose to conduct trade with the Americans instead of fellow Mexicans. Many of the American traders operated out Independence, Missouri, which itself was a rapidly growing city and marked the westernmost outpost of the United States. Many of these traders left behind diaries or letters describing their experiences with the Mexican people and also how they perceived New Mexico. Although these accounts are usually extremely biased and inflammatory, they do provide a glimpse into how Americans and Mexicans interacted. The relationships which were cultivated between the American traders and the inhabitants of

New Mexico would play a large role in the belief that New Mexico had already begun its Americanization process before any military troops entered the area.

Trade between northern Mexico and the United States was serendipitous and began earlier than most people would suspect. The true origin of the trade remains a mystery, but rumors abounded that the trade began with when Native Americans told James Purcell, an American trader, about the settlements in New Mexico in 1805. Unfortunately, this tale came to be known through secondary sources, namely the narrative of Captain Zebulon Pike.³² In typical American fashion Pike expressed his belief the Purcell was the first person to venture into the wild land west of the Mississippi, but as discussed in Weber's book, *Taos Trappers*, we know that French traders had been active in New Mexico for years prior to Purcell's adventure.³³ Purcell could be compared to Columbus because even though he was not the first to discover, the Pueblos, he would drive people to follow in his footsteps and exploit the people they found there.

The inhabitants of New Mexico gladly welcomed American traders into their country because trading with Mexico had proven too expensive. The capacity to obtain trade goods at a significantly lower rate proved enticing to the poor Mexican colony. In 1821, William Becknell, the founder of the Santa Fe Trail, remarked that New Mexico had been forced up to this point to bring all of her supplies from the port of Veracruz, in

³² Gregg, Josiah, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 9.

³³ David J. Weber, *Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 37.

southern Mexico.³⁴ Veracruz was the only operating port in Mexico because of an attempt by Spain to control everything that came in and left the colony. The distance between Veracruz and Santa Fe drove the price of goods to a level that kept many Northern Mexicans poor. The American traders offered some relief by providing goods at a much cheaper price and allowed American traders to become richer as they expanded into new territory with new consumers. Becknell was only the first to realize this potential and in doing so opened up the Santa Fe Trail. His actions would result in many changes among the inhabitants of that area. This change in trading partners would eventually lead to a change in economic loyalties, as they were affected by trade routes. However, this is not to say that the New Mexicans sold their nationality and identity for money, but as time progressed they were drawn more tightly into American trade circles than Mexican ones, a fact that would later be exploited by American politicians as an indication that New Mexico belonged with the United States and not Mexico.³⁵ This awkward situation resulted in differing interpretations to whom New Mexicans would give loyalty, as both Mexico and United States sought to expand their spheres of influence. *Nuevo Mexicanos*, as they called themselves in an attempt to be set apart from other parts of Mexico, expressed that part of their identity existed in the fact that they were not like the other Mexicans around them. The term of New Mexican was well known along the Santa Fe Trail as demonstrated by Josiah Gregg's arrival into Santa Fe; he consistently referred to the people he encountered there by this term that set them

³⁴ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 13.

³⁵ David J. Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 56.

apart from other Mexicans in the area.³⁶ As Gregg travelled further south and into Chihuahua the different names for groups of people disappeared and they simply identified as Mexicans.

Gregg described his first meeting with New Mexicans along the trail when still more than one hundred miles from Santa Fe he was struck particularly by a group known as *ciboleros*,³⁷ whose resemblance to Native Americans of the area in the way they hunted distinguished them from other Northern Mexicans. The *ciboleros* hunted buffalo on horseback, with bow and arrow, or lance and followed the Native American's practice of curing the meat so that they could transport it back.³⁸ Gregg, already focused on the inferiority of a people who would adapt hunting techniques from Native Americans, failed to point out that the *ciboleros* used carts and horses to carry the meat and hides making them more efficient and successful traders than the Native Americans from whom they stole their hunting techniques. Gregg observed that for every one buffalo killed "by the whites, more than a hundred, perhaps a thousand, fall by the hands of the savages."³⁹ Granted that this statement is most likely an over exaggeration of the facts, it does show how poorly the American traders had already begun to think of the nomadic Native Americans, a prejudice carried over from living on the American western frontier. New Mexicans quickly lost prestige in race relations once the Americans began to understand how much of Native American traditions and cultures New Mexicans had

³⁶ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 67.

³⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 63. *Cibolero* was a term coined in New Mexico to refer to Spanish, and later Mexican, buffalo hunters.

³⁸ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 67.

³⁹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 71.

adopted into their lives, lowering their status according to American standards of racial categorization.

However, the New Mexicans refused to bow to all of the demands of the American traders and forced them to speak and conduct all their business in Spanish and to pay tariffs that averaged “about a hundred per cent.”⁴⁰ In this way New Mexicans continued to control the trade that entered Santa Fe because few of the American traders spoke or understood Spanish.⁴¹ Through taxes and the language barriers, New Mexicans sent a strong message to the American people that they could fend for themselves and needed no aid in handling the new flux in the economy. Americans ignored this message and felt that New Mexicans would learn to speak English as the influence of the traders grew in the area.

Some American traders were so disillusioned by the presupposed desire of New Mexicans to join them and their country that they imagined themselves as liberators and grand heroes to the Mexican people. Josiah Gregg wrote about his entrance into Santa Fe when the New Mexicans shouted in excitement “Los Americanos”, “Los carros”, and “La entrada de la caravana”.⁴² Although Gregg thought that the excitement and frivolity that occurred was in response to the fact that Americans had entered their city, the New Mexicans shouted because the Americans brought business and goods. The people of Santa Fe made few concessions to help the Americans feel at home as discussed above. However, the strength of first impressions persuaded Gregg to believe that his appearance

⁴⁰ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 79-80.

⁴¹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 78.

⁴² Gregg *Commerce of the Prairies*, 78.

alone brought on this sudden outburst of emotion. New Mexicans wanted the goods the Americans brought with them, but not necessarily for the Americans to stay and try to change their way of life.

Most often the Americans, along with other foreigners, faced severe prejudice throughout the southern portion of New Mexico and even more so as they continued further into the main body of Mexico. The Americans suffered more than others because of the budding rivalry between the two republics.⁴³ One example pointed out by Gregg was that in areas such as Chihuahua the people threw fewer extravagant parties, and when they did happen Americans were seldom invited.⁴⁴ There were some exceptions, as Americans did rise to eminence in New Mexico, such as Samuel Magoffin had, who will be discussed later.⁴⁵ American women were also impressed with their New Mexican counterparts as pointed out by Susan Shelby Magoffin, the wife of American trader Samuel Magoffin.⁴⁶ Instead the people of Chihuahua chose to remain closer to their own people of their own ethnicity and nationality, whereas New Mexicans allowed Americans to mingle with them at most social events. New Mexicans realized that they lay in an exceptional position between two European based powers and sought to emphasize their uniqueness by forming a regional identity that proved stronger than national identity to either Mexico or the United States. Because Americans were the greatest threat to their growing republic New Mexicans treated other foreigners much

⁴³ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 159.

⁴⁴ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 303.

⁴⁵ Stella M. Drumm ed., *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1846), 124.

⁴⁶ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico*, x.

better, and made it well know that they preferred to deal with British subjects than Americans.⁴⁷

As the amount of trade increased between the *nuevo mexicanos* and the Americans the culture of the area grew even more distinct and the New Mexicans found themselves stuck between two polarizing and growing nations. The fact that Mexican leaders continued to allow American traders to frequent the city of Santa Fe demonstrates just how fickle the Mexican government could be. In 1829 the sitting Mexican Congress banished all Spanish-born people from the country causing many to flee to the United States, but when this act was later repealed many Spanish people returned to their homes.⁴⁸ Acts such as these served only to complicate the already muddied waters of race and culture in New Mexico. For the American government, this would have served as an indication that New Mexicans were leaning towards less strict laws that would help the American people gain a foothold in the territory.

The value of the writings that these traders left behind is immeasurable in so many ways because they reported on more than just the people of the area. They also included detailed accounts of the land, the animals, and the environment in the area providing many Americans with the first real sense of what the North American West was like. The readership of these accounts was widespread in the United States, coloring the opinions that developed among Americans. These descriptions led many Americans to conclude that Mexicans, Spaniards, and the Native Americans who had lived in the

⁴⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 159.

⁴⁸ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 33.

area had failed to properly utilize and improve the land they possessed. Because they were not productively using the land, it allowed many Americans to target this shortfall as a justification to take possession of the land and improve it in ways that the Mexicans had failed to do. This study does not seek to explore how widespread the reports became, but to demonstrate that the reports informed the opinions and decisions of the American people and further insinuated the importance of Manifest Destiny and American expansion to the West. Because relatively few Americans ever made contact with New Mexicans the sources demonstrate the colonial nature of the events which happened hundreds of miles away from the average American. The distance and the perceived differences between the New Mexicans and most American citizens provide a feeling of colonization at that time.

Another aspect of the New Mexican territory emphasized by American travelers was the diverse population. This diversity contributed greatly to the unique identity that developed in the territory of New Mexico that seemed to set them apart from the rest of Mexico. Thanks in part to the dominant idea of Manifest Destiny the American people imagined all people and lands in the Western part of North America as divinely ordained to become part of their country and nation. The situation which existed in New Mexico led many Americans to believe that a switch from Mexican nationalism to American would be simple and effortless. The truth of the events proved very different. As new countries, both the United States and Mexico had very different ideas of what their nations would become and they sought to cement a new national identity. The Americans, strongly inspired by Manifest Destiny, wanted to expand further West and

help civilize the area and Mexico wanted to develop a strong loyalty to the central government. Because both countries were in different places in their national development it is important to briefly examine where they both stood.

STATE OF NATIONALISM IN NEW MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

It is nearly impossible to pinpoint the birth of a nation. One could argue that a nation begins at a declaration of independence, but nations are not built overnight. A stronger argument might be that a nation begins in the imagination of the citizens. According to Benedict Anderson's wonderful exegesis, a nation is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."⁴⁹ To break down this definition even more, Anderson points out that the nation is imaginary because members of the nation will never meet their fellow-members no matter how small the nation. Nations are also limited because even the largest ones have borders, although they may be elastic. They are sovereign because, thanks to the Enlightenment, the concept of divine right to rule had been replaced by self-governance. Finally, it is a community because it is conceived to be a deep, horizontal comradeship where members have many things in common including culture, language, and a similar religion.⁵⁰

New Mexico and its citizens found themselves in a peculiar situation where they simultaneously belonged to two different nations, even if they were not aware or agreed

⁴⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

⁵⁰ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6-7.

with the claim of one or both of them. The New Mexican people identified closely with the Mexican forefathers and ancestors, but found themselves drawn more and more into the imagined community that the United States began to build in the area. Because of the newness of the Mexican Republic, the American people saw the national ties as weak and easily exploitable. Mexico had only recently won its independence from Spain, a sense of nationalism was only beginning to spread and permeate the society, made even more difficult by the isolation and distance of New Mexico. However, after 1821 and the finalization of Mexico's independence, nationalism did begin to grow even in the most remote portions of the country. Following the American invasion and after defeat seemed imminent, Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, a New Mexican elite, admitted defeat but refused to abandon his heritage. Writing to General Kearny he expressed his feelings by saying, "Do not find it strange if there has been no manifestation of joy and enthusiasm in seeing this city occupied by your military forces. To us the power of the Mexican Republic is dead. No matter what her condition, she was our mother."⁵¹ Kearny expected a hero's welcome, but instead was met with a solemn and defeated people who mourned the loss of the cultural parent. In a vain attempt to align themselves with their northern democratic neighbors Mexico made some decisions that would ultimately damage their hopes of retaining New Mexico, including allowing American traders to conduct business within New Mexico while simultaneously neglecting the area and trying to force them to accept new leaders who the New Mexicans did not know. New Mexicans may have found themselves sorely lacking in options of whether or not to become American

⁵¹ Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarido to General Stephen Kearny, 1846 reprinted in Weber, David J., *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 128.

citizens, but that did not mean that they accepted their new country whole heartedly. New Mexicans slowly drifted into the sphere of influence that the American people continued to push towards the Pacific Ocean, but only surrendered to their fate when they no longer believed they had another choice.

Often history is portrayed in a way that makes the events of the past seem inevitable, but that is not the case, especially in New Mexico. The New Mexicans could have chosen to throw their loyalties behind Mexico or even follow the route of Texas and become an independent nation, but they chose to become Americans under limited circumstances and choices. Some chose that path quickly and others were slowly Americanized through generations or by force. European descendants and Native Americans each had different paths to American citizenship and ultimate acceptance of American nationalism. Another point that needs to be understood is that citizenship is not the same as nationalism. One may belong and live in a country, but their loyalty and self-identification remains with their former country. A telling account comes from the words of Juan Bautista Alvarado, governor of Alta California under the Mexican Republic when he wrote “Our resistance was not motivated by the hatred we had for the North Americans, or their government and institutions, but was dictated by a conscience which aspired to fulfilling as far as possible our duties as Mexican citizens.”⁵² Deep down the people of both California and New Mexico continued to imagine themselves as part of the Mexican nation, but came to the conclusion that it lay in their best interest to

⁵² Juan Bautista Alvarado to Commodore Sloat, 1876 reprinted in Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land*, 130.

transition to their new country and nation. They may have sworn allegiance to this new nation, but their hearts and culture remained with their mother country.

Nationalism is often measured by language, both written and oral. The main language in New Mexico remained Spanish, or Castilian, since Spaniards colonized the area permanently well before the Americans had an interest in obtaining the territory. The inhabitants of New Mexico spoke Spanish nearly perfectly, but they had added some regional words to their vocabulary, including many words that they had borrowed from Native Americans, but instead of corrupting the language, Josiah Gregg felt that the additions actually embellished and beautified the language more than it already was.⁵³ Gregg pointed that the Spanish in New Mexico had already begun to drift away from Castilian Spanish and become more like the Latin American Spanish that is spoken in Mexico today.⁵⁴ Some of the changes that Gregg pointed out were that the *ll* had grown to be indiscriminate from the *y* sound.⁵⁵ One of Anderson's key points regarding how nationalism is developed is the introduction of written press in the area and more generally written language. Gregg noted that the people in Santa Fe tried to start a newspaper named *El Crepúsculo* as early as 1834, but because of the low subscription the newspapers was disbanded after only a month.⁵⁶ *El Crepúsculo* may not have been successful as a newspaper, but it did push the New Mexicans towards the first stages of building their nation as separate from other states and people in the area. A portion of the newspaper's failure came simply because a large portion of the population was illiterate,

⁵³ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 142.

⁵⁴ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 142.

⁵⁵ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 142.

⁵⁶ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 142.

a point made again and again by many American traders.⁵⁷ The differences in the Spanish of New Mexico also began to distinguish them from their Mexican neighbors because the Mexican people who surrounded them did not interact with the same groups of Native Americans, causing New Mexicans to have a distinct regional tongue which in turn allowed them to establish a separate identity and a growing nationalism. The differences in the language were large enough that traders noticed them and New Mexicans strictly enforced a Spanish only policy on trades in the territory, further separating them from the Americans on a national scale. From an outsider's perspective these subtle changes in language indicated that the dominant culture was beginning to lose its power and sway in the area.

From an American perspective the publication of these many tales from traders helped shape how less adventurous Americans came to envision the North American West. Books such as Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, first published in 1844, was widely read by the American populous and proved critical in how they imagined their westward movement and conquest. The common American citizen likely read the stories as a conquest, but I have chosen to examine these accounts as a colonial movement by the United States. The book proved so popular over time that it went through fourteen printings reaching as far as Great Britain and Germany.⁵⁸ Scholars have examined Gregg's work on many different levels and are amazed at how accurate it proved to be and how candidly the author wrote about his exploits.⁵⁹ Much of the current

⁵⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 142-3.

⁵⁸ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, xxxii.

⁵⁹ Gregg, *Commerce of Prairies*, xiii.

work presented here is focused on this account for the same reason. Gregg's insights provide a stunning account of the New Mexican lifestyle and culture. Unlike other scholars I have chosen to examine his work as if he were colonizing a new land and not simply expanding the American republic.

Culturally the New Mexicans attempted to keep many of the customs that they had brought with them. For example, the upper class continued to dress similar to the latest Spanish fashions,⁶⁰ which would have cost them a great deal of money to import from Spain, through Veracruz and Mexico City, and finally over the Camino Real to Santa Fe. Because these people strived to appear as similar to Spaniards as they could, they spared no expense to do so. Appearing European was important because it hinted at a privileged ancestry. The ability to pass as a Spaniard helped the elites of New Mexico to more readily transition into American culture because "Americans had long believed they were a chosen people, but by the mid-nineteenth century they also believed that they were a chosen people with impeccable ancestry."⁶¹ European ancestry aided New Mexicans into convincing the trappers and traders that they also shared a higher ancestry than the lower class who may have intermarried with Native Americans at some point in the recent past. For this reason Susan Magoffin referred to the New Mexican women as "void of refinement, judgment &c. as the dumb animals" until they proved that they could treat her with the respect that she believed she deserved.⁶² After she gained respect

⁶⁰ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 149.

⁶¹ Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5.

⁶² Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 98.

for the elite New Mexican women her diary begins to call them “Spaniards” setting them apart from lower-class women.⁶³

However, the New Mexicans also expressed their individuality from Spain by adapting a unique style of dress for riding, which would include a *sombrero*, *botas*, *chaqueta*, and *calzoneras* all of which served to set them apart from other people of the same area.⁶⁴ This style was often referred to as that of the *caballero*, but differs greatly from how American cowboys of the West are often imagined and instead represented their own style. Gregg found it particularly fascinating that the New Mexicans did not wear suspenders and instead relied on a red sash tied tightly around their waist to support their pants.⁶⁵ The clothing worn by New Mexicans was so different from what Spaniards and Native Americans wore that it struck the Americans as odd. The description provided by Gregg paints a very different picture that we now associate with the American West. Instead of having cowboys and farmers roam the deserts the New Mexicans chose attire which reflected their culture and history.

Religion proved another key aspect to the culture shared between New Mexicans and Mexicans, but a detriment to their status with American traders. The majority of the people in Mexico belonged to the Roman Catholic faith. As time passed and New Mexico remained isolated they slowly began to adapt the rites and ceremonies of the Pueblo people.⁶⁶ Some religious leaders even feared that New Mexicans were only

⁶³ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 102.

⁶⁴ Translated these articles of clothing would be a hat, boots, jacket, and chaps.

⁶⁵ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 149.

⁶⁶ Kendall, *The Texan Santa Fé Expedition: Volume 1*, 207.

Catholic on the surface.⁶⁷ To Americans this signaled a weakness of character that such a civilized group, such as New Mexicans, could fall away from their beliefs and so readily adapt those of an uncivilized group. The invaders also hoped that a change in religion would be easy based on this perceived abandonment of strict Catholicism. Too further complicate matters, simply by identifying as Catholics resulted in New Mexicans being classified as racially inferior.⁶⁸ Religion played a large part in the American movement west as it lay at the heart of Manifest Destiny.

Manifest Destiny

Americans felt compelled to continue their expansion westward as part of a divine mission. For them “continental expansion was thought inevitable because it was deemed by providence.”⁶⁹ In order to justify this right to colonize and inhabit the area Americans had to imagine that North America lay completely empty, only waiting for a superior race to subdue it.⁷⁰ This approach disregarded Native Americans and other Europeans who may have settled the land prior to their arrival. Americans did acknowledge that Native Americans inhabited these areas, but because they resisted Americanization and cultural improvements the Americans had a valid excuse to push them off their sacred lands, mistreat them, and if necessary to slaughter them.⁷¹ What follows is a brief glance on

⁶⁷ Paul Horgan, *Lamy of Santa Fe* (New York: Farrer, Strow, and Giroux, 1975), 107.

⁶⁸ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 103.

⁶⁹ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 86.

⁷⁰ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 92.

⁷¹ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 104.

how Manifest Destiny facilitated the United States invasion of New Mexico and why many American traders thought New Mexico wanted to join the great Republic of the United States.

Americans believed their cause of expansion to be more correct and divinely guided than previous land claims of the Spanish and Mexican people. Americans sought to stretch across the continent in order to civilize and tame both the people and the land that lay to the west of their country. This sense of progress helped propel the burgeoning American nationalism and those performing the expansion could not fathom why any people would not choose to join their great nation. By extending civilization to those without it, including Native Americans and the Mexican people, they sought to fulfill a higher calling, but believed that the other European people, specifically the Spanish, who had preceded them into these areas had simply lusted after “gold and power, which so disgraced all the Spanish conquests in America; and that religious fanaticism----that crusading spirit, which martyred so many thousands of the aborigines of the New World under Spanish Authority.”⁷² Americans shared similar goals with their Spanish and Mexican neighbors, in particular the desire to Christianize the Native people, but through Protestantism and democracy instead of Catholicism. New Mexico proved a difficult area to understand and tame because the New Mexicans had formed a niche in the racial categorization of the United States.

The one exception to the way that American traders viewed New Mexicans was how they treated the women of the area. Their beauty had become legendary thanks in

⁷² Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 84.

part to Kit Carson,⁷³ who had married a native New Mexican and been accepted into her family. Carson's family and friends also found her very attractive, a sentiment that many Americans shared towards the New Mexican women. In nearly every account from traders who travelled to Santa Fe they spoke highly of the beauty of the women and poorly of the men who lived there. Even as a captive, Kendall noted that when he arrived in Albuquerque that he beheld "a perfect specimen of female loveliness" even though he thought she appeared poor.⁷⁴ American travelers took so much care in their appearance that the caravan with which Gregg journeyed had spent the day prior to their arrival in Santa Fe in preparation for meeting the women of the city.⁷⁵

Miss Magoffin kept a diary of her journeys into New Mexico and other parts of the country and provides us with a unique perspective that is lacking from the male traders on the trail. Thanks to her record the role of women in the area is noted in a way oblivious to many men. Mexican women remained vulnerable to the same criticism as the men, but suffered even harsher critiques from the Americans because they saw them as potential mates, but struggled to accept their beauty because they belonged to an inferior race. As mentioned above some trappers were able to overcome these prejudices, such as Kit Carson, but for the most part women suffered brutal criticism and were praised only for their beauty. Some of these women would eventually marry American traders and soldiers and by doing so would fuel the speculation that New Mexico's path inevitably lay with the United States.

⁷³ Hampton Sides, *Blood and Thunder: The Epic Story of Kit Carson the Conquest of the American West* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 9.

⁷⁴ Kendall, *The Texan Santa Fé Expedition: Volume 1*, 211.

⁷⁵ Gregg *Commerce of the Prairies*, 78.

Magoffin shared many important events with her husband and because of her unique life was privy to many situations that other women would never have seen. Many of her opportunities arose because of her brother-in-law's special assignment from President James K. Polk to prepare New Mexico for American occupation, indicative that the invasion of New Mexico was not a spur of the moment decision.⁷⁶ From the early days of trade with New Mexico, American politicians sought for the opportune moment to bring the land and the people into the American fold. Samuel Magoffin had also built up a reputation among traders and with New Mexico's governor, Manuel Armijo, which allowed him to enter Santa Fe only a few weeks after the American invasion by Stephen Kearney.⁷⁷ The tense circumstances caused Magoffin to fear for her life almost constantly, but she found comfort among the New Mexican women who took her in and helped her learn about their culture.

Similar to many of the American men who entered New Mexico, Magoffin harbored poor opinions of the inhabitants: in her own words they were "as void of refinement, judgment, &c as the dumb animals," however she quickly changed her mind as she grew to know them.⁷⁸ The example that Magoffin points out seems insignificant because she only writes that her opinion began to change after they complimented her beauty and only then does she suggest that New Mexicans are "quick and intelligent people."⁷⁹ However, most of the experiences Magoffin had were among the elite class of New Mexicans and so her adventures differ in some details from those we have from

⁷⁶ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, x.

⁷⁷ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, x.

⁷⁸ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 98.

⁷⁹ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 98.

other traders. Regardless of the socioeconomic class to which these women belonged, Magoffin saw hope that these women could become part of the great American nation.

Because Magoffin consorted with members of a higher class she saw a completely different side of New Mexico than other members of trading caravans. The elites of New Mexico did not appear all that different in appearance from their fellow countrymen, but their style of dress and manner set them apart. This distinction grew to the point that to some, such as Magoffin, the elite stopped being New Mexican and were elevated to the status of their European ancestry and were referred to as Spanish or Spaniards.⁸⁰ Gregg makes no such distinction as he dealt mostly with merchants and traders. Because of the great differences between Gregg's and Magoffin's accounts they prove useful in explaining the different positions people had adopted towards New Mexico's future. Both believed that the New Mexicans would eventually become part of the United States, but for different reasons. Gregg hoped that the economy would bring them into America's fold, but Magoffin saw their pathway to Americanization through cultural means, such as parties and social status.

With some exception Magoffin mainly befriended New Mexican women who were of her equal social class, but she also spoke with and became acquainted with people from all over the socioeconomic spectrum. One interesting episode between Magoffin and Doña Juliana, a poorer New Mexican woman, gives a great amount of insight into the dynamics that existed. Magoffin describes Doña Juliana as someone

⁸⁰ See Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 102.

“poor in the goods of this world, but a great friend to Americans.”⁸¹ They spoke in Spanish alone for half an hour, even though Magoffin was barely conversational. Magoffin served as a prime example of how diligent American traders and other travelers tried to fit in with the predominant culture by speaking their language and learning their customs. Once the American government claimed control of the territory any such accommodations disappeared and both New Mexicans and Native Americans were strongly encouraged, if not forcefully coerced into adapting American lifestyles and customs. If they had been anxious to abandon Mexico for the United States strong persuasion would not have been required for them to adapt American lifestyles

NATIVE AMERICAN RELATIONS

Traders travelling along the Santa Fe Trail put themselves in great risk of raids by Native Americans and the harsh climate that surrounded the area. Americans used New Mexico’s failure to properly domesticate Native American tribes as a sign that they needed the Americans’ help to better control the area. On many occasions nomadic Native Americans attacked caravans and stole many of the goods being transported back and forth. The Spanish Crown and the Mexican government had tried unsuccessfully for years to tame and domesticate Native tribes, but because of their constant movement around the countryside that goal was never fully achieved. Native Americans play a large role in race relations once New Mexico fell under American control. Americans

⁸¹ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 107.

compared the Native tribes to New Mexicans on many occasions. American traders knew that there were many different tribes in the area but they lumped most of the Native Americans into two groups, nomadic tribes or the more civilized Pueblo people. As comparisons transformed into stereotypes, the New Mexican people wound up above the nomadic tribes, but in many cases below the Pueblo people.

Kendall and the Texan Santa Fe Expedition felt strongly that the Mexican people outright refused to learn from their more civilized neighbors. Because Americans saw themselves as a superior race they found the lack of progress in New Mexico shocking. In a scathing remark written by Kendall, he says that the Mexicans “pertinaciously cling to the customs of their forefathers, and are becoming every year more and more impoverished—in short, they are morally, physically, and intellectually distanced in the great race of improvement which is run in almost every other quarter of the earth. Give them tortillas, frijoles, and chile Colorado to supply their animal wants for the day, and seven tenths of the Mexicans are satisfied; and so they will continue to be until the race becomes extinct or amalgamated with Anglo-Saxon stock.”⁸² Kendall’s indictment of the Mexican people was commonly shared among other Americans who ventured into New Mexico. Because of the harsh climate, the isolation, and the neglect of the Mexican government, New Mexico represented the worst case scenario. As this report and others similar to it began to filter back into the United States the direness of the situation called Americans into action to liberate the oppressed territory and its people.

⁸² Kendall, *Texan Santa Fé Expedition: Volume 2*, 21.

New Mexicans failed to conform neatly to American ideals of race and ethnicity in the early nineteenth century. Up until now the racial dynamic of Americans was simply black and white, but with Americans spreading further west and encountering settled Mexicans they had to adjust how they saw the world racially; it would not be an easy transition.⁸³ Mexicans had dark skin, but it was not as dark as that of people of African descent and many American travelers believed that it was due more to the fact that Mexicans, particularly those in New Mexico, had intermingled and married with Native Americans.⁸⁴ In fact, Gregg estimated that because of the miscegenation New Mexicans were now composed of “equal parts of the European and aboriginal blood.”⁸⁵ The acquisition of new land and people forced the Americans to adjust policies but they continued to reflect a belief in the racial inferiority and expendability of Native Americans, Mexicans and any other race deemed inferior.⁸⁶ Because the American people could not determine a distinct line between Mexicans and other people they deemed inferior they were forced into a group which placed them in a fluid state somewhere between African Americans and uncivilized, or nomadic, Native Americans.⁸⁷ However, in an ironic twist the Native Americans were ambiguous towards *mestizos*, neither condemning nor condoning them. The Native Americans in New Mexico ignored the racial difference that the United States and Mexico tried to force onto them and treated all as equal threats.

⁸³ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 13.

⁸⁴ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 153.

⁸⁵ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 153.

⁸⁶ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 190.

⁸⁷ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 215.

Racial categories varied widely between Mexico and the United States. Mexican racial categories were strongly based on socioeconomic status. Many of the upper class Mexicans considered themselves Spanish and ignored any blemishes that might have appeared on their pure blooded past. American racial categorization was much less complex and was based almost solely on white skin color and the Americans created categories for all skin colors ranging from blacks, Native American, Mexican and Asiatic.⁸⁸

American policymakers often used these new regulations to play the Native Americans against the New Mexicans in hopes of improving both of their lots in life. It appeared that the New Mexicans held a deep hatred for nomadic Native Americans, which Gregg guessed they had inherited, or learned, from their Spanish ancestors.⁸⁹ Knowing of the underlying hatred, Americans often praised the Pueblo people as civilized in order to debase the New Mexicans and force them to become more civilized according to the American definition.⁹⁰ The comparisons started early and continued through much of the war and subsequent occupation. George Wilkins Kendall commented while a prisoner that the Pueblo people were “by far the better part of population” as they were frugal, industrious, and honest.⁹¹ These characteristics helped Americans distinguish between civilized, or Americanized, people from mongrels. Americans reserved the term “mongrel” specifically for Mexicans because it was widely

⁸⁸ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 5.

⁸⁹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 154.

⁹⁰ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 211.

⁹¹ Kendall, *Texas Santa Fé Expedition: Volume 1*, 207.

believed that all of them possessed mixed blood.⁹² This mixed blood placed New Mexicans into an inferior class, even lower than the Native Americans in the details. Because Americans believed that they possessed a perfect ancestry they often pointed out the New Mexicans suffered so much because they had been at a disadvantage from the beginning because the Spanish immigrants who originally settled the area had poor character and value.⁹³

One of the most common criticisms that Americans expressed was that Mexico had failed to educate her people, leaving them to suffer in ignorance. Josiah Gregg proclaimed that “there is no part of the civilized globe, perhaps, where the Arts have been so much neglected, and the progress of Science so successfully impeded as in New Mexico.”⁹⁴ Gregg’s condemnation of the Mexican government demonstrated both the American ideal of civilization and their opinion on the lack of civilized people in New Mexico. For many Americans an education was necessary to be considered civilized. As Americans began to flood the newly captured territory of New Mexico had grandiose plans to educate the people and also to properly Christianize them. Some Americans felt that Americans and Mexicans were not very different to begin with, but that “habit, education, and religion” had essentially changed them so much that they could not mingle together.⁹⁵ This idea resulted in the opinion that the people either be assimilated or eliminated. This lack of education and religion placed the New Mexicans on equal footing with the Native Americans of the area and slaves in the American South.

⁹² Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 251.

⁹³ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 209.

⁹⁴ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 140.

⁹⁵ Resolution of December 22, 1835, published in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* (San Felipe de Austin), January 23, 1836, 102-3, found in Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land*, 105.

The lack of education may seem like a socioeconomic or class issue, but for New Mexico the problem spread to all groups of people, a fact which further baffled the Americans on how poorly the Mexican government had administered the department of New Mexico.⁹⁶ The only offense worse than that the Mexican government committed was the near complete neglect of “female education.”⁹⁷ In many ways the American settlers believed that Mexico had purposefully kept their people in ignorance, but they the Americans failed to understand the Mexicans in their own culture, similar to the way that they tried to force Native Americans to adapt and Americanize the New Mexicans needed to follow the same steps. Americans followed the same pattern across the West in an effort to Americanize and modernize every group of people with whom they came in contact, completely ignoring the culture and traditions of the people they pushed off their lands. For the most part Americans did not give New Mexicans a chance to change as they believed that an education was not a solution because Mexicans were innately, not environmentally, inferior to the American people.⁹⁸

Americans who entered the Western wilds of North America often perceived themselves as redeemers and the final and only hope to save the Native tribes from barbarism because of the religious overtones of Manifest Destiny. Josiah Gregg projected this belief onto the Pueblo people in New Mexico explaining that they “built their hopes upon the Americans... In fact they have always appeared to look upon foreigners as a superior people, to whom they could speak freely of their discontent and

⁹⁶ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 140.

⁹⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 141.

⁹⁸ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 238.

their grievances.”⁹⁹ Gregg also erroneously believed that the Rebellion in Río Arriba in 1837 was a demonstration by the Pueblo people who remained ripe for insurrection against the Spanish and Mexican oppressors since the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.¹⁰⁰ This rebellion did serve to push many New Mexicans further into their own identity, a large part of which included a mistrust, or down-right hatred, of Texans. The mistrust that they had towards Texans transferred over to Americans after the war. Many New Mexicans even accused Texans of instigating the rebellion referring to it as “another Texas affair” implying that Americans were only trying to extend their reach as a part of their divine mission.¹⁰¹ Labeling the insurrection as such demonstrated the fear that New Mexicans had that Americans would enter the territory to incite a rebellion hoping to force New Mexico’s entrance into the United States. Americans saw the rebellion as cry for help and invitation to invade and spread their doctrine. Most of the accusations against the Texans and Americans proved false and in fact many of the traders attempted to aid the Mexican government in quelling the insurrection because they understood what could be lost if New Mexico were brought into the United States, because they managed to live between laws and while travelling completely outside of it.¹⁰² Because so many Americans were blinded by Manifest Destiny they looked for any excuse to justify their way of thinking. For the New Mexican people the Rebellion in Río Arriba could not have come at a worst time as it signaled to the United States that New Mexicans were

⁹⁹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 92.

¹⁰⁰ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 92.

¹⁰¹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 95.

¹⁰² Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 95.

unhappy with their lot in life under Mexican rule and that they would gladly welcome American conquerors into their territory.

MANIFEST DESTINY AND NATIVE AMERICANS

The relationship that existed between New Mexicans and the local Native Americans can be confusing and dizzying at times and complicated even more with an expansionist United States. In many ways the New Mexicans tried to bring their native neighbors into their freshly established nation, but they had a long, complicated history. In many instances the attempts to bring Native Americans into the New Mexican national identity included teaching them to speak Spanish and practice Catholicism. Many of the Native Americans learned enough Spanish to conduct business with the New Mexicans, but many of them continued to speak their own language amongst themselves, similar to American traders¹⁰³ Because of the relative isolation of the Pueblo tribes in New Mexico they maintained their own culture including religious practices and language. The lack of Spanish, and later Mexican, population resulted in a failure to permeate the countryside and spread their influence in a way that would influence the many native tribes of the area. For unknown reasons, the Native Americans of the area did travel to Santa Fe to celebrate Mexican independence on the 16 of September.¹⁰⁴ The fact that New Mexicans celebrated Mexican independence suggests that they felt a nationalistic connection to

¹⁰³ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 188.

¹⁰⁴ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 191.

their fellow countrymen further south and by inviting Native Americans to participate in the revelry demonstrates the New Mexicans' desire to include Pueblo people in their nation. Gregg's casual observance of this event does not provide it with the proper importance that it needs; as late as 1840 the New Mexicans continued to build their national identity both alongside Mexican customs and their own recently formed ideas of how they fit into that nation.

Conclusion

Americans had watched from a distance as the New Mexicans failed to subdue the native people of the area. Mexico's failure could only be reconciled by America's push towards the Pacific Ocean. This push was interpreted by the American people as the planting of the seeds of improvement and progress for all mankind and American occupation would result in an extension of the blessings of civilization, of freedom, and happiness to the human race.¹⁰⁵

Time and time again the New Mexicans thought they had subdued the Native Americans, but the Native inhabitants never completely gave in to foreign control as evidence by their participation in the Rebellion of 1837.¹⁰⁶ Gregg opined that the Pueblo in particular put their faith in the United States to liberate them from the oppression that they suffered under Mexican rule and his blind pride gave him false hope that the Native

¹⁰⁵ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 89.

¹⁰⁶ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 91.

population would welcome a new group to lead and guide them.¹⁰⁷ However, as Gregg and others would find out later, the Native Americans sought only for their own freedom and did not want to be ruled by anyone other than themselves. Although Americans proclaimed a system of government where the people held the power this right did not extend to Native Americans. Even after complying with American demands that the Native Americans obtain land it was not enough to prove their complete assimilation.¹⁰⁸ Americans strongly believed that because the Mexicans had failed to force assimilation onto the Native Americans that the task had fallen to them as a part of their divinely appointed task of Manifest Destiny.

New Mexico remains a land of mystery and its culture is even more diverse now than prior to the US-Mexico War. This study looks to explain why American politicians and traders thought they could conquer a land that had proven nearly impossible to tame after thousands of years. After many misunderstandings and false dreams, including the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition and misperceived cries for help, the Americans attempted to wrestle the territory of New Mexico away from its inhabitants. They hoped to do so by relying on the rise of American trade and increased economic dependency on the American trade instead of Mexico's, and the powerful concept of Manifest Destiny that permeated many aspects of American culture in the 1850s.

Many of the New Mexicans owed their identity to the very things that Americans sought to abolish from their society, mainly Catholicism, the Spanish language, and a

¹⁰⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 92.

¹⁰⁸ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 194.

mixed culture unique to the area. Many also pointed out the Mexico was their mother and they belonged to her in many ways.¹⁰⁹ What Americans could not, or refused to, understand about the New Mexican people was why they would choose to identify with Mexico when obviously, at least to the Americans, a much stronger and more powerful nation stood ready to welcome them into the fold with open arms, even if it would be an inferior socioeconomic status. For Americans, it seemed better to belong to their great nation under any circumstance than to be an outsider. The misconceptions perpetuated by Americans towards New Mexicans ultimately proved false as the New Mexicans were not overly eager to lose social status by becoming Americans. Americans also failed to account for the possibility that not everyone believed in Manifest Destiny and that simple trade relations could not forge a new national identity.

¹⁰⁹ Weber, David J. *Foreigners in their Native Land*, 128.

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Coming to America: The Globalization of Soccer and its Effect on America

Growing up I was an outcast. The reason I was an outcast was because I did not enjoy baseball, the unofficial favorite sport of Carbon County. I tried to play baseball, but was severely traumatized as an eight year little leaguer who was hit by the pitch more often than I hit any batted ball that was pitched to me. Instead, I played soccer and loved it. I even tried my luck at basketball, which was considered an appropriate alternative to baseball. However, I was never tall enough or fast enough to be very good at basketball. Football was out of the question because it was too violent, or so my mother said. The only option I had left was to play a sport that was often ridiculed for a number of reasons and left me as an outcast among my fellow student athletes. Many of these athletes would agree strongly with Tom Weir of *USA Today* who said, "That hating soccer is more American than apple pie, driving a pickup, or spending Saturday afternoon channel surfing with the remote control" (Foer 240).

It would be an understatement to say that I have an obsession with soccer. I started at a young age and felt that it was the only sport in which I could excel. Then disaster struck. Carbon High School cut the boys' soccer team because there were not enough girls' sports to have an equal number of sports for both boys and girls. My oldest brother had played soccer for Carbon High and now it looked like the five other children in my family would not have the same opportunity. My older brothers fought to have soccer reinstated, at least as club sport, but were largely unsuccessful. Eventually my brother just older than me started to gather enough support to start a soccer team. I was a freshman the year that Carbon High began to play soccer again. The first year was all

about learning the game. We lost every single game. The closest we ever came to winning was a 3-0 defeat. Even with this bad start to soccer in Carbon County it continues today and now my brother coaches both the boys' and girls' teams. This short series of events caused me to question why soccer is so badly represented in the United States, but is the world's favorite sport.

Soccer has been marginalized in the United States for a long time because it is not seen as an American sport. The truth be told, soccer is more American than we give it credit for. I have identified four reasons why soccer is perceived as different, but in reality soccer fits perfectly into American sports culture. The first reason is that soccer is seen as an immigrant sport. The second is that soccer is boring. The third is the idea that soccer is not a manly sport when compared to more American sports such as football or hockey. The fourth and final reason is that soccer champions are determined differently than most American sports and therefore is unfair to the teams. What I wish to do with this paper, is not to convince anyone of the superiority of soccer, but to demonstrate that soccer can and does fit into American sports culture.

The best way that I could think of doing that is to examine two recent attempts to jumpstart soccer in America. The first attempt was in 1975 when Pelé, the greatest soccer player of all time, came to play in the United States as an ambassador for the game. The second attempt started in 2007 when David Beckham, an English soccer legend, signed on to play soccer for the Los Angeles Galaxy of Major League Soccer (MLS). I have relied on two books that discuss these events separately and have drawn my conclusions from them. The first book is Gavin Newsham's *Once in a Lifetime: The*

Incredible Story of the New York Cosmos and the other is *The Beckham Experiment: How the World's Most Famous Athlete Tried to Conquer America* by Grant Wahl. These two books relate the triumphs, struggles, and failures that have placed soccer in its current position in the United States.

In order to better understand where soccer stands in the United States we need to define American sports culture. According to Andrei S. Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman sports culture can be defined as “what people breathe, read, discuss, analyze, compare, and historicize” or “what people *follow* as opposed to what people *do*” (9). This is an important difference to note because many young people start playing soccer and then branch out into other sports. It is possible for someone to enjoy playing a sport and at the same time not follow that sport with any enthusiasm and in that way it is left outside of the sports culture. It is also from Markovits and Hellerman that I borrow the term the “Big Three and a One-Half” (6). When using the term the “Big Three and One-Half” they are specifically referring to baseball, basketball, football, and the one-half is hockey. Each of these sports will be used to help demonstrate how well soccer fits into America’s sports culture as we discuss the four points mentioned above. Soccer is often left out of any discussion on American sports because of the poor attitude that many American athletes have about it. One example is a quote from Jack Kemp, a former quarterback for the Buffalo Bills of the NFL. Kemp said, “I think it is important for all those young out there, who someday hope to play real football, where you throw it and kick it and run with it and put your hands on it” (Foer 241).

Soccer has widely been regarded as an immigrant game for many Americans. Basketball, baseball, and football all have strong, firm roots in the United States. Those strong roots were formed early because all three of these sports were developed in the United States. Hockey has its origins in Canada, but has been adopted by Americans and their sports culture. However, soccer was developed mainly in England and spread throughout Europe. While football was gaining prominence in the United States, soccer was growing even more quickly in Europe and Latin America (Markovits and Hellerman 76). Although America has always been a destination for countless immigrants, the culture of these immigrants was not always accepted in American life. One of the reasons that soccer has struggled to be integrated in America is its association with foreigners. This may have been the case when the Big Three and One-Half were developing, but with the continual globalization of sports that is no longer an excuse. Some people feel that soccer has become popular recently because “Americans are such suckers when it comes to something with a European label that many who have resisted thus far would give in to trendiness and push their kids into youth soccer programs” (Foer 243). Sure enough when Pelé came to play for the New York Cosmos of the North American Soccer League (NASL) there were not many Americans interested in soccer, but soccer has since grown beyond being a simple, passing fad. Joe Manfredi, an Italian immigrant and successful business man, perfectly captured the attitude of Americans when he said, “The people born in this country [the US] thought soccer was a joke, but people who came from other countries, we knew what soccer was because that’s all we knew” (Newsham 48).

Pelé's exploits into American soccer were both the best and the worst thing for the sport. Without a doubt Pelé's presence was the "single most important development in American soccer" (Newsham 135). Before Pelé came to play soccer in the United States he had already made himself a legend in the sport. He made his debut for the Brazilian national team at the age of 16 and would help lead Brazil to three World Cup Championships (1958, 1962, and 1970). He had also been declared a Brazilian National Treasure in an attempt to make it impossible for him to leave Brazil and take his talents to another country. The truth was the Pelé was the only person that was well enough known to convince Americans that soccer could be successful in their country because only he provided the excitement that Americans wanted to see in soccer. Pelé signed a deal to play with the New York Cosmos in 1975 and was an immediate success in many ways. He was past his prime, but he could still show flashes of brilliance that spoke volumes of his former talent and his current potential. Not only did Pelé greatly improve the quality of play in the NASL, but he also drew crowds that soccer had never seen before in the United States. It is hard to believe that a Brazilian could have had such a large impact on a marginalized sport. Pelé is often compared to great athletes such as Michael Jordan, Wayne Gretzky, or Babe Ruth, but the only athlete on the planet that could rival Pelé's renown was Muhammad Ali (Newsham 142). Although these players accomplished many great things in their career, their fame did not even approach the international appeal of Pelé. Pelé had world-wide recognition as the best player of his sport and he decided to bring his talents to the United States to help establish soccer. When he was introduced to the media in 1975 he said:

“For me it is like a dream. The United States is the capital of the world. Everybody has something to do in this life, a mission, a goal, and the only country in the world where soccer is not well known is the United States. I had a dream that one day the U.S.A. will know soccer and that is the main reason I am here now—to show this nation why soccer in the world is so important”

(Newsham 61).

Not only did Pelé give the perfect statement to explain why he had decided to come out of retirement and play soccer in the United States, but he channeled Martin Luther King, Jr. by alluding to a dream and showing Americans that there was a bigger world than just their home country. Pelé wanted the United States to become just like any other country in the world in terms of soccer.

Pelé’s success with the New York Cosmos, the NASL, and soccer in America, but it was only short lived. Many of the world’s greatest players at the time decided that if America had a strong enough soccer league to support Pelé, then they too could be successful in America. Pelé was soon joined by other foreigners such as: Giorgio Chinaglia (Italy), Franz Beckenbauer (Germany), and Carlos Alberto (Brazil). Although these names continued to put people in seats at their games they were also stopping the sport from growing in America. In the 1970s it was very difficult for Americans to cheer for a team that was made up of only a few of their fellow countrymen. Many came to the game simply to see Pelé play, but they were not truly invested in the sport. Because the New York Cosmos lacked a base of American players, soccer was still seen as a sport

played by and designed for foreigners. This attitude would hamper the growth of soccer and eventually lead to the failure of the NASL and Pelé's attempt to establish soccer in the United States.

During the 1980s and most of the 1990s soccer resumed its role as a fringe sport, but never truly threatened to enter the American sports culture. A second attempt would be made to establish soccer in America starting in 1994. There would never be a better time for this endeavor. The United States was chosen by FIFA, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, to host the 1994 World Cup. The world's largest tournament was going to be played on American soil for the first time. FIFA decided to grant the United States this opportunity as a stepping stone to help launch their most recent soccer league, Major League Soccer (MLS). However, the MLS struggled to attract world-class players and profitable television deals. All that changed in 2007 when David Beckham announced that he would be leaving Real Madrid of Spain to come play for the Los Angeles Galaxy of the MLS. With this announcement soccer instantly mattered again the United States. Once again, by some unknown miracle, an American soccer team had managed to sign one the biggest names in soccer. However, this attempt would be different than the 1975 attempt of the New York Cosmos with Pelé. This time Beckham would be joining Landon Donovan who was considered the best American soccer player at the time. It is too soon to know if Beckham's presence will be better or worse for soccer than Pelé's attempt was. Beckham may not have the exact same effect on soccer that Pelé did, but he has been a key figure in convincing other well-known soccer players to come play in the United States. The difference this time is that there is

now a strong American presence on many of the MLS teams. The diversity of the MLS has proved to be one of the strengths of the league. By mixing American players with international players the MLS has adopted the same formula that is now prevalent in the National Basketball Association (NBA), Major League Baseball (MLB), and the National Hockey League (NHL). One example can be seen in the table below. The table represents the current roster of Real Salt Lake, an MLS team based in Utah. A quick glance over the current players demonstrates how diverse a soccer team can be and still be successful in attracting fans to watch the game and learn to enjoy soccer.

Player Name	NATIONALITY
Jean Alexandre	Haiti
Kyle Beckerman	MD
Anthony Beltran	CA
Nat Borchers	AZ
Pablo Campos	Brazil
Fabian Espindola	Argentina
Robbie Findley	AZ
Luis Gil	USA
Nelson Gonzalez	Argentina
Ned Grabavoy	IL
David Horst	USA
Will Johnson	Canada
Rauwshan McKenzie	CT
Tim Melia	NY
Javier Morales	Argentina
Alex Nimo	Liberia
Jamison Olave	Colombia
Kyle Reynish	CA
Nick Rimando	CA
Robert Russell	Ghana
Alvaro Saborio	Costa Rica
Chris Schuler	MO

Collen Warner	CO
Andy Williams	Canada
Chris Wingert	NY

Found at <http://www.realsaltlake.com/players>

Teams that are constructed much like Real Salt Lake have proven to be very successful in all of the Big Three and One-Half. Baseball teams, such as the New York Yankees have signed players from Japan (Hideki Matsui) and Panama (Mariano Rivera). Winning basketball teams have done the same thing. The Los Angeles Lakers have in the past acquired players from Spain (Pau Gasol) and Serbia (Vlade Divac). Hockey is too hard to mention here because it is as diverse as the roster above. The point here is that Americans have accepted foreign athletes in every sport that they play and follow. Soccer is not different than any other of the Big Three and One-Half because it includes foreigners. Because these other sports have started to include foreign athletes on their teams it will help pave the way for soccer to become more acceptable in the minds of many Americans.

Soccer has the possibility of becoming even more diverse than any other sport in America. Baseball has spread internationally, but is still confined to a relatively small area that outside of the United States includes: the Caribbean, Central America, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Canada, Venezuela, Mexico, Holland, and Italy. Baseball has been

a “loser in globalization” and has “failed to master the global economy,” in fact it has been beaten back by many other sports (Foer 244). It has been beaten back enough that it was dropped from the Olympics. Football has spread into Canada, but failed to develop in Europe. If there is any sport that might challenge soccer for world dominance it is basketball. Basketball has become the world’s second most popular sport and is played in nearly every country just as soccer is (Markovits and Hellerman 82-3). Hockey may not be any better thought of than soccer in the US, but the NHL is still the top league in the world and all of the world’s best players come to play in the United States. That is something that the MLS desires to have said about them, but that is still years away.

One of the reasons that baseball, basketball, and football have such a strong, dominant presence in the United States is the amount of youth leagues available. Almost every American child is exposed to one of these three sports at some point in their life. Soccer has the same level of participation in countries other than the United States. In Europe it is not uncommon to hear of a fourteen or fifteen year old being considered to join a major team’s youth program. That teenager would then play with the youth team until the parent club decides that he is ready to play at the highest level of competition. The same pattern is followed by most of the sports in America. Baseball has a very strong base for young players. Many American children begin playing baseball or some form of it as early as the age of six. They then graduate to Little League Baseball and move on from there to the high school team. After high school they have a big choice in front of them. If they are good enough they can enter the MLB draft and start their professional career early or they can choose to play at the college level. Either choice

that they make will not affect their potential to play baseball professionally. By selecting to play in college they still get the same exposure to scouts from their future teams. Once a baseball player is drafted they have to work their way through four levels of play: rookie league, A, AA, AAA.¹¹⁰ In AAA they are a simple phone call away from being called up to play in the majors. Because of this youth baseball continues to be strong in America, but soccer is quickly catching up. In fact, “by 2002, 1.3 million more kids played soccer than Little League” (Foer 244). The advantage that they have over the MLS is that the goal of any star baseball player in the world is to eventually play in the United States. An excellent soccer player wants to play for leagues in England, Spain, Italy, and Germany.

Football is America’s national mania (Markovits and Hellerman 82). It has not spread as widely in the world as the other sports that make up the Big Three and One-Half, but it has made good headway into Canada and Northern Mexico. Football has even gone as far as playing exhibition games outside of the United States in places such as London and Mexico City (Markovits and Hellerman 82). That does not stop Americans from loving this sport almost to obsession. High school, college, and professional football games can all be seen on television at one time or another. The fans of American football have been known to dress up in ridiculous costumes to support their teams and to bear sub-zero temperatures in some areas. American football fans have these traits in common with many European soccer fans that are known to do the same thing. The Super Bowl is one of the most watched sporting events in the United States every year. It could be that football is so successful in the United States because it

¹¹⁰ These are pronounce Single A, Double A, and Triple A.

features mostly American players, there does not exist a substantial foreign player base for football. The only countries outside of the United States that might have a presence in the NFL (besides Canada) are Samoa and Tonga. Many players have Pacific Island roots, but are second or third generation Americans.

One of the other advantages that football has over soccer is the draft. Because of the vast number of people playing football the NFL can select only the best players for their teams. That is a luxury that only the greatest teams in European soccer leagues have. The NFL Draft and football itself has become so strongly entrenched in American culture that the Draft is broadcast live every year. The MLS has adopted a draft in an attempt to include college soccer players in their league, but it has not been as publicly seen as the NFL or NBA draft. The MLB draft is only a small matter in baseball because the players have to pass through four levels of play before they have the possibility of making it to the Majors.

Soccer does not have a large native-born base in America. There are great American players, but most of them choose to play in Europe or Latin America. One American born player, Landon Donovan, has chosen to play in the United States and try to promote the sport at home. That was not always the case with Donovan. He attempted to play in Germany, but was too immature and emotionally unready to handle the pressure of playing at a world-class level (Wahl 79). Unless the MLS can begin to produce superior native talent that choose to remain in the United States to play soccer it will always be seen as a game for and made up of foreigners. There are many American players that have found success in Europe playing in the best leagues in the world, but

they only time that American fans see them play is during international matches. Some of those players are Tim Howard, Michael Bradley, and Clint Dempsey. They are great players, but Americans do not see them play week in and week out like they do with American football players so it is difficult to build a strong fan base for them.

Basketball has easily become world's second favorite sport. It could be considered the national game of America (Markovits and Hellerman 82). It has a strong youth base just like the other two big sports in America. Basketball is even more like baseball in that it attracts international players to come and show their talents in the United States. Some of the NBA's best players are foreign-born. Players such as Dirk Nowitzki (Germany), Yao Ming (China), Mehmet Okur (Turkey), and Danilo Gallinari (Italy) have become house-hold names. Even with this strength in foreign players, the true base of the NBA still comes from the multitude of college basketball teams. It is easy to become the world's greatest league if you can be selective in whom you choose to play for your team. You do not have to settle for sub-par performers and hope that the other players of the team can make up the difference, which is a common concern in the MLS. When your best players are just waiting for an offer from a bigger, better European soccer club it is easy to settle for lower quality players. The problem is that these players cannot produce the high level of play that is needed to attract the casual fan to the game. In fact, because of this problem soccer is often seen as boring in the United States.

It is hard for soccer to compete with the high scores that are produced in basketball or football. Because soccer games can end in a 1-0 win or even worse, a 0-0

tie the sport is seen by many as a slow game that offers little to no excitement. It is hard to believe that this would be a problem because baseball, our national pastime celebrates no-hitters and shut-outs. A no-hitter is one of the greatest feats in sports, but it can be extremely boring until the ninth and last inning of a game. Without taking away from that marvelous accomplishment of not allowing any of the 27 batters to get a hit off of the pitcher, it is boring to watch player after player approach home-plate only to be sent back to the dugout without anything happening. The excitement comes late in the game when the spectators know that only a few more pitches are needed to accomplish this lofty deed. Usually in American sports a low score for the opponent is highly praised because it represents a stellar defensive achievement. Soccer, for a reason unknown to me, is criticized for its low scoring affairs. However, soccer can be very exciting for people who understand the game and know that it is much harder for eleven players to come together to score a goal against eleven other players that are doing everything possible to stop them and advance towards their own goal. David Beckham proved just how exciting soccer can be in the closing moments of a game. During the final minutes of a game against the Kansas City Wizards Beckham proved just how talented he could be and also that soccer had its moments of brilliance. Kansas City had won a corner kick and the goalkeeper, Kevin Hartman, ran the length of the field to join the attack, leaving the goal completely empty on the other side. The corner kick came and was deflected downfield by the Galaxy. Then fate intervened and dropped the ball at Beckham's feet. Beckham dribbled into open space and launched a seventy-yard rainbow shot towards Kansas City's goal. The ball flew with deadly accuracy and went into the net (Wahl 2006). Some

may argue that this was bad sportsmanship because there was no goalie in place to stop the ball, but it was memorizing to watch the talent of a player like Beckham and the 240,741 people that watched the highlight on YouTube the following two days would agree that it was a remarkable goal (Wahl 206).

Pelé had the same effect on the game when he came in 1975. The first practice that Pelé had with the New York Cosmos was covered by the press, but they were not prepared to see the talent that Pelé possessed as a retired 33 year old. At the first practice John Kerr, another Cosmos player, kicked a cross¹¹¹ that went behind Pelé's head and then the greatest player to ever live proved why he had earned that title. "Pelé jumped up in the air and did a bicycle kick, and scored" (Newsham 66). A bicycle kick is one of the hardest maneuvers in soccer. It consists of a player turning his back to the goal and launching himself in the air backwards while he swings a foot towards the ball and tries to direct his shot towards the goal. The act of a bicycle kick is hard enough, let alone scoring on one.

Comparing these two stories to basketball will help shed some light on their importance. Beckham's seventy-yard goal would be the equivalent to a shot from the opposite foul line that went straight in the hoop. Pelé's act has almost nothing of its kind in the world of sports. The closest thing to it would be a one-handed, backwards shot while falling to the floor near the three-point line. If soccer could produce moments of brilliance such as these in every game or at least with some frequency then Americans would gladly accept the sport into their own lives. Sadly, these events are few and far

¹¹¹ A cross is when a player on the sideline kicks the ball in the air towards the center of the field in an attempt to pass the ball for a goal.

between. For a soccer aficionado many of the goals that are scored weekly can be described as beautiful, but they are seldom seen as such by people that do not understand the game. It is not a stretch to say that almost any goal in soccer is the equivalent to an alley-oop¹¹² in basketball. Basketball would become very boring very quickly if the teams were only allowed to score with an alley-oop or a similarly quick strike at the hoop. Luckily for basketball fans that is not the case and basketball teams score consistently and frequently. The low scoring games usually come from women's sports and may be a reason why soccer is seen as less manly than the other Big Three and One-Half.

The Big Three and One-Half are not only played by men, women enjoy these sports also, but they are held to different standards than men who play those sports. Soccer often is called a girl sport by opponents to the game, but these opponents, such as shock jock Jim Rome, do not truly understand the game. Rome actually once said, "My son is not playing soccer. I will hand him ice skates and a shimmering sequined blouse before I hand him a soccer ball. Soccer is not a sport, does not need to be on my TV, and my son will not be playing it" (Foer 242). One of my favorite stories about how poorly conceived soccer is comes from an experience I had in high school. In Utah soccer is a spring sport and takes place at the same time as baseball and track. On a rare day off from practice the track team challenged me to join their practice to see how difficult their sport was. I have a great deal of respect for long-distant runners because my father was one when he went to school. When I heard the challenge I knew that I could not sit idly

¹¹² An alley-oop is when a player throws the basketball high in the air towards the hoop and another player. The second player then catches the ball to either slam dunks the ball or lays it in while in the air.

by and allow them to think that soccer players were not able to compete with them. I decided to take challenge and attended their practice that day.

When I arrived the long-distant runners informed me that they would be running one of the most difficult practice courses that the coach had devised. The course included running through dirt and sand uphill and was nearly seven miles long. For a minute I considered that they might be telling me this to try and scare me out of the challenge, but I was rather stubborn as a teenager. My worries were only confirmed when the coach told the team what course they needed to run that day and the entire team groaned. After the normal warm-up laps and stretching we were ready to be on our way. At first I ran alongside my friends that were on the track team, but they were not willing to push themselves and I watched as my challengers sped off on their way to the more challenging portions of the course. I had run almost two and one-half miles before I became bored with the pace and told my friends that I would see them at the end of practice. Not only did I outpace my friends by nearly a mile, I also finished just behind the three top runners of the track team. I had proved, at least to my school's track team that soccer players could run with the best but soccer is still categorized as a sport for wimps that cannot survive in the Big Three and One-Half.

Endurance is only one aspect of soccer that makes it equal to the Big Three and One-Half. Soccer is played in two 45 minute halves and there are no time-outs or breaks during those halves. The only time that the players are allowed to rest is when an injury occurs. The length of the game seems insignificant when compared to other sports, but none of the Big Three and One-Half have the nonstop play that soccer does. Another

reason that soccer players must have more endurance than other athletes is that they are only allowed three total substitutions per game. Once a player has left the game they are not allowed back the field during that same game. The Big Three and One-Half allow for as many substitute players as they want in the course of a single game. To further establish this point it is best to discuss each sport separately and compare them to soccer.

In baseball the players rarely do any running other than when someone has hit the ball or when a fielder tries to catch the ball. Other than those brief moments of excitement baseball players spend a great deal of time standing and are only on the field for half of the game. The other half of the game they sit in the dugout preparing themselves to go back out onto the field to wait for something to happen. Baseball players must be in excellent shape to excel at their sport, but little endurance is needed. Instead they need to be able to have quick burst of speed or power to either catch or hit the ball or to make it to the next base safely.

Basketball is a much quicker game than baseball. Teams cover the court in matters of seconds and then have to turn around and prevent the other team from scoring. However, basketball players can leave and reenter the game whenever they grow tired. It is true that not every player on a soccer field is running for the entire ninety minutes of the game, but the successful ones are at least jogging that entire time. To put this in better perspective one only has to search ESPN.com or NBA.com to see how many minutes a game the top players of the NBA average. Currently the person that plays the most minutes per game is Rudy Gay of the Memphis Grizzlies. Gay averages forty minutes a game. That is less than one half of a soccer game. I do not wish to be

misunderstood, the minutes that players put in during a basketball game are usually full of hustle, but these players have the benefit of calling for a time out if they need one and also have breaks between each quarter in order to catch their breath.

According to most Americans the most masculine sport that you can play is football. Not only do you have to carry between twenty and thirty extra pounds of pads on their bodies, but they have the longest field out of the Big Three and One-Half. A full football field measures one hundred yards from end zone to end zone and is 53 yards wide. The dimensions of a soccer field are bigger than a football field. A soccer field measures 120 yards long and eighty yards wide.

Football players are usually very big and their pads make them appear even bigger, but rarely do the players participate in every play of the game. This is partly because there are both offensive and defensive units on a football team. That means that no one player is involved in every moment of the game like soccer or basketball. One could argue that because of the pads football players have an advantage over soccer players because of the extra weight, but they do not play enough of the game to truly compete with the endurance that soccer players have. Those pads also allow for harder hits than you would see in any other sport because the players honestly believe that they can be protected from nearly every hit they give or receive during a game. The truth is that those pads only promote a sense of recklessness that does not exist in any other sport. Soccer players are subject to just as many collisions as any other athlete, but they do so without padding. Some of the most gruesome injuries that I have seen come from soccer games. Legs broken by an errant tackle, heads cut open by cleats or another players

head, or misguided kicks that drive a player to the ground can all be seen during one single soccer game and all happen without pads. Perhaps that is why so many soccer players feel the need to “take a dive” or fake an injury.

One of the biggest complaints about soccer, both from fans of the game and the casual observer is the constant poor acting of the players. It is a common sight to see a soccer player take a light touch on the leg and immediately flop to the ground and writhe in pain only to see him hop back up to either protest not be awarding a penalty or to celebrate the fact that he was given the call. It is obvious to everyone watching that the player was never truly hurt and was faking his injury or distress only in an attempt to be given a free kick or penalty. In soccer culture such acts are accepted as long as they are not overdone or done too frequently. However, outside of soccer this is perceived as a serious drawback for the sport because it gives it a sense of inferiority. What most fans do not realize is that basketball players are often just as guilty in faking a foul as their soccer counterparts. How many times have we seen a player running at full speed down the court before he loses control of the ball and flairs his arms to cause the illusion that the defender fouled him in some way? It may not happen in such a dramatic way as it does in soccer, but it still happens.

Just like pads set football apart from soccer, off-field violence sets soccer apart from football. For a reason unknown to me it is acceptable for the players on the field to include some extracurricular activity during the game such as shoving, hitting, or all out fighting; especially in the case of hockey. However, once that violence leaves the field and is participated in by fans the sport becomes chaotic. The passionate soccer fans of

Europe, Latin America, and Asia can sometimes result in fighting and mob rule among the fans. American fans see those acts as immature. It is not because Americans are not passionate about their sports, but because they consider themselves more civilized than the hooligans that attend soccer games. At least once a year, without fail, there is a report of soccer fans violently attacking and killing fans from an opposing team. These acts are one of the reasons that soccer is still seen as an inferior sport in America. It is appropriate to be passionate about your team, but one should still act civilized when their team loses or plays a rival team. Even as a soccer fan I can see the danger in allowing fans to behave in such a careless way.

If the sense of athleticism and the craziness of the fans were the only questions about soccer, it could be forgiven of its faults and enter in American sports culture, but they also have a unique way of rewarding the teams for wins and ties that does not exist in any of the Big Three but it is found in hockey.

One of the complaints that I often hear about soccer is that the point system is confusing and unfair. Europeans share the same attitude towards American sports. Europeans see American sports as awkward and strange, not to mention inferior and easy (Markovits and Hellerman 5). Soccer is not all that much more confusing than any of the Big Three and One-Half. They all have their own set of rules that can seem very baffling to anyone that is not familiar with the game. There is not enough room to discuss the rules of any of these sports in detail, plus what one person might find confusing would make perfect sense to another person. The only difference that I want to focus on is the point system that exists in soccer and hockey. The NHL has adopted a

new point system that is different than that of soccer, but does not need to be explained at this time. In most American sports a team advances to the play offs or postseason based solely on their win-loss record. Teams play extra minutes of overtime just to make sure the game is clearly a win or a loss, but in soccer the game can end in a tie and the team can be awarded for that. For each game that a soccer team wins they are awarded three points. For each tie they only receive a single point. In European Leagues there is no postseason tournament to decide the champion, instead the team with the most points.

The American system for sports relies heavily on a postseason tournament. At times they play a series of games and the winner of the series moves on until the championship match which is also a series of games. The number of games can range from five to seven in any given series and is usually the best of five or seven games. Or in other words, the team that wins the most games in the series advances on to the next round. Regular season soccer may seem anti-American because of its point system, but the World Cup combines the best of both worlds.

There is really only one year off from the world's largest tournament which is played every four years because qualifying matches for the World Cup begin two or three years in advance. The best 32 teams from the world enter a tournament and are split into eight groups of four. Each team in the group plays the other three teams in the group and the two teams with the most points move onto a sixteen game tournament. Although they only play one game per round there is still a chance that an underdog team could win the tournament. This type of tournament is more of what the American sports fans want to

see, as evidenced by the disgruntlement regarding college football's championship game and Bowl Championship Series (BCS) rankings.

Soccer has in many ways already entered the American sports culture, but it still has some work to do before it can rival any of the Big Three and One-Half. One area where it does not need to adapt to the American sports frenzy is in the way it treats its superstars. When Pelé came to play for the New York Cosmos in 1975 the American people were aware of the importance that this man possessed. They may not have been true fans of the game, but they knew that a superstar had come to the United States. The only comparison that I could think of to demonstrate this point would be to imagine if Michael Jordan chose to leave the NBA to play and promote basketball in Africa. The same type of things happened in 2007 when David Beckham came to California to play soccer.

Pelé did not realize when he came to the United States that he would become an instant celebrity to a soccer-starved nation. His face was seen everywhere and provided a glimmer of hope that Americans could finally accept soccer into their own sports culture. "There was an appearance on Johnny Carson and a meeting with the president, Gerald Ford and he would vie with a young New Jersey songwriter called Bruce Springsteen for the country's hippest magazine covers too" (Newsham 67). People swooned over Pelé and flocked to soccer games for the first time in American history just for the chance to watch him play. Pelé's final game for the New York Cosmos was October 1, 1977 and more than 100,000 people purchased tickets just for the chance to finally see Pelé retire (Newsham 141). Pelé only played three seasons in the NASL, but he "brought instant

credibility to the standard of the game in the States, even if the quality of the play was still dubious” (Newsham 68). The lack of quality play would be the downfall of the NASL after Pelé left because the New York Cosmos continued to dominate the league and there was no true competition for them. Without a team of equal quality the fans quickly lost interest in the sport and moved on to other sports that provided more excitement based on competitiveness. However, it was not a complete failure to have Pelé play in the United States. He sparked an interest in the sport that would only be seen years later after the roots of soccer had been laid in America. After the MLS was established in 1996 it was time for someone to come and carry on Pelé’s legacy, that man was David Beckham.

When David Beckham announced that he would be coming to play for the Los Angeles Galaxy it became the hottest sports story of the year. When the signing was announced the Galaxy sold 5,000 new season tickets (Wahl 41). Beckham’s biggest influence in America was off the field. It is easy to forget that Beckham’s wife was also famous; Victoria Beckham had once gone by the name of Posh Spice. The night after his debut game, July 22, 2007, the “party to end all parties, welcoming the Beckhams to the upper stratosphere of Hollywood” took place (Wahl 64). The Beckhams were introduced into American and Hollywood culture by the most famous celebrity couple at that time, Tom Cruise and Katie Holmes (Wahl 65). Beckham was injured when he first came to play for Los Angeles, but after he was rested he proved that his talent could improve the quality of play in the MLS and also fill the stadiums. Because Beckham came to play so recently it is difficult to determine if he will be a positive or negative influence on soccer

in America, but one thing is certain soccer has begun to break into American sports culture because of his presence in this country.

It is difficult to speculate the future of American sports because things change so quickly. The truth is that soccer will most likely never surpass football or basketball in popularity, but that is not the goal of the MLS. The MLS only wants to be seen as an equal partner in American sports. In many ways soccer is already equal to hockey in America. The advantage that remains for hockey is that the NHL remains the dominant league in the world and attracts the world's best players. The MLS has begun to attract bigger names such as Rafael Marquez and Thierry Henry, but they, like Beckham, have had successful careers in Europe and are on their way to retirement. Soccer could very well become more popular than our national pastime. That is a very bold statement, but because the MLS plays during the summer when most European teams are enjoying their off-season they can attract players that wish to remain in shape for the next season. The summer is the season for baseball, but that means that soccer does not have to compete for fans or television rights against the more popular sports such as basketball and football that both play a fall to spring schedule. Soccer is slowly wedging itself into America's sports culture and it will not be long before the Big Three and One-Half become the Big Three and Two-Halves. One of the best things that could happen for the sport is if business men such as Malcolm Glazer, the current owner of Manchester United, would invest their money in the MLS instead of teams across the Atlantic. Many people are beginning to allow soccer to enter into American sports culture and they have realized that soccer does belong in America.

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New Mexican Transitions

New Mexico is an area that has been studied from almost nearly angle, but recently there has been a focus on telling the Mexican and Native American side of the story. My thesis will attempt to do more than just tell the Mexican side of the story. I will examine how New Mexicans identified themselves following the U.S.-Mexican War. Previous to this conflict New Mexico had been left to fend for itself in the isolated northern part of the Mexican Republic. Because of their circumstances New Mexicans did not follow the normal pattern on nationalization. They were forced to battle outside influence from both Americans and Native Americans. Slowly the New Mexican economy shifted away from Mexico City and drifted towards St. Louis.

This shift was not the only reason they were becoming their own people. The people of New Mexico also felt neglected by the Mexican government because they received little aid to fight bands of raiding Native Americans. However, not every New Mexican had an easy transition to American rule and culture. Many of the decisions to become loyal to the United States were based on economic status, gender, and culture.

Over the course of this semester we have examined a number of historical theories that have helped me decide how I want to approach my topic. I will be focusing mainly on the three areas mentioned above, but many of the theories could be used for this topic and produce a very different result. The following is a brief discussion of the theories that we discussed and how they apply or do not apply to my thesis.

Marxist historical theory hinges on the idea that class divisions drive history. In *The Black Jacobins* C.L.R. James demonstrates how the bourgeoisie propelled the Haitian Revolution. James describes how the lower classes and the elites had different ideas and goals during the revolt. The population of Haiti was split between slaves, the working class, and the elite. Each group was different in social standing, but they all fought for the same goal, freedom. However, not every class felt that the same freedoms should be granted to everyone.

The elites sought to keep the status quo and continue to oppress the lower classes. The Mulattoes, which to James is more of a class distinction defined by blacks or mixed-race people that owned slaves, wanted to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the upper-class. The slaves, simply wanted freedom.¹¹³ James emphasizes the distinction between classes more than races because the racial line is very blurry. Mulattoes owned slaves and considered themselves above the blacks that they owned, for them it was not a question of race, but of economic circumstances. James further strengthens his argument by showing how different Toussaint was from other blacks in Haiti. Much of Toussaint's words appear to indicate that he believed that race issues were important, but James shows that Toussaint saw slavery as an economic issue, not one related to race.¹¹⁴ James does not want to completely disregard race because it is important for the issue, but it would be an error to make it fundamental to the argument.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ C.L.R James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 81.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 283.

I agree that race and class both have their strengths in arguments, but James does not give a voice to the masses of Haiti. He paints the masses as simple-minded fools that are only following along with what the rest of their social equals are doing. James also robs the masses of any individual thinking or agency in decision making. A better blend of race, class, and nationalism more aptly suits the theory that would best demonstrate changing national identities in New Mexico following the U.S.-Mexican War.

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker are also Marxist historians, but they do not approach history in the same way that James does. They take a much broader view of events and allow the masses to have a voice in their study. Another difference between *The Many-Headed Hydra* and *The Black Jacobins* is that Linebaugh and Rediker employ class-consciousness theory. This theory argues that the people that make up a class are aware of that they fit into that class and seek to help out their own class. The authors argue that because the class acts together it leads to communalism. Communalism is more than capitalism because it allows for more freedom and it is also easy to distribute goods and wealth if the community stays small enough. This system is also different than Communism because it does not rely on a strong leader, but limits the power of authority in those societies. Linebaugh and Rediker use many examples to prove this theory, one of which is the pirates or sailors of the high seas.

While aboard a pirate ship the captain's authority was limited by the capitalist shipping industry, but that did not stop them from focusing on their class and ignoring

everything else including race, culture, gender, and nation.¹¹⁶ Linebaugh and Rediker use the example of the multinational, multicultural, and multiracial pirate ships to demonstrate that the color of your skin or the language that you spoke were not as vital to living a happy life as class was. The other argument that the authors make is that people that joined pirate ships did so because they were conscious of the class they belonged to and wanted to escape the life that they lived.¹¹⁷ This theory is argued well, but Linebaugh and Rediker, similar to Jacobs, try to downplay the effects that race and culture played in the decisions that people made to leave the established societal norms and join in communalism. For James, the ideas for a revolt filter from the top down, but for Linebaugh and Rediker those ideas are born from the bottom and spread upward through social classes. Both arguments are convincing to a certain degree, but they strip the people of agency and choice for the decisions that they made.

Class is an important factor when someone identifies themselves as part of one nation, but not of another, but it is only one factor. Race and culture also help people decide how they identify themselves. Following the U.S.-Mexico War the people of New Mexico were supposed to be given the same rights as a United States citizen, but that did not always happen because the Mexican culture was considered inferior, as were Native Americans. The only way to combat this conception was to belong to a high enough social class that one could blur those national and cultural lines.

¹¹⁶ Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 162.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 163.

For most historians race is considered a social construct, it is not defined by biology. In *Working Towards Whiteness* by David R. Roediger race is discussed by examining how it was used to limit immigrants' choices for labor. Roediger focuses mostly on European immigrants to the United States and argues that even though these immigrants possessed light colored skin that they were still not equal to other "white" people. The main people that were affected by this double standard racism were the Irish, Italian, and Eastern European immigrants.¹¹⁸ Roediger's examples prove that race or ethnicity is not always directly linked to a person's appearance. Irish immigrant would not have appeared very different from English immigrants, but yet they were still excluded and ridiculed in America. For many people race was linked to social status or class.¹¹⁹ Americans believed that being white meant that you were of a privileged class and acted in a certain way and because many of the new immigrants did not fit the mold that they had established they needed another reason to show their superiority. Race soon became a natural connection between biological and cultural differences.¹²⁰

Roediger's approach to race applies very well to the racial dynamics of New Mexico from 1821-1860. Following Mexican Independence in 1821 American and French-Canadian trappers were given more freedom to engage in trading in Mexican territory. The trappers were expected to seek Mexican citizenship in order to trade legally, but many ignored these regulations and risked punishment. The trappers were second-class citizens in Mexico, but following the U.S.-Mexican War the dynamics

¹¹⁸ David R. Roediger, *Working Towards Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York, Basic Books: 2005), 38 and 47.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 45.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 51.

changed and New Mexicans were now on the bottom of the socio-cultural atmosphere. It was through labor that some of these New Mexicans were able to climb out of the gutters of their social restraints and participate in some of the same freedoms and liberties that American citizens were able to enjoy.

Susan Lee Johnson argues that gender, similar to race, is a social construct that changes with time and place. In her book, *Roaring Camp*, Johnson uses the backdrop of the California Gold Rush to show that gender had to be redefined on the frontier because there were relatively few women made the journey to California at this time. Gender crossed racial, cultural, and social lines as demonstrated by Johnson's discussion on Asian immigrants during the Gold Rush. At times it was labor that defined gender. When miners wanted to find someone to wash their clothes they could search out Mexican women or Chinese men.¹²¹ The significance of Chinese men sharing labor responsibilities with women shows that gender was not necessarily divided by male and female, it constantly crossed those lines and attributed different gender characteristics on people that were different in some way. Even a small enough difference such as a small patch of hair in a certain place on a man's unmentionables could designate him as a woman for the night.¹²²

Gender is an important subject to consider in any history, however in New Mexico during the 1840s women did not have a strong voice and for that reason they did not leave behind many records. New Mexico is similar to California in this respect and

¹²¹ Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000), 137.

¹²² *Ibid*, 173.

gender could be discussed in the same way that Johnson does. Women did play an important role in New Mexico because often trappers and other American men would marry into prominent Mexican families to increase their prestige and speed up the citizenship process. Although this is an important aspect of New Mexican history it may not fit into my work at this time.

Another approach to history that could be useful is literary theory. Edward Said employs literary theory in *Culture and Imperialism* to demonstrate how imperial powers viewed their colonies. Said uses *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad, *Kim* by Rudyard Kipling, and *Aida* to argue that culture flowed through written language to the common people. What Said does best is point out what most of these literary works are lacking, which often is any mention of the natives in the colonies. The goal of this literature was to exemplify how a citizen of the nation should act. The native could not be made to disappear so the colonial powers sought to separate them from the true citizens.¹²³ By doing so they hoped to control the natives and continue their dominance in the foreign land.

Literary theory can be very effective to determine how serious issues were viewed at the time. By examining literature written about New Mexico, by both New Mexicans and Americans it would reveal how they saw each other and how they saw themselves. Unfortunately there is little written from the New Mexican perspective as literature, but Americans, as usual, had very strong opinions that could demonstrate their true feelings while at the same time attempting to hide their extreme racial bias.

¹²³ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 167.

Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* discusses the power of discourse by examining the progression of punishment beginning with torture and finishing with the panopticon. At first this book seems to be an analysis of the prison system in the world, but it is really an example of how persuasive the "gaze" of authority can be. The panopticon is designed so that a tower can be constructed in the middle of an enclosed space so that from the tower's point of view every cell can be seen, but the people in the cell are never aware of when the gaze is resting upon them.¹²⁴

The argument that Foucault debates in his book is convincing, but is not very relative to my topic. It could be an interesting way to examine how and why people reacted the way they did to American invasion into New Mexico, but my thesis will focus more on the cultural aspects than the organization that was set up during that time. The main issue that I would have with Foucault's argument is trying to identify who is using the gaze and how it is being used.

A different theory that may be more useful for my work is presented in *The Tyranny of Opinion* by Pablo Piccato. In this work Piccato argues that the public sphere and honor helped shape Mexican politics. The public sphere is a very strong influence that cannot be overlooked. However, Piccato has a hard time defining the public sphere; he seems to argue that there are multiple public spheres in Mexico, but never really discusses the differences between them. Piccato ignores social class, gender, and race issues. Mexico is and was a country of few readers yet newspapers and public opinion

¹²⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 200.

made up a large portion of the public sphere because only a few readers were needed to spread the word.¹²⁵ The newspapers may not have always portrayed public opinion, but Piccato argues that many of the Mexican people agreed with what they read because they did nothing to change what was being done.

While Piccato argues that honor was the driving force behind the public sphere he struggles to make the connection across all social classes. Part of my argument will be that social status helped determine how Mexicans identified themselves following the U.S.-Mexico War. Honor and the public sphere changed to a different model and they had to adapt, some were successful, but most were not.

Lawrence Culver also uses another theory that may be useful at another time. Culver's book, *The Frontier of Leisure*, does not seem very theoretical at first, but one could argue that he employs an environmental theory that allows for the environment to be an agent in what decisions were made in southern California. It would be wrong to classify his work as environmental determinism, but it does show how the environment shaped architectural movements. At first the buildings were designed to blend in to the environment, then they were made to stand out, and finally buildings began to bring the environment inside.¹²⁶ This development is important because the rest of the United States followed the same architectural patterns.

¹²⁵ Pablo Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion: Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 66.

¹²⁶ Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 198-238.

The part of Culver's book that is more useful for my work is how well he blends gender, race, and social class theories. Out of all the books that we read this semester this is the one that I want my own work to reflect the most. The New Mexican environment helped determine how colonization was done in the first large scale attempts. The environment also aided in the isolation of New Mexico that made New Mexicans disillusioned with the Mexican government and seek something different.

The other theories that we discussed also have their limited application to my thesis. Nationalism is the main issue that I will be tackling, but Latin American ideas of nationalism do not follow the more widely accepted notions that the idea of a nation is imagined and dependent on shared literature. The Borderlands area between the United States and Mexico is unique in many ways, one of which is how nation is defined. What I plan on arguing is that because of the uniqueness of the area New Mexicans had to find their own way of identifying themselves because they were so far removed from the cultural center of their own country, but were under constant bombardment from American society on how they should act.

The one theory that would be difficult to employ in my thesis is modernity. The main reason that modernity will not be used in my studies is that it is too difficult to define. Modernity would provide a rich background to examine how New Mexicans saw themselves as more modern than Native Americans, but Americans viewed Mexicans as equal or worse than Native Americans. Unfortunately, modernity is too abstract to define and may not apply to the relatively short time period that I am studying.

As has been demonstrated some of these theories would be very useful for my studies, but it would be impossible to use all of them in a single paper. The theories that will be most useful for me are gender, social/class, and nationalism. These theories may not answer all the questions, but they will provide a new look into this time period.

Rural Rebels: Comparing Independent Movements in Maine and Rural Mexico

Because of the geographical and chronological proximity of the independent movements in the United States and Mexico scholars have found many ways to compare them. These two movements do indeed have many similarities, but there are also many differences. Through a general comparison of Eric Van Young's *The Other Rebellion* and Alan Taylor's *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors* these commonalities and distinctions become apparent. Because both of these authors focus on the rural peoples in these two sister republics I have chosen to focus on some of these parallels to demonstrate how alike and unique these rebellions were. The areas I will be focusing on are class conflict, religion, land issues, and the overall goals of the people.

To begin, it is important to flesh out some of the basic differences between the two movements and the works. Alan Taylor's main focus lies in the post-Revolutionary frontier of Maine, whereas Van Young's work includes many different rural areas, all of which surround Mexico City. In this way Taylor's work comes across as a micro-history even though because it deals with a small area and population in a very specific part of the country. *The Other Rebellion* is more of a general history of the rural rebellions during the Mexican independence movement. It covers only a very specific set of people, but is geographically much broader than Taylor's work. Because of this Van Young is forced to make generalizations about the people involved. In this way Taylor is able to give the reader a very detailed account of the proceedings in frontier Maine. That is not to say that Van Young does not give detailed accounts of events and people, but he aims to fit those events into a the larger events.

Another distinction between these two works can be found in the time period in which they occur. Van Young's book covers the eleven years of the Mexican independence movement, roughly 1810-1821, with little background on what caused the rebellion, instead he seeks to shed light on how the rural people of Mexico understood the events. In *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors* the time period is much broader because Taylor's goal is to show how the ideas of the American Revolution informed the later conflicts over land in frontier Maine.

Both of these works concentrate on rural people and how they behaved and understood the independence movements. As Alan Taylor said, "to understand agrarian resistance in the early [American] Republic, we should avoid two misconceptions: that settlers were a proletariat, and that there can be no class conflict without one."¹²⁷ Class conflict did exist in frontier Maine and arose out of different goals for the land. The Great Proprietors, or elites, wanted to develop the land to become a part of a more efficient, complex and hierarchical social order "where property would become concentrated in the hands of the capitalists who best understood how to employ it to create more property."¹²⁸ However, the rural Americans wanted to own land so that they could have economic autonomy.¹²⁹ The fact that the lower, working class people of America could own land is a huge difference from rural Mexico. The countryside of Mexico had a completely different social makeup than its counterpart in Maine because it

¹²⁷ Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 7.

¹²⁸ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

was predominantly populated by indigenous peasants.¹³⁰ These people could not own land and often were forcefully employed to work on haciendas for rich land owners of Spanish descent. The ethnic diversity of Mexico's rural areas adds a dimension of complexity that is not found in Taylor's book. For this reason Van Young chooses to focus more on ethnic conflicts than class conflicts, but class in New Spain was closely linked to ethnicity and in this way comparisons can be made between the two movements. Because of the different approaches to colonialism the ethnic makeup of Mexico remained greatly diverse within the country. Spain sought to subjugate and Christianize indigenous people, but British colonies pushed Indians further West or slaughtered them.¹³¹

Yeoman farmers in Maine not only wanted the land for economic freedom, but they needed the new farms in order to preserve their society and traditions. In the United States, and particularly on agrarian frontiers, tradition held that farmers would try to build large families because the children would be used as a labor force until they turned twenty-one, at which time prosperous parents would give them means for employment. These means could range from shops to boats and to farmland. In exchange for this helping hand aging parents expected their children to care for them in their own age. Without available land this society could not continue.¹³² Proprietors felt that this model was designed to fail because such a strong focus on sustenance farming prevented them from entering the market and being profitable. The mixed farms that these rural people

¹³⁰ Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 8.

¹³¹ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 511.

¹³² See Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 61-63.

owned met only their immediate needs but did not provide the yeomen with enough goods or money to enter into the capitalistic society that was beginning to establish itself in the United States even before the Revolution.¹³³ Rural Americans remained willing to fight for the tradition of liberty and freedom that had grown out of the Revolution. This common idea that the American Revolution had been fought in order to obtain free access to land and to enhance local autonomy is why rural Americans felt betrayed by their leaders.¹³⁴

Similar situations arose in rural Mexico and resulted in similar goals. However, the ethnic makeup of rural Mexico played a much larger role than class conflict, but as stated earlier a person's ethnicity was closely linked to their social status. Ethnicity remained extremely plastic even though efforts had been made to draw distinct lines.¹³⁵ The many haciendas that were found in Mexico's rural countryside acted as symbols of wealth and indigenous insurgents often attacked them for this reason.¹³⁶ The goal behind these attacks was not always clear because the different villages owned land collectively and if a hacienda fell then someone else would be sent to take control of it. When asked most of the rural rebels did not know why they had chosen to fight, maybe they had simply been wrapped up in the fervor of the rebellion.¹³⁷ For this reason insurgent forces in Mexico could never coalesce for long periods of time, they had no common motive.¹³⁸ It is also here that some class conflict can be seen because many of the indigenous elites

¹³³ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 75-76.

¹³⁴ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 112.

¹³⁵ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 29.

¹³⁶ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 83.

¹³⁷ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 102.

¹³⁸ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 141.

chose not to participate in the attacks on haciendas because they wished to stay loyal to the colonial government in hopes of retaining their positions of authority.¹³⁹

Indigenous insurgents in rural Mexico felt that their most important task in their revolts was to preserve their village identity.¹⁴⁰ Similar to the way that Liberty Men sought to preserve their long-standing social structure indigenous Mexicans desired to preserve their sense of identity. However, this is such a loosely defined goal that rebels in Mexico had a difficult time finding common ground. American rural farmers united behind a common idea of what their society should look like and were successful in resisting external authority through internal solidarity.¹⁴¹ They strongly believed that King George had owned the land before he lost it in the American Revolution and that the land should become the property of the people who defended and won it.¹⁴² According to the American rebels the elites betrayed the ideology behind the Revolution by trying to create their own large landholdings in the United States. These proprietors wanted to increase productivity, but according the farmers the American Revolution had been fought for equal rights to land and the common people's desire for such had been awakened by this idea of equality.¹⁴³

Elites in American society imagined that the many people who moved to the Maine frontier were poor and turbulent men.¹⁴⁴ The same idea existed in Mexico where the violent and disjunctive nature of the rebellion and frontier life inevitably attracted

¹³⁹ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 143-6.

¹⁴⁰ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 144.

¹⁴¹ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 118.

¹⁴² Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 95.

¹⁴³ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 104.

¹⁴⁴ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 33.

people from the margins of society including criminal, sociopaths, and chronic malcontents.¹⁴⁵ These negative stereotypes persisted in both independent movements and greatly influenced how the upper-class treated the rebels. The mistrust between different classes of society manifested itself in different ways in the two movements. In the United States, as discussed above, this translated to a cry of betrayal among the yeomanry where they exalted the Founding Fathers and decried the ideas of the proprietors.¹⁴⁶ Mexicans fleshed out these ideas by exonerating the King of Spain and placing all of the blame on the *gachupines*.¹⁴⁷ In this way the King of Spain could be preserved as a messianic figure in the minds of Mexican rebels. In order to properly understand how Mexicans understood the King in this way it is important to discuss the religious nature of the independence movement. Religion may not have been as important to the American Revolution but it did play a factor, especially in rural areas.

In many ways changes in religious ideology were caused by the mistrust the rebels had towards their leaders and also because they no longer believed that orthodox religious beliefs held the answers to their problems. In Maine this uncertainty led to the rise of Evangelicals and in rural Mexico a strong sense of anticlericalism.

Evangelicals prevailed in rural Maine because they harmonized with the frontier's condition and culture.¹⁴⁸ Many of these new Evangelical preachers stressed an imminent

¹⁴⁵ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 179.

¹⁴⁶ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 210.

¹⁴⁷ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 471-6. *Gachupine* is a semi-derogatory term used by Mexican rebels for the elites of Spanish descent who lived in Mexico.

¹⁴⁸ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 140.

millennium which in turned sparked a widespread conversion through the area.¹⁴⁹ This message of hope meant that physical hardships would soon come to an end with the long foretold second coming of Christ. Often this idea is referred to as “millennialism” because of the belief that the prophesied Millennium was imminent. These preachers often promised many things designed to give their followers hope. Agrarian protest grew side by side with visionary religion in rural Maine and only evangelical religions professed a belief in dreams and focused less on tradition. In this way Liberty Men or yeoman farmers were drawn to evangelicalism while proprietors found themselves following the long-standing tradition of orthodox religion.¹⁵⁰ The promises of imminent relief from life’s hardships made Evangelicalism very popular for the lower class of people. In their own way they saw promises of immediate relief in other areas also which resulted in a strong belief in treasure seeking. With treasure seeking, similar to millennialism, the rural people found it easier to believe that they were almost wealthy rather than permanently poor.¹⁵¹ Along with the promises of wealth, treasures symbolized the longed-for prosperity that settlers hoped that they could find in the stony ground that slowed their economic advancement. In this way settlers proved that they wanted to be a part of the capitalistic society that was being built, but did not have the means to do so. However, much like their economic failures they often failed in obtaining treasure for a number of reasons, whether that was words spoken hastily in triumph, fear, or frustration. There was always a reason why they were unsuccessful in their own endeavors and they invented many excuses to explain their failure as they did

¹⁴⁹ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 183.

¹⁵⁰ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 142-3.

¹⁵¹ Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors*, 81.

with their own land. However, treasure seeking remained popular because it offered hope that they had never before dared to have.

Religious conflict also existed in rural Mexico, but because Catholicism was the only religion present the issues manifested in different ways. Instead of two separate religious groups fighting for converts, religion became factionalized along lines of anticlericalism.¹⁵² Anticlericalism grew out three main complaints, the first being personal differences between the clergy and their followers.¹⁵³ In many areas priests had treated Indians poorly and they the indigenous people patiently waited for their chance to strike back and the independence movement gave it to them. The second was the idea, whether actual or imagined that priests sought to maintain the colonial order.¹⁵⁴ Rural people saw priests as another symbol of colonial oppression and hoped that by removing them and replacing them with members of their own ranks that they would have more control over their choices. The third reason that anticlericalism formed in Mexico was the belief that priests should keep their focus on spiritual matters and not be involved in politics.¹⁵⁵ Most of the issues between priests and lower class people developed because of the ecclesiastical payments and supplemental allowances that the priests demanded from an already poor population.¹⁵⁶ Rural rebels did not target every priest, after all many of them were led by Miguel Hidalgo who was a member of the clergy, but any that appeared to be loyalists were not to be trusted. Because Hidalgo had chosen the Virgin

¹⁵² Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 227.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 217.

as a symbol for his revolt many peasants believed that a Messiah would follow in his wake to save them from the oppressive Spanish monarchy.¹⁵⁷

Messianic belief differed in Mexico from what was found in Maine. Instead of placing their focus on riches they put their faith in one person, the King of Spain.¹⁵⁸ Because Mexicans did not have a common identity messianic belief took different forms in the many regions.¹⁵⁹ In Mexico these messianic beliefs mixed with indigenous mystical monarchies.¹⁶⁰ Because Mexicans had not given up on the monarchy their messianic figure was not gold or treasure, but the King himself, but similar to the way that treasures moved quickly across Maine's countryside the King "appeared" in many different places, sometimes miles apart, on the same day.¹⁶¹ It is also important to note that the King did not appear in these places as a prisoner, but as a collaborator with the rebels.¹⁶² This belief that the King would be their Messiah reflects their hope that the King would sanction their revolt and that their actions were not supposed to be understood as a rebellion against the King, but against the *gachupines* who had corrupted New Spain.

The American Revolution and the Mexican independence movement will most likely always be linked simply because of their geographic proximity of the two countries, but as is demonstrated here there are many other similarities such as religious excitement, or millennialism, class conflict, issues of land ownership, and the goals of the

¹⁵⁷ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 317.

¹⁵⁸ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 454-458.

¹⁵⁹ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 458.

¹⁶⁰ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 457.

¹⁶¹ Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 465.

¹⁶² Van Young, *The Other Rebellion*, 465.

rebels. It is also true that there are many differences also, such as the lack of ethnic issues in Taylor's work as compared to Van Young's. There are more similarities, but for lack of time and space I have limited my work to these few. The differences between the movements also helps explain why the American rebels focused on entering a capitalistic society while Mexican rural insurgents hoped to preserve some type of monarch, which ultimately failed and was replaced by a republic.

Mormonism and Magic in Historical Context

There exists a strange phenomenon in many Latter-Day Saint (or Mormon) meetings regarding history. On one hand the Mormon community embraces and emphasizes the early history of their Church and the role that Joseph Smith played in restoring the original church of Jesus Christ to the earth. However, they constantly downplay the importance that magic or mysticism had in the early developments of Smith's life and the founding of the Mormon Church. The truth is that the Mormon Church should not be afraid to discuss how prevalent magic was in the origins of their church. During the early nineteenth-century magic was a part of life. It would be unfair to say that it was only found among the poorly educated and rural peoples because even wealthy believed in the power of magic to explain the world around them. Joseph Smith's dabbling in magic was not out of the ordinary and if approached with that in mind his early life takes on a new meaning that is just now being explored by scholars.

In order to trace the significance that magic has played in the histories and biographies of Joseph Smith it is necessary to take a wide approach. The true story, or as close as we can come to it, is not found in any singular work. To fully comprehend the role of magic I have examined works that can be described as both apologist (*The History of Joseph Smith by his Mother* and *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* by Donna Hill) and anti-Mormon (Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*), and in order to bring in a more middle of the line view I also used Richard Bushman's signature work *Rough Stone Rolling*. By using these works this paper will demonstrate how magic has been

approached in Mormon history and hopefully open the minds of some people to more readily embrace Joseph's use of magic in his young adulthood.

One of the most difficult issues that any scholar of Mormon history must deal with is the contradictory accounts between Mormons and non-Mormons. Whether those sympathetic to Joseph Smith were blinded by faith or if they truly believed what Joseph claimed is not the issue. The problem arises because the accounts of what happened are incredibly varied. For this reason it is difficult to obtain a firm grasp on the situation, but both sides of the issue serve in allowing scholars to learn just how prevalent the belief in magic was in western New York in the early eighteen hundreds. Doctor Philastus Hurlbut collected affidavits from people that had known the Smith family in Palmyra, New York and Harmony Pennsylvania in hopes of discrediting Joseph and expose him as a fraud, but the affidavits proved to be more valuable for Joseph's reputation by historians than they were in discrediting him.¹⁶³ Joseph Smith himself confessed to using a seer stone to seek treasure and he continued to use the seer stone to assist the translation of *The Book of Mormon* and to receive other revelations from God.¹⁶⁴ The purpose of these documents can, and probably will continue to be, debated, but they give definitive proof that Joseph was involved in digging for treasure. If used correctly these documents will allow scholars to obtain a clear view of how much the culture of magic and everyday life were intertwined in western New York and New England.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 49.

¹⁶⁴ Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1977), 65.

¹⁶⁵ Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 49.

The first encounter that Joseph may have had with magic and seeking treasure came early in his life. During Joseph's youth a "vagabond fortune-teller" known only as Walters passed through Palmyra and several of the farmers fell under his spell.¹⁶⁶ Brodie mentions this event in her work, but it is not found in Bushman's account. For Brodie this event is significant because many people believed that after Walters left that his mantle passed onto Joseph.¹⁶⁷ Because of Joseph's exposure to so many magical or supernatural events it is not hard to comprehend why he believed that he could also perform some of the same acts.

Fawn Brodie briefly discusses the atmosphere of western New York and only hints that the belief in magic was widespread. She does not try to hide it, but neither is it her main focus. Brodie does point out that New England was full of treasure hunters so it is not hard to understand how Joseph came into contact with many of their beliefs and practices.¹⁶⁸ Richard Bushman wrote his biography of Joseph Smith in order to answer many of the questions that Brodie brought up in her own work, but this is one area that he too does not develop well enough for it to be understood in its full significance. The best description of the atmosphere comes from Hill. She notes that during this time "digging for treasure was widespread among respected citizens and churchgoers, who saw no conflict between that [magic/treasure seeking] and their religious convictions."¹⁶⁹ When put into this context Joseph's experiments in digging for treasure does not seem so out of the ordinary.

¹⁶⁶ Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), 19.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁶⁹ Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon*, 67.

There are many other reasons that the belief in the supernatural was able to gain a foothold in early Nineteenth Century New York. The economic situation of the area contributed to numerous people seeking out schemes in which they could become wealthy with minimal work. Many of the farmers were desperate to make ends meet and greatly desired for the land to repay them in some way for the work and toil they had done.¹⁷⁰ The quickest way for the land to do so was if it could produce a buried treasure of some sort. There was a common belief among many of the rural farmers that Native American relics could easily be found and might give the discoverer some financial stability. Along with this they also hoped to find buried Spanish gold.¹⁷¹ It was for the purpose of finding buried Spanish gold that Joseph was hired by Josiah Stowell in 1825.¹⁷² Bushman demonstrates that by this time Joseph was attempting to withdraw himself from the treasure seeking realm and concentrate his focus more on future events.¹⁷³

Joseph Smith was exposed to these beliefs throughout his life, and being the imaginative boy that he was he, and many others in western New York, fell under the spell of magic's power to find riches. Some of his exposure came from his father, Joseph Smith Sr., who had experienced religious dreams and also practiced treasure seeking.¹⁷⁴ Because his father believed in magic's ability to reveal both secular and spiritual truths it is not difficult to understand why Joseph would have fallen in the same pattern. At a young age Joseph was digging a well for a man named Mason Chase and he stumbled

¹⁷⁰ Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 18.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷² Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 51.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 36 and 50-1.

upon a seer stone, which he used to discern “ghosts, infernal spirits, mountains of gold and silver.”¹⁷⁵ Brodie does not go into detail of how the seer stone worked because it was so commonplace at the time proving that Joseph’s behavior would not have been out of the ordinary to Nineteenth Century New Yorkers.¹⁷⁶ Once again Brodie mentions the commonality of the events, but does not provide any other information about other treasure seekers and how they were seen and understood at this time. However, Bushman also neglects to contextualize the events and only provides a few more words to better understand the context of the situation. One of his best assessments of the situation is a simple statement where he says, “Ordinary people had no difficulty blending Christianity with magic.”¹⁷⁷ Joseph reflected his own culture by mixing the two and he also demonstrated how people may have tried to understand the events that transpired in his life. By singling out Joseph Smith it incorrectly portrays him as a singular event. By placing the treasure seeking and the culture of magic into context with the world around it Joseph remains an extraordinary person, but loses some of the uniqueness given to him by both Brodie and Bushman.

Perhaps the best way to understand the world of Joseph Smith is to examine it in context with other treasure seekers. That is precisely what Alan Taylor does in his article, “Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith’s Treasure Seeking” when he claims that we should follow the same approach that Jan Shipps does when she points out that Joseph’s early experimentation in treasure seeking should be seen as an early step in his

¹⁷⁵ Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 20.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁷⁷ Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 50.

life-long struggle to deal with and comprehend the supernatural.¹⁷⁸ In fact, his reputation as a treasure seeker was well known enough that he was sought out by Josiah Stowell to demonstrate his magical abilities to see things that were “invisible to the natural eye”.¹⁷⁹ It was during Joseph’s time working with Stowell that he met his future wife, Emma Hale. It may seem odd that much of Mormon history discusses this event as divine intervention in leading Joseph to the woman that would support him through his trials and mourn his death, but they fail to mention why Joseph was working in that place at that time. Knowing that Joseph was in Harmony, at least in part to find treasure, does not destroy the notion that divine intervention or God’s hand brought him there it shows that he was learning to understand his task and how to follow spiritual promptings.

Those people that sympathize with Joseph have sought to downplay Joseph’s involvement with magic by describing it as a youthful folly that he eventually outgrew, but Brodie and Bushman refute that claim. Brodie does so in very simplistic terms and claims that Joseph never truly stopped practicing magic.¹⁸⁰ Bushman points out that Joseph never refuted the seer stones or denied their power to find treasure, but that his focus began to turn towards translation as early as 1823, four years before he would obtain the golden plates that would become *The Book of Mormon*.¹⁸¹ It may appear at first that these two statements are very different, but they reflect the same idea. Brodie wants to show that the culture of magic that Joseph was so involved with as a youth continued to dictate the decisions and steps that he made later into his life. Bushman

¹⁷⁸ Alan Taylor, “Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith’s Treasure Seeking” *Dialogue* (December 1986), 23.

¹⁷⁹ Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 28-9. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 48.

¹⁸⁰ Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 28.

¹⁸¹ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 51.

attempts to express that Joseph may have learned to include the magic into his own beliefs and that they allowed him to better understand the task ahead of him.

Both these statements reflect a similar idea that is often overlooked in these studies, that is that they both demonstrate that during Joseph's lifetime the definition of magic was adapted to include religious ideas. Brodie is not wrong in claiming that Joseph never stopped practicing magic because it explains how he translate *The Book of Mormon* into English and how he continued to receive revelations that would eventually become another volume of scriptures for the Mormon Church, *The Doctrine and Covenants*.¹⁸² Later Joseph would continue to reveal new scripture through both translation and revelation in what has come to be known as *The Pearl of Great Price*.¹⁸³ Bushman would agree that the same practices that Joseph employed to find buried treasure were used to translate *The Book of Mormon*, but the difference was that Joseph was now using his talents to fulfill a spiritual purpose. In fact, the visit of angles and the discovery of the gold plates would have confirmed Joseph's belief in supernatural powers and convince him that translations and revelations could be received through the seer stone that he possessed.¹⁸⁴ Joseph's use of the seer stone became religious instead of secular and he slowly drifted towards employing what he had learned found a restorationist church.

¹⁸² The first time that a collection of Joseph's revelations were published it was referred to as "*The Book of Commandments*."

¹⁸³ *The Pearl of Great Price* includes a translation of the "The Book of Abraham" which was translated from Egyptian papyri by Joseph Smith, "The Book of Moses" which is a revealed version of the first chapters of the Book of Genesis from the Bible, and further revealed versions of the Bible known as "The Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible."

¹⁸⁴ Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 50.

It is curious that Mormon Church are at times so quick to condemn the idea that Joseph was involved with magic in any way, but they so readily accept the ambiguous accounts of the translation of *The Book of Mormon*. As late as 1888 LDS Church President Wilford Woodruff consecrated a seer stone upon the altar of the temple.¹⁸⁵ The belief among LDS members reflects how Joseph's understanding of the seer stone shifted from a tool used for secular knowledge and economic gain to one employed in revealing spiritual truths and developing faith.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps, if more people understood the role that magic played in Joseph's early adulthood it would explain why some of the leaders of the LDS Church were fooled by the forgeries of Mark Hoffman. Through modern eyes it is easy to discount the role that magic had in Joseph's life, but when put into context it adds richness to the origin story of the Mormon Church.

One of the reasons that Mormons choose not to discuss Joseph's use of magic is because they want to romanticize their own history. It is possible that this romanticized version of Mormon history was spawned by Lucy Mack Smith's account of Joseph's life. In her account any accounts of magic are absent, but she does include Joseph's successes in discovery religiously related materials such as the gold plates and a breast plate.¹⁸⁷ Lucy Mack Smith may have intentionally omitted the accounts of the treasure seeking because at the time she wrote her work Joseph was receiving a large amount of criticism for his past foibles. It is strange that Joseph's mother did not mention any of these incidents because both her husband and son were involved in these things. She may have

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 48.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 51.

¹⁸⁷ A full account of these stories can be found in Lucy Mack Smith's book *The History of Joseph Smith by His Mother*, (American Fork, Utah, Covenant Communications, Inc., 2000).

been the best source to dispel any misconceptions regarding Joseph's involvement, but she remains silent leaving us to wonder how Joseph's family truly felt about these events.

The works that have been used here are almost as varied as the accounts concerning Joseph Smith's life and his time spend digging for treasure, but when placed in context with other events of the time they give a better understanding of why Joseph may have been involved with magical lore in his youth. For the non-scholar Mormons these accounts do not take away from Joseph's accomplishments, but they do place them in a new light that could be used to demonstrate how Joseph was guided to his path in life. For scholars, this historical context demonstrates that Joseph was an ordinary person in regards to believing and using magic for western New York and it will cause historians to continue to seek other explanations on why Joseph Smith is so unique and worthy to study.

Lives on the Borders

Certain images come to mind when the term “illegal immigrant” is used. Sometimes those images are of people working long hours in fields for little pay or factory workers that are performing the jobs that no one else would. No matter what the mind imagines the work is like for illegal immigrants they are usually seen as Mexicans or in a broader sense Hispanics. In Lynn Stephen’s book *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* the reader is shown an insider’s perspective of how illegal immigrants see themselves and Stephen sheds light on the racial hierarchy that exists even in Hispanic communities. Many of the ideas that Hispanic communities use to continue this racial hierarchy are transported from Mexico in the United States. This is one of the reasons that Stephen argues that these people live a “transborder” life. Stephen demonstrates how these racial hierarchies work within Hispanic communities, but does not fully explain how that work translates to a larger society. Had Stephen successfully shown how these issues crossed nationalities the book would better serve its purpose of closing the gap between Hispanic communities and those that surround them. It would also allow readers to more fully understand the intricacies of Hispanic communities and bring Zapotec and Mixtec immigration experiences and issues to the forefront of the discussion and show how they are different than other Mexicans.

Because of the comprehensive nature of the term illegal immigrant it is used primarily to describe Mexican people. The problem that Stephen points out is that such a universal term is too broad to effectively include everyone that comes to work in the United States from Latin America. Many do enter the country illegally, but some have

come to work with the proper documentation. Those that have come legally are categorized with illegal immigrants and often receive the same prejudice and treatment that has become so common for all Hispanic people. However, prejudice and treatment are not only found between Americans and Hispanics but are also found in Hispanic societies because of the structured racial hierarchy that is transplanted from Mexico to the Hispanic communities of the United States. This is one reason that Stephen classifies these Mixtec and Zapotec people as living transborderly and not transnationally. The differences between these two terms are the main points of Stephen's book. Not only do these people carry with them their cultural and linguistic differences, they manage to keep these differences intact even as they cross between many different borders.¹⁸⁸ The borders that Stephen discusses are not simply the physical borders that separate nation-states from one another, but also include racial, ethnical, class, economic, and regional borders.¹⁸⁹ It is even more difficult, at times, to cross these imaginary and historically constructed borders. In order to understand how these borders are traversed Stephen employs personal narratives and stories alongside other secondary sources. The people that Stephen interviewed for her book were not the typical Mexicans that many readers imagine when they hear the words "illegal immigrants".

Zapotec and Mixtec people interact with other Mexicans and Americans on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico Border in a unique way. Hispanic communities are very complicated and not nearly as ubiquitous as many would like to believe. Because many

¹⁸⁸ Lynn Stephens, *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 5.

¹⁸⁹ Stephens, *Transborder Lives*, 5.

of the social relations that occur in Mexico are brought to the United States these communities are often divided on race, class, and ethnicity.¹⁹⁰ The fact that these relations exist simultaneously in both Mexico and smaller Hispanic communities in the United States makes the lives of Zapotecs and Mixtecs transborder because they live the same way on both sides of the border. Many works do not include any discussion on what is happening on the other side of the border, but Stephen explains the factors on both sides very well. She clearly examines the push and pull factors that cause migration, but she adds a new dimension to the discussion by showing what happens once they return to their own country. Stephen's argument that indigenous culture continues on both sides of the border is also very compelling because works of this nature often only examine what happens to people in this country and not what they bring or send back to their communities.

One of the other main points of Stephen's book is to clearly differentiate between the terms "transborder" and "transnational". The break down the Stephen uses in her book to differentiate these terms is based on how these people transplant their culture to any region in the United States. Although there are regional differences in the United States, especially between California and Oregon the two areas that Stephen focuses her work on, the indigenous people of Oaxaca live the same way, at least ethnically and culturally, as they had in Mexico. Here Stephen misses a great opportunity to engage herself in the work of John Bodnar and Oscar Handlin.¹⁹¹ Stephen would definitely agree

¹⁹⁰ Stephens, *Transborder Lives*, 5.

¹⁹¹ John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) and Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, (Boston: Little Brown, 1973).

more with Bodnar that these immigrants do not lose their roots when they come to a new country, but would add that they do not entirely plant themselves in their new homes either. The idea of a binational existence that Stephen argues in her book adds a third possible category to immigration theory.

It is not uncommon to have families separated by the border, but it does require careful manipulation to navigate the racial and ethnic hierarchies that exist on both sides. While indigenous people of Mexico continue to fight for their rights in Mexico they are forced to do the same in the United States. In Mexico the Zapotec and Mixtec are clearly seen as less than Mexican and as second class citizens. When they cross the border they are often labeled as Mexicans even if that is not how they would see themselves.¹⁹² However, within Hispanic communities they are often treated differently by other Mexicans.¹⁹³ Stephen also brings up an interesting point when she discusses racial hierarchies among Hispanics in the United States. There are three main categories that Stephens identifies, they are: Mexican, Chicano/a, and “Hispanic”. The United States racial hierarchy is based on a “black-white polarity” where any drop of African American blood automatically labels someone as black.¹⁹⁴ However, Hispanics complicate this polarity because they do not fit on either side. Stephan’s discussion on these differences makes it obvious that there is no Hispanic hegemony. Mexicans, Hispanics, and Chicanos/as see themselves as separate cultures. They do not base this decision on biological ancestry, but focus on how their cultures are different. Just as the U.S. Census

¹⁹² Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 211.

¹⁹³ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 212.

¹⁹⁴ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 221.

thought that they had figured everything out indigenous Mexicans began to claim both Native American and Mexican status.¹⁹⁵ Zapotec and Mixtec people continue to fight against racism in the United States, but more important is that Stephan introduces the reader to the imported racism that they face from other Mexicans that see them as inferior.¹⁹⁶ One thing that Stephan does not point out is how chain migration plays into how these villages are formed and maintained. She hints that other people from the same villages in Mexico play a large role in how jobs are found. It is often through friends that jobs and places to live are found. Chain migration creates unique communities that are full of people from the same region of a different country. This would explain why communities are so close knit and are able to maintain their culture when surrounded by hostile groups.

The influence of culture, race, and ethnicity does not only flow northward with the immigrants, but they also take some of their newfound American culture back to Mexico. Because of the long history of migration that the indigenous Oaxacans have they make a smooth transition to American life.¹⁹⁷ They are accustomed to adapting to a new way of life and learning how their new societies work. After living for a time in the United States many of the immigrants return home for different cargos.¹⁹⁸ Many of these obligations make it difficult to return to the United States once they have returned, but that does not stop them from implanting what they learned from living abroad in their

¹⁹⁵ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 229.

¹⁹⁶ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 230.

¹⁹⁷ See Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁸ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 43.

own villages.¹⁹⁹ Among the things that they bring home with them are U.S. racial, ethnic, and class hierarchies that differ from the ones that already exist in Mexico. This exchange of ideas and social constructs reveals how transborder the lives of migrant, indigenous Mexicans truly are.

Maybe the most important change for many of these people is economical. Mixtec and Zapotec people often left their home villages because it was nearly impossible to make a living as a farmer.²⁰⁰ This lack of arable lands pushed many of them to migrate to find wage labor, whether elsewhere in Mexico or abroad in the United States. This opportunity allows many of the migrants to return and help their own villages, but it also carries a risk of ruining many long-standing traditions. The older generations have moved on to the United States and have left younger, less experienced men in charge of keeping their traditions alive.²⁰¹ Because there are fewer men in these villages women have had an increased role in village cargos and politics.²⁰² Women have also been able to use their new role in life in the United States and find jobs outside of domestic services. However, as Stephen points out this new lifestyle can create problems when these women or young girls return home because they are much more independent than previously.²⁰³ Along with this change one would assume that some of the Mexican *machismo* would also change, however Stephen does not discuss how masculinity changes in Mexico similar to the way femininity did. She does mention that masculine

¹⁹⁹ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 18.

²⁰⁰ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 61.

²⁰¹ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 45.

²⁰² Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 49.

²⁰³ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 55.

gender divisions of labor change when there are no Mexican women north of the border, but does not discuss how that translates back in Mexico or if it even does.²⁰⁴

Stephen uses many different theories to explain her arguments and that can make her book seem difficult to read. Part of the reason that her book has so much theory in it is because each chapter is able to stand on their own. Usually an historical book would loosely follow some sort of chronological order, but because of the nature of Stephen's book the time line is often difficult to follow. That is not necessarily a negative to this book because she does well to inform the reader when she has changed time in her writing. One frustration with the book is that each chapter could be read independently. The chapters do not build off of each other and when the reader begins each new chapter it seems like the reader is beginning a whole new book.

Overall Stephan presents her arguments in a clear, distinct manner, but at times leaves more questions than answers. This was especially true when she argues that "the cultural and historical entity we call Mexico" does not only exist below the Rio Grande, but has extended into many other areas, especially in the United States.²⁰⁵ Would this also be true about the United States or Canada? If it is true that Mexico now extends further than its political boundaries is it possible for them to every fully assimilate? These questions are not considered or answered by Stephen and leave the reader without definitive answers to what implications this conclusion means for Americans. Also at times she presents an argument, but does not always put the argument into context. One

²⁰⁴ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 190.

²⁰⁵ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 63.

example of this is when she mentions how corn prices continued to fall after 1994.²⁰⁶

One of the reasons that this happened was that when NAFTA was signed Mexico began to import much of its corn from the United States; nor does she mention that for an extended period of time the Mexican government falsely kept corn prices low so that the poor could continue to buy corn to eat.

Stephen's book provides new insights into immigration theory by demonstrating the exchange of culture flows in both directions across the border. She takes a multifaceted approach to explaining the many borders that indigenous Oaxacans have to cross. Whether they are racial, ethnical, economical, or gender borders Stephen manages to touch on all of these in at least some way. Because she discusses so many different borders she gives an excellent broad approach, but can only delve deeply into some of the details of the borders. However, she is very successful in making the issues facing indigenous Oaxacans the forefront of the discussion on Mexican immigration and explaining the different situations that they face when they migrate either within Mexico or to the United States.

²⁰⁶ Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 127.