THE PLACE OF CHICANA FEMINISM AND CHICANO ART IN THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

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by

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Department of History
Abstract

of

THE PLACE OF CHICANA FEMINISM AND CHICANO ART IN THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

by

Beatriz Anguiano

Statement of Problem

Chicanos are essentially absent from the State of California United States History Content Standards, as a result Chicanos are excluded from the narrative of American history. Because Chicanos are not included in the content standards and due to the lack of readily available resources, this presents a challenge for teachers to teach about the role Chicanos have played in U.S. history. Chicanas have also largely been left out of the narrative of the Chicano Movement, also therefore resulting in an incomplete history of the Chicano Movement. This gap in our historical record depicts an inaccurate representation of our nation’s history.

Sources of Data

Research was conducted at the Special Collections and University Archives (SCUA) at the California State University, Sacramento and Sacramento State University Library. The Royal Chicano Air Force Collection and the Sally Wagoner Collection at SCUA along with articles from Chicano magazines such as Regeneración form the basis of this research.
Conclusions Reached

Including instruction on the Chicano struggle for equality in the United States would enhance the curriculum and create a more complete historical narrative. Chicana feminism and their contributions to the Chicano Movement need to be further researched. The use of primary sources and the explicit teaching and scaffolding of historical thinking allows students to critically engage with historical content while learning the skills necessary to grapple with and think deeply about historical questions.

_______________________, Committee Chair
Chloe S. Burke

_______________________
Date
DEDICATION

Para la maestra más importante que he tenido, mi mamá.
(For the most important teacher I have had, my mom.)

Also, for Danny, Graci, Manuel, Carlos, Marco, Anjelica, Abel, Andres, Javi and Mia, that you may realize your full potential, learn from our past, and take advantage of the opportunities that have been provided for you through struggle.
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TEACHING THE CHICANO MOVEMENT IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Need

Although there is a significant Mexican and Mexican-American population in the United States, historically there has been minimal attention given to this segment of the population within history education. Although California is the state that is the most populated by people of Mexican descent demographic changes are contributing to the growth of the Mexican population beyond California and other southwestern states in which Mexicans traditionally have resided. As the 2010 Census reported, “More than half of the growth in the total population of the United States between 2000 and 2010 was due to the increase in the Hispanic population.” Of this portion of the population the majority are of Mexican origin. The report stated that

The Mexican origin population increased by 54 percent and had the largest numeric change (11.2 million), growing from 20.6 million in 2000 to 31.8 million in 2010. Mexicans accounted for about three-quarters of the 15.2 million increase in the Hispanic population from 2000 to 2010.

Yet despite the significant number of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States, and more specifically California, they are virtually absent from the eleventh grade U.S. History content standards for the state. The minimal inclusion of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the California history standards perpetuates an

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2 Ibid., 2.
3 Ibid.
American history in which a black-white racial paradigm is dominant. Within this paradigm national history becomes oversimplified and inaccurate. The national narrative that is presented as a result of these content standards leaves many students wondering where they “fit in” when it comes to American history. When students fail to see their place within American history it can cause them to see American history as something that they are not a part of, many times causing students to be uninterested, or worse, disengaged. With a large Mexican and Mexican American population that continues to grow, California and the United States cannot afford to have this segment of the population tuned out to history and civic education. We must seek to educate and empower our youth so that they can take ownership of and fulfill their civic responsibilities.

It is imperative that California and other states formulate history standards that are reflective of the contributions of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in order to accurately teach the historical past of this nation. However, the process involved in improving the history standards is a process that takes time. Yet as teachers, we have the ability to improve the curriculum we present to our students despite the limitations presented within the content standards. As history teachers, one of the challenges we face is the lack of resources readily available on any topic that goes beyond the content standards. This project proposes curriculum that can be used to address this deficiency within our content standards in order to facilitate the teaching of the contributions of Mexican Americans, to highlight their participation in our historic past and place them within the context of the larger American society, where they rightfully belong.
**Project Objective**

This project seeks to create an understanding of the place of Chicana feminists within the Chicano movement. This project examines the concerns of the larger Chicano movement in general, while paying attention to the specific concerns of Chicanas. Chicana feminists played a crucial role within the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s. They participated and contributed in innumerable ways. Chicanas contributed to the Chicano movement through their work in community based and student organizations at universities and high schools. They expanded the Chicano civil rights movement by drawing attention to and organizing around issues that affected Chicanas specifically such as forced sterilization and access to day care, as well as the broader Chicano community as a whole, such as worker’s rights. However, while substantial contributions were made by Chicanas, these were, and to some degree continue to be, overlooked. In the curriculum presented in this project appendix students will learn content that will allow them to answer the following questions:

What civil rights issues did Chicanos seek to address during the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s? What were the roles of Chicanas within the Chicano movement? How did the concerns of Chicana feminists differ from those of white feminists? What was the response of the larger Chicano movement to Chicana feminism?

**Teaching Application**

The lessons for this project promote historical thinking and teach students skills used by historians to evaluate the past. Students will examine primary sources that help to understand early Chicano history, the Chicano Movement, Chicano art, and Chicana
feminism. A variety of visual and textual primary sources are included in the project’s appendices for student use as well as lesson materials that scaffold the process of analyzing the primary source documents. Adaptations for the lesson plans are included in order to facilitate and promote their use within classes of various levels SDAIE, CP or AP/IB. This project offers four sets of lessons. Although the lessons are integrated with each other, the lessons can be used in full or in part. The first lesson focusing on early Chicano history spanning from 1519 to the 1920s, is intended to provide an historical introduction to the Chicano experience in the United States. This lesson examines the changing status of Chicanos following the defeat of Mexico during the Mexican-American War. The second lesson provides an overview of the Chicano Movement, introducing the concerns that existed within the Chicano community. Key primary documents from the Chicano Movement illustrate the quest for equality and cultural affirmation. The third lesson examines the artwork of the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF). This lesson takes on a cultural perspective of the Chicano movement, inviting students to make connections between the cultural expression of the artists and the political context that informed the artists and their artwork. The RCAF lessons allow students to analyze posters created by the RCAF. Through this lesson, students will gain an understanding of the concerns of the RCAF, how their work was reflective of concerns within the larger Chicano Movement, and how they went about organizing around those issues. The final lesson centers on Chicana feminism. Primary source documents are used to illustrate key points of concern about their place within the Chicano Movement as well as their relationship to the Women’s Liberation Movement.
This project makes use of primary sources available in the RCAF collection and the Sally Wagoner Papers from the Special Collections and University Archives at Sacramento State University. These lessons will serve to expand the curriculum related to the civil rights movement by focusing on a subject that is often absent from history instruction.
CHAPTER TWO
LOCATING THE HISTORY OF CHICANA FEMINISM

Introduction

In order to fully examine the historiography of Chicana feminism it is necessary also to examine the historiography of two closely related areas of study that informed Chicana feminism. Chicano history and the Women’s Liberation Movement. Engaging with the development of both of these related areas provide essential contextualization for understanding the emergence and dimensions Chicana feminism. The Chicano Movement as well as the Women’s Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s worked in dialogue with and directly as well as indirectly influenced Chicana feminism. Although these areas of study are related there are clear distinctions that exist among them. The focus of this chapter is on locating the history of Chicana Feminism.

Points of Contention In Chicano Historiography

The historiography of the Chicano movement appears to be one that continually strives for inclusion. Inclusion of Chicanos within the history of the United States, later the inclusion of Chicanas within the Chicano movement, then the push for inclusion within the larger civil rights movement, and currently the inclusion of Chicanas/os within the global context. Chicano historians have also debated periodization. When exactly did the Chicano movement begin? Did it begin in 1521 with the conquest of Mexico at the hands of Cortez’s forces and the creation of a new race, La Raza Cosmica? Was the conclusion of the Mexican American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which subjugated Chicanos in their own homeland the beginning of
Chicano history? Was the activism of the 1930s and 1940s part of the Chicano movement, or simply a more conservative precursor? Did the Chicano movement cease to exist in the 1970s with the decline of the ardent activism that came to characterize the Chicano movement or does it in fact, continue today? Many of the early writers of Chicano history were Chicano movement participants, in its earliest phase, and were mostly men who, therefore focused on Chicano nationalism.

Periodization within Chicano history is centralized around the question of when Chicano history began. *Indigenistas* argue that Chicanos are indigenous to the Americas, and therefore their history begins with the first presence of Native American groups. Other historians place the beginning of Chicano history in the pre-classic era with the arrival of Chichimec tribes.¹ The Colonial period ranging from 1521 to 1640 is deemed the most formative by some Chicano historians due to the conquest of Mexico and the *mestizaje* (blending of cultures) which followed. This led to the creation of a new race, Mestizos, who culturally and ethnically were a combination of European and Indigenous peoples. Yet others would argue that colonization during the century of depression 1640-1750, along with the changes it created would be the most significant due to the subjugation of Mexicans that occurred at this point. However, there are historians that contend that the period of the late Bourbon reforms 1750-1810 were crucial due to the increased colonial power. Other eras considered instrumental in the formation of Chicano history include the Independence movement, which began in 1821, or the Mexican Revolution, which spanned a ten year period from 1910 to 1920. The war and annexation

of Texas 1836 as well as the Mexican-American War and the transitional period that followed from 1850 to the 1880s is considered to be fundamental in the social, economic, and political conditions that exist in the relationship between Mexican Americans and Anglos.\(^2\) Twentieth-century Mexican immigration, which brought a million Mexicans to the United States between 1900 and 1920 due to the political turmoil in Mexico, is considered of substantial importance due to the ideological influence it had on the Chicano community.\(^3\)

The key issues within Chicano history however, are not limited to debates surrounding periodization. There are also questions surrounding the degree of historical continuity between Mexicans prior to the twentieth-century and Mexican Americans of the twentieth-century. The study of Mexicans within American Southwestern society following the Mexican-American War adopts what historian Antonio Ríos-Bustamante refers to as the “decline perspective.”\(^4\) Through decline perspective, Chicano historians have evaluated the degree to which the status of Mexicans declined following the exchange of property between Mexico and the United States because of Mexico’s defeat in 1848.\(^5\) Much of the attention here is on the evaluation of the loss of political power, social status, and the denigration of Mexican culture. Another major area of historical scholarship centers on the origins of Mexican labor organizations and the degree to which

\(^2\) Ríos-Bustamante, 255.
\(^3\) Ibid., 256.
\(^4\) Ibid., 254.
they were influenced by the American labor movement. The role of women in the reproduction of Chicana/o identity and culture, as well as the lives and struggles of Mexican women and their centrality in Chicana/o history is another key area of study. The imagining of identities and changes to those identities whether national, ethnic, regional, local, or gender identities is an area of specialization. Finally, the investigation of organizations, politics, and political ideology also constitutes a key area of historical inquiry within the field.

The Birth of a Field: A Brief Historiography of Chicano History

Chicano history has been deeply influenced by the subfield of United States social history. Due to of the development of social history there has been a growth in the investigation of groups previously considered inconsequential in the larger picture of American history. As a result, there was a surge of historical interest in the historical examination of social, cultural, labor, urban, women’s, and western history, from which Chicano history greatly benefitted. Chicano historian Albert Camarillo, asserts that the influence of social history had a profound effect on the study of Chicanos and Chicanas. In addition, Chicano history as a field has also been influenced by related disciplines such as sociology, political science, and anthropology.

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8 Ríos-Bustamante, 254.

9 Camarillo, 237.

10 Ibid.,

11 Ríos-Bustamante, 252.
Chicanos history is a relatively new subfield of U.S. History. Mexicans were viewed by most twentieth-century U.S. historians as immigrants and therefore were rarely referred to except in reference to conflicts with Mexico.\(^\text{12}\) Before the 1950s, Mexican-American professional historians were few in numbers and there was no field of Mexican-American history to write about.\(^\text{13}\) The small number of publications written about Mexican Americans were “sociological or anthropological studies of labor immigration, works on “home missionary” work by Protestant missionaries, or educational studies focusing on Mexican educational deficiencies.”\(^\text{14}\) Prior to the 1960s, the area of study that most closely related to Chicanos was Borderlands history.\(^\text{15}\) Early Mexican American scholars such as George I. Sánchez and Carlos E. Castañeda produced works that presented straightforward academic research. Sánchez and Castañeda in their work sought to disprove negative assumptions about Mexican Americans that were pervasive. David G. Gutiérrez explains, “…most of the historical and social science research on Mexican Americans published in this period [1920s-1960s] continued to adhere to some variant of the cultural deficiency paradigm to explain Mexican Americans’ continued disadvantaged position in American society.”\(^\text{16}\) This presented a point of contention for early Chicano historians who set out to prove otherwise.

The first general history of Mexican Americans was Carey Mc Williams’ *North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States*, published in 1949.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 246.  
\(^{13}\) Ibid.  
\(^{14}\) Ríos-Bustamante, 247.  
\(^{15}\) Ibid.  
\(^{17}\) Ríos-Bustamante, 247.
McWilliams signaled a new direction in the study of Mexican Americans by challenging the assumption that they were “Spanish American” settlers. Yet, his work was not taken seriously by historians until the 1960s. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the field of Chicano history emerged as a result of the new social history, the influence of the Chicano Movement, and the educational advancements in the Mexican American community, which led to the first Chicano Ph.Ds. Camarillo contends, “…it was the first cohort of Ph.Ds. trained as specialists in Chicana/o history (the majority of whom are Chicanas and Chicanos) who laid the foundation for the development of this field of historical inquiry during the 1970s and 1980s.” It was these early specialists in the area of Chicana and Chicano history who sought to expand the research on Chicano history.

Among the Chicano scholars who were influential in this early phase due to their research and mentorship were Manuel P. Servin, Rodolfo Acuña, Juan Gómez-Quiñones, Américo Paredes, and Julian Zamora. Gutiérrez suggests, “The historiography of this second generation strongly reflected the volatile political and social conditions of the times.” Many of the publications in the field of Chicano History between 1970 and 1976 were indicative of Chicano students’ concerns and tended to focus on themes of conflict and resistance to the historical exploitation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans at the hands of Anglos. There was significant attention placed on the centrality of racism and

18 Ibid., 248-249.
19 See Camarillo, Gutiérrez, and Ríos-Bustamante
20 Camarillo, 237.
21 See Gutiérrez and Ríos-Bustamante
22 Gutiérrez, 283.
discrimination throughout Mexican American history, yet there was also a concerted effort to depict Mexican Americans as “vital, heroic actors in their own destiny.”

A number of theoretical and philosophical areas had developed by the end of the 1970s, including internal colonial, colonial and labor resistance, Chicana feminist, labor assimilation, liberal and conservative. Sociologist Tomas Almaguer, and political scientist Mario Barrera delineated the internal colonial perspective which was used by Rodolfo Acuña in his widely read, *Occupied America: The Chicano’s Struggle Toward Liberation* published in 1972. The colonial and labor resistance perspective was shaped primarily by McWilliams and was enhanced by Paredes through his incorporation of cultural analysis and was used by historian Gómez-Quiñones. Non-historians such as Martha P. Cotera and Rosaura Sanchez originally outlined the Chicana feminist perspective in works such as *The Chicana Feminist* and *Essays on La Mujer.*

By the end of the 1970s, Chicano scholars had turned their attention to new theoretical perspectives in which they employed “innovative socio-historical and quantitative methodologies.” This new direction signaled ‘conceptual and analytical sophistication’ in the field. Richard Griswold del Castillo, Albert Camarillo, Ricardo Romo, and Mario T. García among others, made significant contributions to the social history of Mexican Americans as they provided new details and gave depth to the Mexican American experience. Their works were also important because they led the

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23 Ibid., 284.
24 Ríos-Bustamante, 252.
25 Ríos-Bustamante, 253.
26 David G. Gutiérrez, 284.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
way for the next generation of scholarship as they moved the field away from its focus on the analysis of interethnic relationships and placed a greater emphasis on the stratification that existed within the Mexican American community. This new perspective recognized that divisions among Mexican Americans had always existed based on national origin, region of residence, language usage, class, and gender.29

By the late 1990s scholars reexamined and better defined their positions, Acuña shifted from the use of internal colonial model while Gómez-Quiñones moved away from the colonial perspective, to a developing postcolonial perspective, which first came to be defined as a critique of the internal colonial perspective by political scientist Fred A. Cervantes.30 Ramón A. Gutiérrez, who was an early adherent of internal colonialism became the first leading Chicano historian to promote a postmodernist perspective. As with other areas of study within Chicano history, scholars in cultural studies, sociology, and comparative literature have heavily influenced the postmodernist perspective.31

Chicano history remains a relatively new area of historical study. However, this field has grown beyond its formative phase in which the goal was to “to contribute to the recovery and reconstruction of an ignored and obscured past - a history in which people of Mexican origin in the Southwest were cast into the shadows if not altogether omitted from historical consideration.”32 The influence of other related fields of study continue to influence the work of Chicano historians as they seek to investigate and give greater meaning to the Chicano experience as a whole.

29 Ibid., 285.
30 Ríos-Bustamante, 253.
31 Ibid.
32 Camarillo, 238.
Historiography of the Chicano Movement

Within Chicano Movement historiography, there are similar points of contention as within the literature on the broader Chicano history. Common themes that surface in Chicano Movement literature deal with the degree of continuity and change between the Chicano Movement and previous activism within the Mexican American community. Chicano Movement scholars examine the formative role of identity in the Chicano Movement as well as causes for the movement, the place of the Chicano Movement in broader historical contexts, and differences among Chicanos due to region, class, and to a lesser extent gender.

Although there were works that incorporated discussion on the Chicano Movement, it was not until the publication of Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement\textsuperscript{33} that a full-length text existed on the topic. Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Rodolfo Acuña, were two other historians who broached the topic. In Gómez-Quiñones’ essay on the history of the Chicano Student Movement in Southern California he positions students as the political charge that moved the movement forward.\textsuperscript{34} Acuña however, refutes Quiñones claim and instead credits the farmworkers movement with being the impetus of the Chicano Movement. Muñoz argues Chicano students were essential in the creation of the movement and the formation of its ideology.\textsuperscript{35} David Montejano’s 2010 work Quijote’s Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981, published in 2010 combines Acuña and Muñoz’ claims. He suggests that the Chicano Movement in California and Texas began because of the farmworker strikes that

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
occurred in 1965-1966. Yet, he places students centrally as well, explaining that although Mexican American college students were urban they sympathized with the plight of the farmworkers because many were only one generation removed from agricultural work. Organizing with farmworkers politicized students and made them more aware of inequality in other areas. Students began organizing around the issues of inequality because of their new awareness.36

**Identity**

The Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s arose at a politically charged period in American history. The various movements that blossomed were concerned in one way or another with identity politics. Due to the history of Chicanos within the United States identity politics became central to the movement. Mexican Americans had grown up in an America that denied them equal citizenship, and therefore equal opportunity. However, this was not all Mexican Americans had been denied; their culture had been denigrated and was often considered to be the cause of their misfortune. A commonly held belief in American society was that Mexican American culture was deficient and therefore resulted in the lack of educational attainment and poverty in which Mexican American found themselves. Due to the discrimination that existed toward Mexican Americans they often found themselves living in segregated barrios (neighborhoods), attending segregated schools, and filling positions in menial labor. Mexican Americans were growing up in an America that was not fulfilling its promise of equality for all citizens.

In the 1960s Mexican Americans like other ethnic groups in the United States set out to “find” their identity. In this process Mexican Americans sought to place themselves within a historical context. For young Mexican Americans this quest for identity led to identification with an indigenous past pre-dating Anglo-American settlement of the current American Southwest. Identification with this ancient past provided Mexican Americans with the sense of being in their rightful homeland. Mexican Americans conceived themselves as natives of the land, not as the foreigners Americans commonly saw them. In *Chicano: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* Arturo Rosales points out that the Chicano movement sought to promote *indigenismo* (pride in Indian-mestizo physical features), as it confronted racism and racial self-hatred. 37

With the emergence of the Chicano Movement an ideological shift regarding identity occurred in the Mexican American community. In the process of becoming Chicanas/os activists reinterpreted the term Chicano, and appropriated it as an ethnic and political identifier. George Mariscal in *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* explains, “these brown-eyed children of the sun rejected dominant versions of U.S. history, and began the arduous journey toward self-determination and self-definition.”38 The term Chicano, became a term of cultural affirmation as well as an indicator of political consciousness. Chicano connoted a rejection of assimilation, what Chicano reporter Ruben Salazar termed “a Mexican-


American with a non-Anglo image of himself.”

A central argument made by Muñoz is that identity politics were crucial to the Chicano Movement. He suggests, “The Chicano Movement needs to be placed in the context of what I call the politics of identity or the identity problematic.”

According to Muñoz,

The Chicano movement was a historic first attempt to shape a politics of unification on the basis of a nonwhite identity and culture and on the interests of the Mexican American working class. The movement rejected all previous identities, and thus represented a counter-hegemonic political and cultural project.

As Chicanos asserted their own identity and defined themselves on their terms, cultural nationalism became a key component of the movement. The struggle for social and political equality was to be carried out in the name of Chicanismo. As Chicano identity developed, Rosales asserts, “A virulent cultural nationalism came to be an integral part of the movimiento.”

The overall objective of the Chicano Movement according to Rosales was to “give dignity and positive identity to los de abajo (underdogs).”

In Muñoz’ assessment of the Chicano Movement he contends that the movement itself was “…a quest for a new identity and for political power.” It is important to note that it was not that Mexican Americans did not have an identity prior to the Chicano Movement, but that the image of Mexican Americans that had existed was detrimental and therefore needed to be drastically reconceptualized.

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40 Muñoz, 8.
41 Ibid., 12.
42 Rosales, xviii-xix.
43 Ibid., 225.
44 Muñoz, 15.
Change and Continuity: From Mexican American to Chicano

Among Chicano scholars there has been much debate surrounding when the activism of the Chicano Movement began. Acuña in his seminal work *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, claims that the Chicano Movement dated back to resistance within the Mexican American community during the U.S. Mexico wars of 1836 and 1846-1848. However, Muñoz refutes the periodization set by Acuña, “the true nature of the Chicano Movement as a movement” he argues, was a movement which had its roots in the 1960s. At the time of Muñoz’ publication most scholars who discussed the Chicano Movement conceptualized it in those terms, any political action that Mexican and Mexican Americans were involved with was considered part of the Chicano Movement. Muñoz is clear in his position that Chicanos came to be at a specific juncture in American history and therefore to term any activism or even leaders prior to the 1960s as “chicano activism” and “chicano leaders” provides a misrepresentation.

Rosales in his study *Chicano: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996), makes a clear distinction between Chicano Movement activism of the 1960s and 1970s and earlier forms of activism within the Mexican American community. He suggests that Chicanos “reflected the new consciousness in the common language of the time: the enemy became the Establishment and its supposed minions were the older Mexican American political leaders.” Rosales highlights the division that existed between what has been termed by Chicano historians as the Mexican American generation and the Chicano generation, which represented a generation more prone to activism and anti-assimilationism. He acknowledges that although there had been
organizing around concerns within the Chicano community, the Chicano Movement pushed the Chicano agenda forward and did so in a more confrontational way, despite similarities in pre-movement tactics. Mariscal is in agreement with Muñoz and Rosales regarding the lack of continuity between early Mexican American activism and the activism of the Chicano Movement. The Chicano Movement, according to Mariscal, “posed a serious challenge to all previous models of citizenship, assimilation, and the role of racialized minorities in the United States.”

**Chicano Movement: A Monolithic Movement?**

Chicano Movement scholars have questioned the cohesion of the movement. At its root, the question revolves around the common ground that exists between Chicanos and is influenced by who is defined as a Chicano. For instance, Muñoz and Acuña disagree on who can be considered leaders of the movement. While Acuña argues “…Cesar Chavez gave the Chicano movement a national leader.” Muñoz disputes Acuña’s claim that Chavez was a leader of the movement explaining that Chavez served as a labor leader who “…made it clear, especially during the movement’s formative years, that the farmworkers’ union did not consider himself to be a Chicano leader but the organizer of a union representing a multicultural constituency of rank-and-file workers.” While Muñoz recognizes that Chávez was an inspirational leader for Mexican American students, he states, “they never evolved in the context of a quest for Chicano identity and power.” This argument indicates that there were different movements and

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45 Mariscal, 7.
46 Muñoz, 7.
47 Ibid.
activists which may have been closely related but were not automatically something, a part of the Chicano Movement.

The Chicano movement was not a monolithic movement. Although participants agreed on the need for militancy, they did not agree on the degree to which this was necessary, nor was there a general agreement on ideology, strategy, nor symbols that were representative of the movement. There were also regional differences in the Chicano movement. Other Chicano historians are in accord with Rosales on this point. Mariscal characterizes the movement as one that was “cross-cut by regional, gender, and class issues.” He further explains that the Chicano Movement “was a mass mobilization dedicated to a wide range of social projects, from ethnic separatism to socialist internationalism, from electoral politics to institutional reform and even armed insurrection.”

Oropeza likewise suggests that the Chicano community is one which is varied in experience, political beliefs, and social class standing, “… there is no singular Chicano community…” This is a divergence from claims made by historian Ignacio Garcia who conceived of Chicanos as being traditionally working class, barrio dwellers. However, the Chicano Movement was not a movement made up of a homogenous group and therefore did not have monolithic goals, on this Chicano movement historians tend to agree more comparatively to other areas. Montejano in his study pinpoints the differences in student activists in comparison barrio youth. He explains that college student activists sought

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48 Rosales, xviii.
49 Mariscal, 2-3.
50 Ibid., 3.
change through the electoral process whereas “bato locos” (barrio youth) focused their energies on creating a paramilitary group for community protection.\textsuperscript{52}

In addition to class and regional differences as well as rural and urban differences Chicanos also had different experiences based on their gender. Early in the Chicano Movement males took on leadership positions while women were expected to play subservient roles. Chicanas took an assertive stance in which they demanded access to leadership roles and a more central role in the movement, a movement that they expected to be responsive to their needs. Montejano articulates that just as there were divisions along class lines, there were also divisions due to gender as well. As women activists affirmed their rightful place within various movement organizations, they pressed for equality citing “la familia”, a central theme of the Chicano Movement.\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{Inclusion in Larger Historiography}

A common theme among Chicano Movement historians is the need for inclusion of the Chicano Movement within broader historiographies. Muñoz is adamant that Chicanos have been excluded from the narrative of the history of the 1960s. His investigation, \textit{Youth, Identity, and Power} he suggests will produce a fuller picture of the radicalism of the sixties by including the contribution made by the Chicano Movement. Muñoz clearly states that his goal was to write a critical study that would contribute to the understanding of the history of the sixties and was inclusive of Chicano contributions.\textsuperscript{54}

Muñoz argues that much of what had been written about the radicalism of the sixties at the time he wrote his study had focused on white middle-class youth radicalism at the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{52} Montejano, 150.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Muñoz, xiii.
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expense of examining the participation and contributions of nonwhite students. Muñoz presents his investigation “...as a first step toward a critical documentation of the Chicano movement and a more complete history of the sixties.” In his study Munoz highlights Chicano involvement in the antiwar movement and the free speech movement and criticizes the lack of recognition they received for their participation within these movements.

Similar to the claims made by Muñoz, Rosales and Mariscal are in agreement that Chicanos have been excluded from a larger historical narrative of which they have been a part of. Mariscal asserts that thirty years after the most poignant events of the Chicano Movement, the history of the Chicano Movement “has yet to be fully integrated into scholarship focused on the 1960s. With very few exceptions, retrospectives on the Sixties do not include the achievements of the Chicana/o communities.” Rosales argues that while the protests of the African American civil rights movement and the social unrest in which whites participated is well documented, the history of the Mexican American civil rights struggle remain essentially untold. Due to the exclusion of the Chicano Movement from broader historical narratives Mariscal claims, “it is clear that Chicana/o scholars will have to write their own histories in order to carry forward the arduous task of inserting ourselves into a recalcitrant national memory.” Montejano, like Rosales and Muñoz, contends that the history of Chicano protest remains generally unknown and has for the most part been isolated from the civil rights narrative. He, speculates, however,

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55 Ibid., 1-2.  
56 Ibid., xiii.  
57 Mariscal, 5.  
58 Rosales, xvii.  
59 Mariscal, 5.
that this is due to the regional segregation of Mexican Americans in the Southwest and their smaller presence in comparison with African Americans.60

While Muñoz, Mariscal, and Rosales advocate for Chicano Movement inclusion within the 1960s social movements, Chicana historian Lorena Oropeza also advocates for the inclusion of Chicanos within a context beyond the Chicano Movement. However, she suggests that Chicano history should be examined and more fully included within the context of U.S. history. Oropeza takes this argument one-step further. She suggests that scholars in the area of Chicano Studies and Chicano history should “…examine movement history in conjunction with the history of the broader Mexican American population; to place movement history within the greater context of U.S. history.”61 In her historical investigation of the Chicano Movement she focuses on the Vietnam War as a means to understand the larger Chicano Movement. She states, “I use the war issue as a way to understand the development of the Chicano Movement over time.”62 Her investigation of the Chicano Antiwar Moratorium places the Chicano Movement and Chicano antiwar activism within the broader context of the Vietnam antiwar movement and U.S. history. Mariscal begins Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun by placing Chicanos in the midst of key political and cultural events within the United States, suggesting that they have been left out not only of the 1960s history, but also of the national history.

Yet, Mariscal would not be content with simply adding Chicanos to the 1960s historical narrative and the national historical narrative, he also expresses a need for Chicano inclusion on a broader scale, an international scale. He seeks to widen the scope

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60 Montejano, 2.
61 Oropeza, Making History: The Chicano Movement, 207.
62 Oropeza, Making History: The Chicano Movement, 199.
of Chicano Movement historiography further by proposing a global connection between the events of the Chicano Movement and developments in the Third World. While much of the historiography produced by Chicano scholars on the Chicano Movement focuses on the experiences within the national context and they key role that cultural nationalism played, Mariscal analyzes the Chicano movement in the context of national as well as global developments. Mariscal examines how the rise of Third World anticolonial struggles, national liberation movements within the country, the counterculture, as well as U.S. imperial interventions between 1965 and 1975 influenced the Chicano movement. According to Mariscal, Chicanos understood “their relationship to the histories of other disenfranchised populations.” Among the groups with which Chicanos identified, was the Cuban Revolutionary experience, the war in Vietnam, and African American radicalism, all of which had a profound influence on the creation of Chicana/o internationalism.

Mariscal’s investigation complicates the history of the Chicano Movement. He explicitly states that one of his goals in writing this monograph “…is to elucidate the tension inherent in this double-sided potential and thereby free our understanding of the Movement from the narrow nationalist straitjacket in which it has been placed so that we can begin to reevaluate it in all of its complexity.” In this manner, Mariscal takes the Chicano Movement beyond its heavily Chicano nationalist origin and places it among other anti-colonial struggles with which the Chicano people and the Chicano Movement share common ground. Montejano supports Mariscal’s claims, regarding the influence by

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63 Mariscal, 8.
64 Ibid., 14.
of cultural nationalist movements outside of the United States on the Chicano Movement. He cites the Cuban Revolution and the Mexican Revolution as examples of cultural nationalism movement that served as an inspiration for Chicanos in their fight for social change.65

**Impact of War**

Mexican Americans were affected by World War II and Chicanos were influenced by the Vietnam War. World War II provided Mexican American veterans an opportunity that many would not have had otherwise. Due to the G.I. Bill, returning veterans were provided assistance in the form of home loans, business loans, and educational funding. Upon returning from serving their country Mexican American veterans took advantage of this opportunity to obtain a higher education. However, World War II was important to Mexican Americans in another sense as well. Mexican American veterans returned home from their tours of duty only to be discriminated, after having risked their lives to defend democracy abroad. The America in which they lived remained one of Jim Crow segregation. Outside the American South, this type of segregation manifested itself in a similar vein but was directed at Mexican Americans and other ethnic minority groups. In the postwar period there were Mexican American organizations that advocated for their rights, such as League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Community Service Organization (CSO). Yet, the militancy of the Chicano Movement did not emerge until the 1960s.66

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65 Montejano, 2.
Just as Mexican Americans of the previous generation were affected by World War II, Chicanos and the Chicano Movement were affected by the war in Vietnam. Chicanos and other minorities were serving in the military in disproportionate numbers in comparison to their overall population. Most Chicanos were not eligible for draft deferments due to being college students because as the time most Chicanos were not receiving post-secondary education. Due to the significant impact the war had on American society in general and the Chicano Movement in particular many Chicano historians have examined the degree to which the Vietnam War had an impact on the Chicano Movement.

Rosales suggests the war in Vietnam provided Chicanos with a more accurate perception of their marginalized standing in American society. As working class Chicanos were increasingly sent to contribute to the war effort abroad, Rosales explains, “…Chicanos began to view this bias from a nationalistic-racial perspective: Chicanos and minorities carried the burden of the war.”67 The anti-war effort became an important issue that gave the movement momentum.68 Oropeza who has studied the role of the antiwar movement in relation to the Chicano Movement explains that close examination of the Chicano Moratorium provides insight to the way in which perceptions of war participation and patriotism were changing.69 Oropeza explains, “These marches manifested a new and competing form of allegiance on the part of Mexican Americans. Instead of feeling patriotic toward the United States, Chicano movement participants

67 Rosales, xvii.
68 Ibid.
69 Oropeza, ¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: 6.
directed their patriotic sentiments toward the Chicano struggle itself.” 

Whereas the previous generation had served in World War II as a symbol of their patriotism and allegiance to the United States as well as a means of assimilation, Chicanos expressed their lack of desire to assimilate and professed their loyalties elsewhere.

Chicanos viewed their disproportionate service in Vietnam as evidence of the racism and discrimination they suffered within the United States. Many Chicanos signed up for the military due to limited opportunities. As Chicano criticism of the war grew, Chicanos came to identify themselves with the Vietnamese.71 Through her examination of the Chicano antiwar movement and its connection to the Chicano Movement, national and international events and how they informed one another, she broadens the scope of the Chicano Movement as she looks beyond it in order to examine the interworkings of the movement itself. Oropeza is in agreement with Chicano scholars such as George Mariscal and David Montejano who also conceive of the Chicano Movement as a movement that was influenced by, and was a part of, international developments.72

**Chicana Feminist Historiography**

Recent scholarship on the Chicano Movement has emphasized and in some cases focused on the contributions of Chicanas to the Chicano movement, such as *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte* (2006) edited by Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza and the work of Maylei Blackwell *Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (2011). These types of works on the movement remain limited in number, and there continues to be a need for

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70 Oropeza, ¡Raza Si! ¡Guerra No!.; 6.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., 7.
more scholarship that highlights the role of Chicanas within the Chicano movement. It is also necessary to examine how and why Chicana feminism developed to better understand the plight of Chicanas during the Chicano movement. The larger, general works on the Chicano Movement, such as *Occupied America* by renowned Chicano historian Rodolfo Acuña are widely read and has gone through several editions, continued to focus primarily on Chicano nationalism, the driving force that propelled the Chicano Movement. Yet, recent editions do include more recognition of the role of Chicana participation in the movement. It is the lesser-known works, written by Chicana feminists and Chicana feminist scholars who engage in discussions pertaining to Chicana contributions to the movement. In fact, Chicana feminist Martha Cotera was writing about Chicana contributions as early as 1976 with the publication of *Diosa y Hembra: The History and Heritage of Chicanas in the U.S.* and the publication of *The Chicana Feminist* in 1977. However, the body of Chicano Movement literature continues to be made up largely of male centered works. For example, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights* edited by F. Arturo Rosales published in 2000, contains only four documents that focus on Chicanas within a 400 page collection of primary sources.

**History of Exclusion**

A common criticism held by Chicana feminist historians and scholars remains Chicana feminist exclusion. The exclusion of Chicana feminists, and therefore their invisibility ranges in degrees. In some cases, Chicano scholars indicate the lack of inclusion of Chicana feminist histories within the Chicano Movement, the Women’s
Liberation Movement, U.S. women’s history, of the national narrative as a whole. The lack of attention toward Chicana feminists caused them to create their own organizations. Which then lead to the formulation of their own agenda and translated into direct action on behalf of the Chicano community with attention to the needs of Chicanas.

Writing in 1977, Chicana historian Linda Maria Apodaca advocated for the need for a different approach in the examination of Chicanas historically. In her view, capitalism was key in the formation of the conception of Chicanas and their plight within society. She argued “… Chicano historiographers rarely base their analysis on the productive and reproductive process in the Southwest.”

Analysis of Chicanas from a materialist perspective she felt was necessary in order to fully understand the Chicanas social location. A class analysis, Apodaca contended, would allow for the understanding of the driving forces behind forced sterilization, unequal pay, and a limited education. Apodaca explains, “… class analysis makes it possible to understand how politically and culturally the working class was forced to accept, at least temporarily, its conditions of exploitation.” Apodaca pointed out that Chicano historiographers regularly omit examination of the Chicana women in matters of immigration, social production (i.e. agriculture, textile industry, etc.) and working-class struggle. In order to fill the historical gap that exists because of this Apodaca maintains, “Our task as Chicanas and as historians is to present the history of the Chicana and the Chicano in light of the capitalist development that permeated the United States and the world. To present a different

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74 Apodaca, 72.
75 Apodaca, 71.
history will mask the already hidden histories, and perpetuate the existence of exploitation and subjugation.”

Before the publication of Apodaca’s essay in 1977, there existed a growing body of literature that documented the role of Chicanas in Chicano history and in the Chicano Movement. In 1998 Chicana historian Vicki Ruiz included a chapter on Chicanas in the Chicano Movement. In her chapter “La Nueva Chicana: Women and the Movement,” in her book *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican American Women in Twentieth Century America*. In this chapter Ruiz discusses women’s participation in the Chicano Student Movement. According to Ruiz, Chicanas addressed issues of forced sterilization, welfare rights, immigrant services and advocacy, as well as participating in community organizations, La Raza Unida Party, and campus activism. However, despite their contributions, the scholarly literature has focused on the discussion of sexism within the Chicano Movement. Ruiz acknowledges that Chicanas have also been largely left out of U.S. Women’s history as Chicana feminism has been ignored. Ruiz locates the lives of Mexican and Chicana women within Chicano Movement as well as the history of the United States. While Mexican women have made history, Ruiz asserts that their stories have “‘remained in the shadows.’”

In this monograph, Ruiz explores public and private spaces. Ruiz contends that while race, class, and gender are commonly discussed among social historians, there is seldom an exploration of the intersections that allow us to understand power and powerlessness, boundaries and voice, and hegemony and agency.

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76 Ibid., 88.
Writing Chicanas into the Historical Narrative

Increasingly Chicana feminists have become centrally located within the Chicano Movement. The first book length text on Chicanas in the movement, ¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement, was published only a year ago, in 2011. Despierten Hermanas y Hermanos!: Women, the Chicano Movement, and Chicana feminisms in California, 1966-1981 published as a dissertation in 2005, Viva la Raza: A History of Chicano Identity and Resistance published in 2008, and Quijote’s Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981 published in 2010, are examples work studies on the Chicano Movement that have successfully written Chicanas into the history of the Chicano Movement. In Viva la Raza: A History of Chicano Identity &Resistance (2008) Alaniz and Cornish’s investigation is reflective of a more recent trend in literature on the Chicano movement as it acknowledges the contributions of Chicanas within the movement and places them centrally. Throughout this monograph Alaniz and Cornish acknowledge Chicana involvement within the Chicano movement and pinpoint the contradictory elements of the movement, which advocated for equality but focused on equality for Chicano males. These works have not only included Chicana feminists within the Chicano Movement, they have also highlighted the way in which their feminist activism widened the scope of the Chicano Movement and enhanced the movement in the process.

In more recent literature on the Chicano Movement, there has been a move to include Chicanas within the narrative of the Chicano movement. In his essay “Chicano History: Paradigm Shifts and Shifting Boundaries” published in Voices of a New
Chicana/o History in 2000, historian Ramon Gutiérrez examines what he refers to as the feminist critique explaining that it began as “…an assault on male chauvinism” in which Chicana feminists understood themselves to be triply oppressed.78 Chicanas were denied leadership roles within the Chicano student movement and allowed only to maintain “…the most traditional stereotypic roles- cleaning up, making coffee, executing the orders men gave, and servicing their needs.”79 Gutiérrez asserts that the virulent sexism within the movement caused women to draw attention their sexual oppression. The response of Chicanos to the feminist critique was to accuse them of being “…influenced by ideas foreign to their community- namely bourgeois feminist ideology.”80 Chicana feminists were accused of being traitors for refusing to place their culture first. Yet, Chicana feminists sought true equality, which they believed could not be fulfilled without equality within the Chicano community.81

While Chicano scholars identified 1848 as the inception of Chicano history, Chicana historians set the beginning date of Chicano history in 1519 with the Conquest of Mexico. This shift centers on questions of gender and power. Doña Marina (La Malinche), long considered a traitor to her race for her role in the conquest as mistress to and translator for Cortez began to be reevaluated. Chicana scholars began to examine “…mexicanidad (Mexicanness, or a unity of Mexican culture on both sides of the border) and mestizaje (race mixture or a belief in cultural hybridity).”82 This shift resulted in a

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79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 Ramón A. Gutiérrez, 101.
debate among Chicana/o historians about the importance of sexism as well as race.\textsuperscript{83} Chicana activists widened the agenda and the scope of the Chicano movement through their contributions.

The examination of Chicanas involvement with and contributions to the Chicano Movement is an area within Chicano history that continues to grow. Blackwell highlights the activism Chicanas demonstrated during the Chicano Movement, which has been largely overlooked within the historiography of the Movement. Blackwell suggests her monograph, “builds an analysis of the interplay of social and political factors that gave rise to Chicana feminism within the regional and national development of the Chicano movement in the late 1960s and 1970s.”\textsuperscript{84} Blackwell focuses on Anna Nieto Gómez and Las Hijas de Cuahutémoc as she examines how they created an autonomous space in which women participated politically and from which they “…challenged gendered confines of Chicano cultural nationalism within campus and community politics and later in the formation of Chicana studies.”\textsuperscript{85}

In her 2005 dissertation “Despierten Hermanas y Hermanos!: Women, the Chicano Movement, and Chicana Feminisms in California, 1966-1981,” Marisela Chavez examines the rise of Chicana feminist ideologies amid the culturally nationalistic Chicano movement. Through the analysis of newspapers, journal articles, poetry, government documents, and movement organization archives, she evaluates Chicana’s experience

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 102.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
within the Chicano movement. Chavez’s study spans fourteen years beginning in 1966 with the creation of the League of Mexican American Women, formed to support and promote women in politics, and culminates in 1981 with the publication of This Bridge Called My Back, which Chavez contends is “…a point of transfiguration for Chicana feminism…” due to its institutionalization in academia. Chavez examines how Chicano cultural nationalism influenced the emergence of Chicana feminisms, why some, but not all, Chicanas maintained feminist ideologies, in what ways Chicanas experienced the Chicano movement, the ways in which Chicanas expressed their beliefs, and the actions taken by Chicanas as a result of their political ideologies.

A Movement Divided: Loyalists vs. Feminist

Chicana feminists were made of a diverse group of women. Although Chicana feminists generally tended to be working class, had in common the experience of racial discrimination, and had their concerns largely ignored by males in the Chicano Movement, they came from different states and regions, which colored their experiences. Another key point of contention for Chicana feminists rested on ideological differences. How should Chicana feminists go about addressing their marginality within the Chicano Movement? There was not one universal answer by which all Chicana feminists operated. According to Montejano, the question of gender and the challenge to women’s inferiority within the movement resulted in “bitter tensions between some Chicanas and Chicanos, and between “traditional, male identified Chicanas” and “feminist Chicanas…”

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87 Ibid., 7.
88 Montejano, 151.
However, although differences existed Chicana feminists as a group continued to define and organize around their own agenda. Ruiz explains, “Conflicts over gender or race, personal liberation or family first, did not stop the development of Chicana feminism.”

Just as there were divisions within the larger Chicano Movement, there were also divisions among Chicana feminists. According to Chavez, two Chicana feminist camps emerged at the first national Chicana conference in 1971, the “loyalists” and the feminists. While Chicanas did not agree, the conference revealed that even Chicanas who were not Chicana feminists wanted changes in gender relations. Chicanas were now demanding to be at the forefront of Chicano organizations and to hold leadership positions. Chicanas were no longer content to work on Chicano issues and patiently wait for their liberation before they fought for theirs. Conferences such as this one were instrumental in the exchange of ideas among Chicanas. At these conferences, Chicanas were able to openly discuss their vision of Chicano Movement goals and were then able to articulate those ideas within their respective communities.

Each of the groups created resolutions that expressed their concerns. The “feminists” resolutions addressed issues of relevance to women’s experiences such as equal pay for equal work and support for birth control. “Loyalist” concerns were expressed in more general terms focusing on the Vietnam War, Chicanos in the Midwest, and El Plan de Aztlán. Loyalists placed the blame of Chicano oppression on the shoulders of the economic structure, this oppression they believed, was what caused Chicanos to subjugate women. In their view, dominant society was responsible for the

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89 Ruiz, 111.
90 Ibid., 166.
91 Chavez Rodriguez, 60.
oppression of the Chicano people therefore making it unnecessary for the Chicano Movement to address sexism. Femenistas on the other hand, centrally placed sexism and racism as key obstacles within their struggle.\(^92\)

Ruiz recognizes that this rift did indeed occur, as loyalists sought to stand by their man and “have babies for la causa.”\(^93\) Loyalists accused Chicana feminists of needing “an identity”, being “vendidas” (sell-outs), or “falsas” (false).\(^94\) Chicana feminist Ana Nieto Gómez responded to such accusations indicating that for Chicanas to have a place in the movement they needed to sleep with a movement “heavy”, this she declared was the avenue that was open to “all ambitious women.”\(^95\) Yet, Ruiz suggests this binary that emerged between the two feminist camps was one that was short-lived.\(^96\) A middle ground between the two factions came about with the usage of the imagery of soldaderas (women who fought alongside their men during the Mexican Revolution). This image, Ruiz explains, expressed independence and was male-identified simultaneously.\(^97\)

Despite their differences, loyalists and feminists both sought to address women’s issues within the Chicano movement. Loyalists placed ethnic unity over gender unity. Given their views regarding the source of oppression, they believed that equality of opportunity in the areas of economics, politics, and education would naturally be followed by gender gains.\(^98\) Yet, the feminists refused to wait until the revolution was over before they were able to witness gender gains. Regardless of which side of the

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\(^92\) Chavez Rodriguez, 61.
\(^93\) Ruiz, 111.
\(^94\) Ibid.
\(^95\) Ibid.
\(^96\) Ibid.
\(^97\) Ibid.
\(^98\) Chavez Rodriguez, 67.
debate Chicanas found themselves, they had concerns with the white feminist movement with which they wanted to maintain their distance.99

As Chicanas expressed their views and pushed for a Chicano Movement agenda that placed them more centrally within the movement, they were confronted with opposition. The opposition came not only from the loyalist but from Chicanos as well. Chicanas who became critical of gender inequalities in the movement and fought for recognition of, and organizing around women’s concerns, were considered a threat to the goals of ethnic nationalism.100 Ethnic nationalism had been a centerpiece of the Chicano Movement from its inception and was therefore a key element of Chicanismo. Chicana Feminists adhered to the ethnic nationalism of the Chicano Movement also. Chicanas wanted to address pertinent Chicana rights but they wanted to do so within the Chicano Movement. According to feminists like Marta Cotera and Anna Nieto Gómez, Chicanas needed to look no further than their Mexicana past for feminist inspiration.101

¡Chicana Primero!

Chicana feminism as expressed by Chicanas indentified race, class, and gender as the oppressive forces that resulted in their subjugation. Unlike the Women’s Liberation Movement that identified the patriarchal family was the central cause of women’s oppression, Chicanas believed there were larger forces and those forces operated against Chicanos and Chicanas alike.102 While Chicanas understood the need to fight against

99 Chavez Rodriguez, 67.
100 Ibid., 2.
102 Montejano, 151.
male privilege, they were cautious about adopting a feminist position that was anti-family. Chicanas did not want to alienate Chicanos; they wanted gender equality concerns to be addressed within the existing Chicano Movement. Given this perspective and their commitment to the larger Chicano Movement, Chicanas did not seek to break away from the movement. Chicana feminist Enriqueta Longeaux Vasquez affirmed in a 1971 article, ¡Soy Chicana Primero! (I am Chicana First) “We want to be a Chicana primero, we want to walk hand in hand with the Chicano brothers, with our children, our viejitos (elders), our Familia de La Raza.” The point of view expressed by Longeaux Vasquez was a commonly held among Chicana feminists.

Some Chicanas had attempted to work with the Women’s Liberation Movement but Chicanas often found themselves feeling unwelcome and unheard. When Consuelo de los Reyes, a Chicana feminist from Sacramento who had been attending NOW meetings she found what she referred to as “female chauvinism.” In the face of indifference from the Women’s Liberation Movement, Chicanas blamed women’s libbers for being more concerned with forming alliances with the elite and obtaining career mobility than with coalition building with Chicanas. Although Chicanas were expected to prioritize racial unity over gender concerns, they sought to coalesce the two and work with

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103 Montejano, 151.
105 “Humanism is One Goal.” The Sacramento Union, September 16, 1973. Sally Wagner Papers, California State University Sacramento, Special Collections and University Archives
Chicanos to address social injustice together for the betterment of the Chicano community.\textsuperscript{107}

**Widening the Movement: Chicana Feminist Contributions**

As Chicana feminists drew attention to and organized around equal pay efforts, childcare, welfare reform, and inclusion of Chicanas within the Chicano Studies curriculum, they expanded the Chicano Movement. Through this expansion of the Movement, Chicanas made the movement responsive to Chicanos as a people, not Chicanos as a sex. Alaniz and Cornish credit Chicana feminists with “…integrating race and sex issues and constructing a cohesive set of feminist/Chicano priorities.”\textsuperscript{108}

Chicanas organized from within and beyond the Chicano Movement. In cases where Chicano Movement organizations were not addressing the needs of Chicanas, they simply formed their own organizations.

The first Chicana feminist organization in the nation was formed in Sacramento, California in 1970 at the Mexican American National Issues Conference. Chavez cites “the male domination of Chicano politics and women’s movement refusal to consider race and class as important issues” as the impetus that lead to the creation of the organization. Chavez outlines the four objectives of the organization: “leadership, information distribution, problem-solving for Chicanas/Mexicanas, and networking with other women’s organizations and movements.”\textsuperscript{109} Comision set out to address the “…the invisibility of Mexican American women on local, state and national levels as well as more practical concerns such as childcare and abortion.” Concerns over childcare

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\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 47.
\textsuperscript{108} Alaniz and Cornish, 250.
\textsuperscript{109} Chavez Rodriguez, 81.
and abortion were considered concerns of the white feminist movement at the time. However, Chicanas used movement ideology to support their right to have access to legal abortions as a concern of “self-determination” and they sought to have childcare centers that fostered ethnic pride, which was also central to the movement.

Although there was support among Chicana feminists for abortion, it became a contentious point among the younger and older generation.

The experience of Chicanas within Chicano Movement organizations varied depending on the organization with which they were involved. Montejano explains that as early as 1972, the first year of operation of the Raza Unida Party, the party had a section dedicated to “la mujer” (the woman), within the party platform. La Raza Unida clearly expressed their commitment to the political education as well as to the leadership development of women. At the time, Montejano claims, “The Raza Unida Party was the only political party in Texas to include a plank on women’s issues in its platform.”

This interest in women’s concerns would not have been addressed by La Raza Unida Party had it not been for the activism and organizing that Chicanas had undertaken to draw attention this their stance.

Chicanas within the Brown Berets also experienced a degree of respect and autonomy within the organization that was unheard of in many of the other Chicano Movement organizations. They created the soldaderas (female soldiers) that operated within the Brown Berets. Chicana Brown Berets sought to expand the notion of carnalismo (brotherhood) that was essential to the Chicano Movement to include

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111 Ibid., 131.
112 Montejano, 167.
Chicanas. Montejano asserts, “Chicana Berets were accorded respect and a good measure of equality within the West Side group.” Chicana Brown Berets were instrumental in creating community-based programs to provide services to the Chicano community. They were responsible for organizing a breakfast program for children. In East Los Angeles after a contentious split from the male organization Beret women established a free medical clinic.

Chicanas were active on and off campus. Numerous organizations were created to advance the Chicana feminist agenda. The Chicana Action Service Center “was one of the first antipoverty agencies exclusively serving barrio women.” Chicanas protested the war in Vietnam alongside Chicanos, they participated in the student walkouts, they were part of La Raza Unida Party, and they were involved with the farmworkers movement. They called for Chicano Studies classes on Mexicana revolutionaries and Chicana writers and scholars. Today, in fact most Chicana/o Study programs require students to take a class on “La Mujer” as a requirement toward their major. They also led protests against the forced sterilization of poor women and women of color. Chicanas sought access to birth control, organized against forced sterilization, advocated for welfare and prison rights for women, wanted protection against male violence and insisted on sexual pleasure in their relationships. Gutiérrez asserts, “If the aim of Chicano history had been to decolonize the mind, making ethnic Mexicans in the United States more than the arms with which they toiled in the factories and fields, Chicanas

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113 Ibid., 174.
114 Montejano, 202.
115 Ruiz, 114.
116 Alaniz and Cornish, 250.
117 Ramón Gutiérrez, 102.
were intent on decolonizing the body.”

Despite opposition within the movement, Chicanas cannot be overlooked in the study of the Chicano Movement because they were active participants who voiced their concerns and organized around those issues.

**Feminist Historiography**

Jill Matthews in her 1986 article *Feminist History* distinguishes women’s history from feminist history. She explains that while women’s history attempts to add women to historical investigation and writing within the traditional framework, conversely, feminist history attempts to change the temperament of traditional history by including gender in historical analysis. Matthews asserts that the reason for this change is political because it challenges the practices within the historical discipline that have oppressed women while simultaneously changing historical practice to allow women the possibility of self-definition.

According to Matthews “The feminist challenge was not just to add women to that standard canon, to plug up the gaps in existing genres, or to add women’s history to the growing list of genres or subgroups of historical writing. Rather, it was to do over the enterprise, to recast the discipline of history so that women’s lives and experiences were as integral to it as men’s.”

The feminist movement provided a space that allowed women to think deeply about their role as people who have agency to make their own choices. Whether through consciousness raising sessions or through their lived experiences women were given the opportunity to examine their lives as they were and their futures as they could be. As a

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118 Ibid.
119 Chavez Rodriguez, 5.
121 Ibid.
result of the feminist movement, young women today have vastly different perceptions of themselves and their potential than women in the 1950s. Their lived experiences differ substantially; in fact, many young women cannot picture themselves being confined to the strict gender roles of the past. At university campuses, medical schools, and law schools across the nation women are well represented. In our society, it is not uncommon to see women in positions of power whether it be national politics as front-runners to the office of the presidency as was the case for Hilary Clinton in the 2008 presidential race or as CEOs of major corporations. The America in which young women grow up and come of age today is one that represents endless possibilities and one in which the contributions of women are becoming more well known and valued.

Although historically women have been absent from our textbooks as well as the narrative of American history as a whole, the feminist movement that began in the 1960s had far reaching implications for American society which have rendered it impossible to overlook. Recently historians contend that despite the far-reaching implications of the feminist movement on American society there has been little historical attention given to the movement. Couvares argues that feminism as a historical field of inquiry has been understudied; in fact, many of the studies of Second Wave feminism have been works of actual participants. Couvares asserts that Second Wave feminism made women’s history a legitimate field of study.

123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
Despite the fact that the feminist movement has been understudied, over the years the scope of feminist historiography has grown. The topics examined by the feminist movement are so broad in scope that they have come to touch everyday American life.\textsuperscript{125} The feminist movement has had an impact on marriage and divorce, attitudes regarding gender roles, art, literature, education, the legal system, child rearing, changed the way the country discusses and addressed sexual violence, and the distribution of household responsibilities as well as numerous other areas.\textsuperscript{126} Not only has the feminist movement had far-reaching implications in the public realm as social norms have been challenged, reevaluated, and reshaped but it has also had an impact on an intimate level on our personal lives as relationships and family dynamics have also been reshaped to better suit our current ideas of gender roles.

The 1960s were a tumultuous decade in the United States and unlike the complacency of the 1950s, the 1960s sought to question the engrained practices of American culture. The movements of the 1960s came to shake America at its core and in doing so reshaped society. While the civil rights movement has been explored in depth due to its contributions to American society, gender relations within the movement went largely unexplored until the 1980s.\textsuperscript{127} Due to the changing trends in American historiography, since the 1970s historians have begun to examine more closely the decisions and acts taken by individuals and how their decisions came to shape larger events.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{125} Couvares, 325.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 287.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., 290.
The early feminist literature focused on examining the social and political climate in which the feminist movement was formed. Many of the early works were written by participants of the feminist movement, some who had also at one point been participants of the civil rights movement but who came to understand their own oppression as women through their participation in the civil rights movement. In *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement & the New Left* Sara Evans investigates the roots of the feminist movement and the emergence of a collective consciousness among women. Evans’ monograph is well researched. She compiled over 60 interviews of participants within the feminist and New Left movements, she used a wealth of primary sources as well as secondary sources. Among her sources are pamphlets, articles, periodicals, U.S. census data, and dissertations.

As women participated in the civil rights movement it became evident that within the movement there were prescribed gender roles, similar to the larger American society. Women were often times expected to perform menial duties but were not given leadership positions. As women continued to organize with the various organizations of the civil rights movement the need for sexual equality became evident. Evans suggests, “Working for racial justice, they gained experience in organizing and collective action, an ideology that described and condemned oppression analogous to their own, and a belief in human “rights” that could justify them in claiming equality for themselves.”

Through their participation in the civil rights movement women gained organizing experience and they came to understand their sexual oppression not only within larger

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American society but also within a liberal movement. As women came to grasp the reality of their experience as women within American society and as they witnessed what African Americans were able to accomplish for themselves through the civil rights movement, they sought to address the sexual discrimination that they suffered from.

The feminist organizations that were created in the late 1960s were influenced by the radicalism that had become a part of the civil rights movement. SNCC had become more militant by the late 1960s and the Black Power movement had solidified itself as part of the struggle for equality. Due to the rise of radicalism in the latter part of the 1960s radicalism came to influence the feminist movement as well. Radical feminism emerged in the late 1960s and ended by the mid 1970s. Radical feminists argued that women were a sex-class and advocated for the political repositioning of the relations between the sexes.130 In *Daring to be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967-1975*, Alice Echols outlines the emergence of radical feminism in the late 1960s and its rise and dominance in the women’s movement in the early 1970s. *Daring to be Bad* is based on interviews and literature from the feminist movement. Echols claims that her book is not simply an intellectual history, a social history, or a collective biography, but instead, a combination of all three. Echols interviewed over forty women who were participants in the radical and politico feminist movement. In addition to interviews, Echols also drew from feminists and leftist publications, underground newspapers, and personal papers in an effort to corroborate the information she acquired through interviews.131

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131 Ibid., 20.
There has been much discussion in feminist history on the exclusion and the divisions that were created because of the white, middle class ideals of the movement. There can be no doubt, that in fact there were different goals and objectives with a group as diverse as American women were. However, there were challenges within the feminist movement and women with differing concerns, brought attention to their plight thereby changing the agenda, scope and direction of the feminist movement. As the body of feminist history has grown, there has been an increase in the analysis of the differing agendas, contributions of ethnic feminist groups, and the agency with which the women advocated and at times demanded change. In response to the earlier literature that overlooked women of color, a body of investigations have emerged that place them centrally within the narrative of the feminist movement.

As the body of literature on the feminist movement continued to portray the concerns of white middle-class women, feminist historians began to examine the contributions and the feminist experiences of women of color. These investigations represented a criticism of the feminist movement and the literature that had emerged from it which ignored the concerns and contributions of women of color. As a result, African American, Asian American, and Chicanas sought to rewrite feminist history in a way that would more accurately tell the story of the feminist movement. Within these feminists works there was often discussion of the intersectionality of race, class and gender, which previously had been unacknowledged in the dominant literature.
Multicultural Feminist Historiography

Due to the rise of multiculturalism in the United States in the 1990s as well as the previous claims of ethnic feminist groups being overlooked and left out of the feminist narrative historians of feminism have sought to shed light on multicultural feminism as opposed to the previous literature that focused on one ethnic group. Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women’s History edited by Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz seeks to address the interconnections among the systems of power that shape the experiences of women in the United States throughout history. According to DuBois and Ruiz, the focus of this work is to highlight the interaction of many races and cultures. The topic of many of the essays within the anthology present insight into the structural and ideological components of class, as it interplays with race and gender to create women’s consciousness. Through the inclusion of various authors with multicultural perspectives and an array of topics within this work the objective is to create a national, inclusive, history of women. DuBois and Ruiz assert, “We hope, in this volume and in the future scholarship it may encourage, to contribute to a reconceptualization of American women’s history, as a series of dialectical relations among and across races and classes for women, representing diverse cultures and unequal power.” The topics explored through the articles in the anthology include family, work, politics, sexuality, women’s relationships, and history’s purposes. DuBois and Ruiz compiled the articles of this anthology in hopes that it would contribute to further research that will result in the

133 Ruiz and DuBois, 3.
134 Ibid., 4.
transformation of white, middle-class canon of women’s history to a more inclusive women’s history.  

In the third edition of Unequal Sisters, published in 2000, DuBois and Ruiz assert that women’s history, now in its second decade, is at a crossroads. They highlight the growing push for the awareness of “difference.” DuBois and Ruiz argue that women’s history has to be reshaped. They assert that there needs to be an exploration of the divisions between women, not just between men and women, yet, it is also necessary to explore the bonds between men and women. As feminism has been defined and redefined it has become necessary to approach feminism with a multifaceted perspective to pinpoint the connections between the systems of power that form the life of women. Scholarship on women of color make up more than half of the articles within the anthology, articles on class and sexual orientation are included to explore “difference.” DuBois and Ruiz assert, “The dynamics of race and gender… are the pivotal point of this collection.” DuBois and Ruiz contend that race and class are intertwined and that people of color tend to be concentrated in the lower industrial positions, service, and agricultural jobs which has placed limits on economic mobility. Unequal Sisters takes a multicultural approach that allows for an analysis that examines class, race, and gender as intertwined components.

135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., xi.
137 Ibid., x.
138 Ibid.
139 Ruiz and DuBois, x.
140 Ibid., xiii.
The goal of the editors in compiling this edition, were to meet the three principles of inclusion. The articles they chose advance the tradition of progressive feminist, antiracist, and social justice activism. Through the articles, DuBois and Ruiz claim, “…the histories of women as conscious agents of social change and/or examine the competing and conflicting identities that shape women’s actions.”

Within the anthology, preference is given to women of color to place them within the narrative of U.S. Women’s history. The most recent edition of Unequal Sisters places U.S. women’s history in a global context.

The story of American feminism is a story of reevaluating, expanding, and redefining the struggle for women’s rights in an effort to improve human rights. Current concerns of feminism center on placing women within the global context. As the world has become more globalized in many respects, so has feminism. Working conditions, the feminization of poverty, and the prevention of sexual violence have become major concerns of the feminist movement. We currently see these topics represented within many of the more recent investigations. There also continues to be an ongoing analysis of the literature that exists in an effort to create a more accurate understanding of the feminist movement. Due to the immense impact of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s on American cultural life the study of this field will continue to grow and to unearth an important part of our nation’s history.

\[141\] Ruiz and DuBois, xiii.
\[142\] Ibid.
Conclusion

Placing Chicana feminist historiography is not a straightforward task. Because of the complexity involved in the identity formation, the political philosophies, and the intersectionality, along with the uniqueness of the Chicana feminist community there are several layers to peel back in order to get to the core of Chicana feminism and its history. Chicana feminists and their histories were a part of a larger context than feminism or the Chicano Movement alone. Chicana feminists struggled to find their place in the movements of the 1960s but in the end they created their own movement within a movement. Through their activism and organizing within the Chicano Movement, Chicanas gained organizational skills and became politicized to the injustices facing the Chicano community. Chicana feminists understood that their full potential as leaders was not being realized and found themselves frustrated with the limitations they encountered. Intent on remaining within the Chicano Movement Chicanas created their own agenda as well as their own organizations and led their push for social justice, not only in theory, but in action.

Whether through feminist organizations or preexisting organizations, Chicanas widened the cause of the Chicano Movement. Early on, Chicano Movement historiography was male centered at the expense of an accurate characterization of the movement. Yet, just as Chicano history and Chicano Movement historiography has evolved from the recovery of lost histories into greater analysis, Chicana feminist historiography is also moving in that direction. Currently Chicana feminist historiography is evolving in two phases, that of recovery, and that of deeper analysis. As historians
continue to investigate and uncover the untold narratives of Chicana feminists it will be necessary for those narratives to be analyzed not only within the context of the Chicano Movement, but also in broader scales. The inclusion of Chicana feminist history need not be added to Chicano Movement history, U.S. Women’s history, or U.S. History, it needs to be intricately woven into the fabric of each of those bodies of literature to reflect the reality in which Chicana feminists operated.
CHAPTER THREE

CHICANA FEMINISM: BEYOND MATTERS OF SEX, 1968-1975

Introduction

Chicana feminists played a crucial role within the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. They participated and contributed in innumerable ways. Chicanas were active participants in various student and community based organizations. Through their efforts, they expanded the push for Chicano civil rights by drawing attention to and organizing around issues that affected Chicanas specifically, and the broader Chicano community as a whole. While substantial contributions were made by Chicanas these have often been overlooked. Early literature on the Chicano movement celebrated male leaders while the significant contributions of Chicanas went largely unnoticed. According to Maylei Blackwell, an interdisciplinary scholar, activist, and oral historian, there has been a monolithic portrayal of the movement that glorifies male leaders and leaves female leaders out, resulting in a “historical disservice to the historical memory of the majority of its participants.” ¹ Blackwell contends, “The historiography or practice of telling the history of the Chicano Movement often has not only erased women’s early participation in the movement but has produced a masculine hegemony within those narratives.” ² This distorted view of the Chicano Movement has led to hero worship of Chicano males while women have been portrayed as fulfilling “traditional women’s

² Ibid., 59.
roles” such as taking minutes for meetings, cooking for fundraisers and working in supporting roles to the male leadership.

Chicana feminists became politicized to their plight through their involvement and activism in the Chicano Movement. Yet, as the movement progressed it became evident that gender concerns would continue to take a back seat to matters of race. Remaining within the Chicano Movement, Chicanas began to express gender specific concerns including childcare and sexism while continuing to work toward social justice for the Chicano people. Through their involvement in the Chicano Movement Chicanas attended conferences, such as the Youth Liberation Conference held in Denver in 1969. While at conferences, Chicanas gathered together to discuss their roles in the movement. As Chicanas attended more conferences, including conference that were specifically for Chicanas they continued to raise consciousness about their plight not only in the Chicano Movement, but in American society. Chicana feminists then began to articulate a Chicana feminist agenda in which their concerns about gender, race, and class were addressed.

Chicano and Chicana publications such as El Grito del Norte, Regeneración, and La Luz provided a forum for an exchange of ideas among Chicana feminists in dialogue with the Chicano Movement. It was in one such article that Adelaida del Castillo stated,

The Chicana feminist movement is part of the Chicano Movement. It’s a focused investigation into the problems of ‘La Mujer,’ la mujer Mexicana, because nobody, nobody has done an investigation into her situation.”¹³ She went on to state, “…there is a need to focus on the problems of the Chicana because her problems are very big and no one has bothered to focus on them. Women have now taken it upon themselves to say “‘Hey, you know what, we’re in trouble and we better do something about it because no one else is doing anything about it.”¹⁴

⁴Ibid., 46-47.
Chicanas came to understand that if anything was going to be done to alleviate their plight, it was up to them to organize around the inequalities they faced and make a concerted effort to effect change within and beyond the Chicano community. Chicanas began creating their own organizations. Comision Femenil Nacional Mexicana, established in Sacramento, California, in 1971, was the first organization of its kind. However, just as the Chicanos are not a monolithic group, we will find that Chicanas too disputed among themselves as they sought to create their agenda within an expanding Chicano Movement.

This chapter traces the development of Chicana feminism. Specifically, it examines the relationship between Chicana feminism and the larger Women’s Liberation Movement as well as the relationship of Chicana feminists to the Chicano Movement in order to understand the need for a new social movement. Through the examination of the rise of Chicana feminism and their struggle to create a space for themselves and a movement that was responsive to their needs a more accurate portrayal of their role within the Chicano Movement emerges. This chapter expands the literature on the rise of Chicana feminism while examining its relationship to the Chicano and the Women’s Liberation Movement. The Chicana feminist movement emphasized obtaining gains for the community rather than on individual achievement, while white feminists focused their attention on creating a more egalitarian relationship between men and women. They
sought to gain equal access to power and prestige while advocating for dissolution of sex roles.\textsuperscript{5}

This project pinpoints Chicana concerns as well as their efforts to assert their place within the Chicano Movement and highlight their expansion of the movement’s agenda through their organizing. As members of an ethnic minority, working-class citizens, and women, Chicanas experienced triple oppression. Their unique position within society in relation to Chicanos included gender oppression and in relation to the Women’s Liberation Movement included racial and class differences. Influential forces among Chicana feminists were their relationship with the Catholic Church, their socio-economic status, and the immediate concerns of relevance to their respective communities. Issues addressed by Chicana feminists included male chauvinism, abortion, childcare, sexism within the Chicano Movement and racism within the white women’s movement.\textsuperscript{6} Additionally, Chicanas were also concerned about forced sterilization, rape, welfare, the plight of working mothers, and sexual discrimination in employment.\textsuperscript{7}

\textbf{Brief Overview of the Chicano Movement}

The economic, social and political forces that subjugated Mexican Americans had long been entrenched in American society. The racism and discrimination experienced by Mexican Americans relegated them to second-class citizenship. Mexican American children attended “Mexican schools”, their parents had “Mexican jobs”, and

they lived in Mexican barrios (neighborhoods). The term “Mexican” connoted inferiority and foreignness in American society. The underlying issues that led to the Chicano fight for social justice in the 1960s and 1970s were in place far before the creation of the United Farm Workers Union in 1962, the armed raid led by Reies Lopez Tijerina on the Rio Arriba Country Courthouse in New Mexico in 1967, long before the student walkouts in Los Angeles in 1968, and before the first National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Colorado in 1969.

Organizing and advocacy was not a new development that came about in the 1960s. Mexicans had defended their rights, although not always successfully, since the United States gained ownership of the current day American Southwest, once Mexican territory. Following the Mexican American War, American settlers moved west. When gold was discovered in California in 1849, there was a rapid influx of people from across the country and around the world. As squatters encroached on the lands of the Californios, Californios responded by protecting their claims to their land. Antonio Maria Pico was once such Californio. In defense of his land he petitioned the Senate and House of Representative in 1859 citing his rights under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. There are many other instances that highlight the agency of Mexicans in the face of what some Chicano scholars refer to as internal colonialism.8

Due to the heavily working class make up of the Mexican American community there had been several instances of workers movements in the past. Emma Tenayuca was instrumental in helping to organize a strike against the Southern Pecan Shelling Company

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in 1938.9 School desegregation cases were fought successfully in California in the 1930s in the Lemon Grove case and 1940s in the Mendez v. Westminster case. The legacy of activism was definitely not new within the Mexican American community. The outset of the Chicano Movement, however, did not occur until the 1960s. The Chicano Movement diverged from the organizing and activism of the previous generations. The tone of the movement was more militant than the organizing efforts that occurred before.

The movement grew as a result of the social, economic, and political inequality plaguing the Chicano community. Chicanos suffered from blatant racial discrimination and a lack of opportunities for economic advancement. The Chicano Movement brought about a cultural renaissance that rejected assimilation and accommodation to the dominant society. The focus instead, was on cultural pride and Chicano nationalism which affirmed and celebrated Indigenous culture and held political activism as a central component in matters of concern to the Chicano community.

The Chicano Movement emerged as a culturally nationalistic movement that pushed for self-determination.10 Chicanos were no longer going to assimilate and conform to American ideals. Chicanos set out to take back the power over their lives which was rightfully theirs. They rejected Mexican American as an identity label and instead adopted Chicano which had been used as a derogatory term. In selecting their own title for their identity Chicanos were employing principles of self-determination. No longer would Chicanos allow Anglo-Americans to define them. Chicanos rejected the notion that they were foreigners as they sought out their indigenous roots. As they

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10 Rosales, 19.
identified with their Indigenous past Chicanos laid claim to their rightful place in Aztlán (current day U.S.) and affirmed pride in their culture.

*Chicanismo*, a central ideology in the Chicano Movement connoted political awareness of oppressive conditions that existed for Chicanos as well as pride in cultural heritage. These concepts came to be the ideological base of the Chicano Movement.\(^{11}\) Chicana/o historian Lorena Oropeza explains the activism in the Chicano community prior to the beginning of the Chicano Movement, “For more than a century, Mexican Americans had battled against discrimination in education, housing, employment, and the administration of justice.”\(^{12}\) However, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chicano and Chicana activists promoted a politics of cultural identity that challenged long-held assumptions about the history and role of the group within U.S. society.\(^{13}\) *Chicanismo* sought to preserve Chicano culture as a crucial element of the survival of group identity.\(^{14}\) Central to the Chicano Movement was the promotion, knowledge and appreciation of Chicano culture in opposition to assimilation.\(^{15}\) Due to the systematic discrimination experienced by Chicanos, their lack of access to economic opportunities and political power a key goal of the movement was to “enhance political power and economic conditions of Mexicanos.”\(^{16}\)

\(^{11}\) Rosales, 19.
\(^{13}\) Ibid.
\(^{15}\) Ibid.
\(^{16}\) Ibid.
Frustration In the Movement

Chicanas became frustrated with their one dimensional roles within the Chicano Movement and were vocal about expressing their discontent. Adelaida del Castillo, editor of Encuentro Femenil, a Chicana feminist periodical, illustrated this point in 1974: “Chicanas were being alienated (dare I use the word?). A lot of Chicanas were sincerely feeling exploited if not alienated by certain organizations of the Chicano Movement in the types of jobs that she was being given or relegated to.”17 In La Luz Consuelo Nieto also expressed the frustration experienced by Chicana feminists and expressed the need for Chicano involvement to eradicate the sexism within the movement.

Chicanos should themselves take an active role in supporting their sisters. Within our own organizations, Chicanos must seek to include women in positions of leadership, not just “decorate” their conferences with them. How often Chicanas have participated in organizations or gone to conferences, only to see their role limited to that of “behind the scenes” worker of the “lovely lady” introduced at dinner for a round of applause! The Chicana wants more than that. She wants to be among the major speakers at Chicano conferences and to be involved at policy-making levels. She wants to be supported wholeheartedly in bids for public office.18

Chicana feminists articulated their frustration with the Chicano Movement in outlets that were created or staffed by Chicanas. In these mediums Chicanas openly vented their frustrations. Bernice Rincon expressed this frustration in Regeneración in 1973, stating in part, “Today when a Chicana says ‘Power to the People’ she means all of

18 Consuelo Nieto, “The Chicana and the Women’s Rights Movement,” La Luz, date not provided, from Sally Wagner Papers, California State University Sacramento, 5.
the people equally, including women. Mexican women have always been beside their men in the struggle for justice. In the battlefield, in the grape fields, or at home with the children. The only point at issue is that this contribution has rarely been recognized by the men or even by the women themselves.”

Chicanas within the movement felt that Chicanos were not giving them the respect they deserved nor the recognition they had earned through their work within and dedication to the movement. Rincon explained, “Today some Chicanas are saying ‘Ya Basta! (enough)’ We are 50% or more of the Chicano population. Give us a chance.” Chicanas wanted the opportunity not only to be a part of the Chicano movement, they also wanted the opportunity to hold leadership roles, to be involved in the decision making process, they wanted their efforts to be recognized, and to be treated with respect. In a previous article published in 1971 Rincon explained,

We do want to be given the opportunity to do whatever it is that we do best in the line of work. We want to have our efforts recognized and our success rewarded with more responsibility. When feasible with financial rewards we want to have our ideas recognized and implemented with credits going to the originators. We want to be in on the decision making if we are “leaders” and work beside our men as equals.

Chicanas were now demanding to have an equal voice within the movement.

In an article published in Regeneración in 1971 the following opinion was expressed, addressing the need for women to assert themselves within the movement,

“Women can no longer remain in a subservient role or as auxiliary forces in the

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movement. They must be included in the front line of communication, leadership and organizational responsibility.” By the early 1970s, Chicanas had become disenchanted with their position within the movement. In “Women Who Disagree” also published in Regeneración in 1971 the status of women in the Chicano movement was questioned and their frustrations were made clear. “… they are the unsung, unrecognized work horses who provide cohesion to organization while the men parade their ‘leadership’ at meetings and important functions. The women are tired of playing this role. They want the opportunity to assume organizational, political leadership and responsibility in the movement of La Causa.” Chicana demands for equality were echoed by Gema Matsuda as she reflected on Comisión Feminil Mexicana, an organization formed in 1970 to address the specific problems facing Chicanas.

The Chicano has not been alone in this awakening. The Chicana has also been aroused. She is no longer satisfied with taking part in the struggle beside her man. She wants to be given the long overdue credit to which she is entitled. She no longer wants to be the silent partner of all the movements….The Mexican woman has often been on the winning side of the battle; but has yet to profit from it. Her son, her husband, her brother have all gotten the credit. This has always been.

As Chicanas questioned their role within the student movement they sought to address issues confronting Chicanas because of the blatant sexism in the movement. As Gema Matsuda complained, “A Chicana’s commitment to ‘la causa’ is often measured by the number of guys she has bedded with and how important these guys are in the

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23 Author’s name not provided, “El Mundo Feminil Mexicano,” in Dorinda Moreno, ed., Mujer en Pie de Lucha (Mexico; Espina Del Norte Publications, 1973), 29.
movements. Whatever she does for the movement as an individual is of little consequence, if any.”

The sexism experienced by Chicanas within the Chicano movement was disheartening and contradictory to the goals of the Chicano Movement. Chicanas historically had fought alongside “their men” for civil rights yet they were not given respect or recognition for their participation. In an interview published in *Regeneración*, Adelaida del Castillo, associated editor of *Encuentro Femenil*, the first Chicana feminist journal provided insight into the limitations placed on Chicanas due to sexist views about women’s participation.

Like the beast of burden, she does the paperwork and if they want any food, go to her and she will cook it. She knows how to cook well!... A lot of women were finding themselves unfulfilled in just being relegated to this position of beast of burden or mere workers and not thinkers. So a lot of women were becoming upset because they couldn’t use their abilities and their potentials. Chicana feminism, as I see it, recognizes the worth and potentials of all women.”

In 1972 *La Verdad* published this expression of the need for Chicana activism to address Chicana concerns, “As Chicanas we have a duty to ourselves first!... We must trust all women and realize that at this point in the movimiento ‘Chicano Power’ doesn’t include Chicana power!”

As the Chicano student movement continued to develop it became clear that racial discrimination was the central focus of the movement. Women’s concerns were not part of the central platform, as *Chicanismo* placed ethnic unity and issues of race discrimination experienced by Chicano males at the forefront. In addition to their frustration with blatant sexism and their exclusion from movement leadership,

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26 Ibid, 27.
Chicanas became increasingly aware of gender-specific concerns and the lack of the Chicano Movement addressing those particular concerns. Linda Aguilar shed light on the thoughts of Chicana feminists in an article published in *The Civil Rights Digest* in 1974:

> Chicanas have fought side by side with their men in the struggle for equal opportunity in all areas of American life. Unfortunately, because the major emphasis has been on opening doors of opportunity for the Mexican American male, the female in essence…fights the battle but does not share in the spoils.\(^{29}\)

**Development of Chicana Feminism**

The emergence of Chicana feminism came about as early as 1968,\(^{30}\) due to their unique social standing and experience of triple oppression. Chicanas recognized and valued the need to work alongside Chicanos. When Chicana awareness of the conditions that were unique to their experience and the lack of responsiveness in the Chicano Movement they actively sought ways in which to address and organize on various issues. Additionally, Chicanas were also growing increasingly frustrated with their lack of recognition, the lack of leadership opportunities, the sexism within the movement itself. As a result of marginalization within Chicano student groups, Chicanas began to feel a need to create their own organizations that were responsive to their needs, yet they did not seek to separate themselves from the Chicano Movement. They saw their demand for rights as being interlocked with the Chicano Movement, not separate from it. They understood that addressing issues that pertained to both sexes, as well as race and class, would benefit the entire Chicano community.

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The Chicano student movement with its focus on Chicanismo, cultural pride, and educational concerns was male centered in its approach. Important positions were given to men while women were given subservient roles. Although Chicanas participated in the student organizations that existed, United Mexican American Students (UMAS) and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) they did not hold leadership positions and were disturbed by the one-dimensional roles within the Chicano Student Movement.

**Chicanas Speak Out- Conferences and Workshops**

Chicanas came together at the first Chicano Youth Conference in 1969 and continued to hold women’s workshops at this conference in 1970 and 1971.³¹ Chicanas began organizing and participating in regional Women’s Conferences in the early 1970s. The first national Chicana conference was held in Houston, Texas in May of 1971 and was attended by more than 600 Chicanas from twenty-three states.³² There were a series of Chicana conferences held in the Southwest including among them the Regional Conference held in Los Angeles in 1971, the Chicana Caucus of the Texas Women’s Political Caucus State Convention in 1972, the Chicana Curriculum Workshop held at the University of California Los Angeles in 1973, and the Chicana Identity Conference was held in Houston in 1975.³³ In addition to Chicana conferences there were also women’s workshops being held at Chicano conferences. As Chicana concerns began to be more openly discussed through news articles and conferences, Chicana feminists’ awareness of

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their plight within the movement and within society, their desire to address the social injustice they experienced became more widely known.

The resolutions proposed at the conference were revolutionary and centered on issues of employment discrimination and racism, gender oppression, abortion, birth control, childcare, Chicana political leadership, sexuality, motherhood, economic justice, and reproductive and educational rights, as well as the repressive role of the Catholic Church and a condemnation of the Vietnam War.\(^{34}\) In order to confront the issues they outlined Chicanas in attendance created resolutions. These resolutions were to be taken back to their respective communities and shared as voting on the resolutions would not occur until their next meet in 1972.\(^{35}\) The role of community engagement with the conversations that took place at the conferences was important because it allowed for the participation from a broader audience than simply those who attended the conferences. Conferences such as this one, fostered community involvement in the decision making process, a platform to air grievances, and a network of Chicanas working on similar causes within immediate communities.

Although conferences brought Chicanas together to discuss and organize on common ground, conferences also served to highlight the divisions that existed among Chicana feminists. The topic of abortion was one that was heavily contested in the Chicano community. There were several influences that informed Chicanas ideas about abortions. Some Chicanas were influenced by their Catholic faith which objects to the use


of abortions or contraception. Within ethnic minority communities including the Chicano community there was a belief that abortions and the use of contraceptives was “a white conspiracy to eliminate them”\[^{36}\]. Given the centrality of *familia* not only in Chicano culture but also in the Chicano Movement as well as the previously stated objections, there was not a consensus among Chicanas on abortion rights. However, Chicanas who did support the right to abortions framed their argument in the language of the movement. The resolution presented at the conference read,

\[
\text{Whereas: The need for self-determination and the right to govern their own bodies is a necessity for the freedom of all people, therefore,}
\]

\[
\text{BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Chicana Conference go on record as supporting free family planning and free and legal abortions for all women who want or need them.}\[^{37}\]
\]

Despite their differences on abortion rights, Chicanas agreed to work toward gaining access to culturally sensitive childcare, raising Chicanos who were respectful of women, and decided to start a letter writing campaign against a doctor in Texas who was conducting reproductive research on Chicanas.

These workshops, caucuses, and conferences organized by Chicanas brought them together and provided a space in which they could articulate their thoughts regarding their role within the larger Chicano movement. In an article published in *La Verdad* in 1971 the important role of Chicana conferences was highlighted, “At this time, there is no


medium directly involved in educating La Chicana, not only of her history, but also of her role and importance in El Movimiento. Also, the purpose of this conference is to encourage Chicanas to begin to express their ideas in as many ways as possible.  

38 At conferences important decisions were made regarding the direction of the Chicana feminist movement. Resolutions were passed laying out the agenda of Chicana feminists. The dialogue that was started at these meetings often continued in the respective communities of the women who attended. Chicanas feminist writings began to emerge and were published in several Chicano periodicals such as *El Magazín*, *Aztlán*, and *La Raza*.  

39 Chicana feminists began to create their own publications that gave a voice to the concerns of the Chicano Movement in general and to Chicana feminist concerns specifically. Among these publications were newspapers such as *El Grito del Norte* which was staffed mostly by women and gave working class women an opportunity to express their point of view,  

40 *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, a feminist student newspaper published at the California State University, Long Beach and the journal *Regeneración*.  

**Rise of Chicana Feminist Organizing**

The status of Chicanas within the movement posed a challenge for the women in the movement. In response to the conditions in the movement Chicana feminists began forming their own groups and organizing around their concerns. Bernice Rincon expressed Chicanas’ thoughts in *Chicanas on the Move*, stating, “We believe that the Chicana’s role in the movement is to free herself from that subservient role of the past.  

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38 Author’s name not given. “National Chicana Conference.” La Verdad, May 1971.  
To develop herself and her sisters, brothers, mother and father and anyone else she comes in contact with; so that they in turn can work to see that ‘La Causa’ is a way to a better life…”

Women were given supporting roles within student organizations which mainly menial tasks. Their intellectual contributions were not sought out. This was partially due to the belief that what Chicanos considered to be the most pressing issues were reflective of the needs of the group as a whole. However, in 1969 as a result of female students on university campuses who had taken classes related to “la mujer” and their consciousness about their status in the broader scheme of United States society as well as their relegated roles within the movement, articles began to emerge on college campuses that shed light on issues affecting Chicanas. There were some publications in fact that related solely to Chicanas, such as *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* formed at California State University Long Beach in 1971. Once an awareness of Chicana concerns became more prevalent Chicanas created women’s organizations in the community and on college campuses.

**Chicana Feminists and the Women’s Liberation Movement**

While some Chicanas recognized that there was some common ground with white feminists, most Chicanas perceived their concerns to be different and at times irrelevant to Chicanas. Due to the class differences that existed between Chicana feminists and white feminists, even a common area of concern such as educational attainment, was seen from drastically different vantage points. When Chicanas conceived of educational problems they cited, a curriculum that was not reflective of the Chicano experience, an

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educational system that was not responsive to Chicano needs, and a system in which Chicanos and Chicanas seldom advanced beyond a secondary education. Conversely, many white feminists had access to higher education, had already obtained college degrees, some had even held professional careers. However, due to the social construction of gender norms that were strictly defined in 1950s America women were expected to devote themselves to the family upon marriage, regardless of educational attainment or career aspirations. It was differences such as these that characterized the divergent points of view that developed between white and Chicana feminists.

Chicana feminist Yolanda Orozco pointedly refers to these divergent perspectives. She explains,

> While the women’s liberation movement can struggle and agitate for career and professional advancement, more facility in securing credit and property, the reality is that such demands are inconsequential to us. Many Chicanos do not even graduate from high school, fewer yet attend college. And although a majority of Chicanas are employed, they are relegated to the lower-paying jobs, as are Chicanos.44

In order for coalition building to be effective it would be necessary to recognize hierarchies of needs along with oppression.45 Chicanas had not benefitted from many of the advancements white women had achieved as a result of the Women’s Liberation Movement and legislative reforms like Title VII and therefore had differences as far as their priorities and concerns.46 The work and contributions of Chicanas to the Women’s Liberation Movement were overlooked by its leaders. Chicana feminists questioned

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46 Ibid., 35.
whether a partnership between themselves and the Women’s Liberation Movement could truly be beneficial to Chicanas.

Chicanas were excluded from Women’s Studies courses and departments as well as the emergent literature on the history of feminism.⁴⁷ When feminist historiography emerged, white women began the long journey of uncovering women’s contributions to this nation. Feminist scholars at the time were primarily white, middle-class women who were unconcerned with matters of race and focused their research on the struggle for equality between the sexes. Early feminist research effectively left out Chicanas and other minority groups. This trend was reflected in Women’s Studies courses. Chicanas felt alienated from the white feminist movement. When issues of equality were brought up within the white feminist movement by minority women, white women considered them a nuisance.⁴⁸ In an interview published in the *Sacramento Union* in September 1973 Consuelo de Los Reyes illustrated this point of view stating,

> I have been trying to relate to the women’s liberation movement. I think they are right in many areas, but there are things to be ironed out. There is still female chauvinism, if I may use the term, within the movement. I was attending NOW meetings in Sacramento. Once a woman asked for volunteers for something and couldn’t find one. Then she asked, “Do we have any minority women willing to volunteer?” … First we’re all women, then we are segregated out.⁴⁹

These types of incidents served to cause Chicanas to further question their ability to effectively work together with white feminists. Chicanas criticized the predominantly

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⁴⁷ Ibid., 38.
⁴⁹ “Humanism is One Goal.” *The Sacramento Union*, September 16, 1973. Sally Wagner Papers, California State University Sacramento, Special Collections and University Archives
white women’s liberation movement for their lack of a sincere interest in including Chicanas in feminist activities.⁵⁰

Among the concerns Chicanas had about working with white feminists was the belief that white feminists benefitted from the system as it was. There were conflicts of interest given that Chicanas did not, and had not benefitted historically from the American power structure. The growth of the Women’s Liberation Movement was considered to be a result of frustration among women who already benefitted from the status quo but had become disenchanted with their lot in life. Given the power dynamics that existed between Chicanas and white women due to class differences and the privileges white women benefitted from as members of the dominant race, Chicanas were concerned that white women’s demands would be heard over those of minorities. As white feminists gained power Chicanas were concerned about the possibility that they would use their power and become exploiters.⁵¹

Many Chicana feminists believed that white feminists were considered by to harbor racist views. This was a key point of tension between Chicana and white feminists. Chicana feminists considered racism to be a stronger determinant than sexism in creating their social position. Racism after all, created the social conditions that kept Chicanos and Chicanas oppressed. Chicana feminist Marta Cotera questioned “Is the women’s movement a move to place just another layer of racist Anglo dominance over minority

peoples?"\textsuperscript{52} Chicana concerns over racism within the women’s movement were common place. Velia García Hancock accused white feminists of being aloof when it came to matters of race. She expressed this point of view in an article published in UC Berkeley’s *Chicano Studies Newsletter* in 1971.

None of the predominantly white, middle-class, professional women’s groups have come to grips with racism in American society or the deliberate role of the government in the oppression of Chicano people educationally and in every other way. These women are reformists in the liberal tradition as a force change, they are basically irrelevant to the Chicano people and therefore to Chicanas.\textsuperscript{53}

Hancock’s point of view although not uncommon, was not representative of all Chicana feminists. In addition to being shaped by their triply oppressed position Chicanas were also affected by their local conditions, Chicanas in California did not necessarily agree on all points with Chicanas in Denver, for example. Chicana feminist Marta Cotera, unlike García Hancock, expressed the willingness of Chicanas to work together with white women, although reluctantly, in a speech given at the Texas Women’s Political Caucus in 1972. She stated, “since we [Chicanas] are seeking all possibilities for the development of Chicanos, we are willing to devote some time and effort keeping up with the women’s movement to provide the necessary input and, of course, receive the benefits gained by all.”\textsuperscript{54} Yet, not all Chicanas were as concerned about racism in the way that García Hancock and Cotera were. In a speech given at the Women’s Day Rally in Topeka, Kansas in 1975, Corrine Gutiérrez advocated for a partnership among black, white, and Chicana feminists. The burden of fighting for women’s rights she felt was the

\textsuperscript{52} Marta Cotera, “Feminism as We See It.” in Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings, ed., by Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 203.


responsibility of all women and therefore women needed to make a concerted and unified
effort if any real progress was to be accomplished. She in fact, considered the women’s
movement the ideal place work on “bridging the gaps between different ethnic groups
and promoting a better understanding among ourselves.”

Differences in point of view, fundamental concerns, cultural differences, and
societal racial attitudes contributed to differences in life experiences among white and
Chicana feminists. Unlike, white feminists, Chicanas were fighting not only gender
oppression but also racial and class oppression. The differences in experience resulted in
a disconnect between white and Chicana feminists due to a lack of common experience.
Consuelo Nieto commented on these differences in La Luz magazine, “The Chicana
shares with all women the universal victimhood of sexism. Yet the Chicana’s struggle for
personhood must be analyzed with great care and sensitivity. Hers is the struggle against
sexism within the context of a racist society. Ignore this factor and it is impossible to
understand the Chicana’s struggle.” It was the lack of white feminists’ understanding of
this point of view that led Chicanas to believe that their concerns were too different to
work in solidarity with one another.

In contrast to white feminists who perceived men to be their enemies, Chicana
feminists looked to Chicanos as their natural allies. Unlike white feminists, Chicanos
could relate to the plight of Chicanas in more than one way, culturally and economically

Historical Writings, ed., by Alma M. García. 35 (New York: Routledge, 1997), 212.
56 Consuelo Nieto, “The Chicana and the Women’s Rights Movement,” La Luz, (date not provided, Sally
Wagner Papers Special Collection, Sacramento State University), 1.
they shared common ground in addition to having similar experiences with racism.

Adelaida Del Castillo pointedly drew attention to these concerns in *La Vision Chicana*.

First of all the Chicano and Anglo cultures differ significantly and because we are culturally different, there are racist attitudes practiced against us which limit us politically, economically, and socially. The differences become greater as these attitudes are used against us. So, because we are so different from the Anglos, it has tremendous consequences for us both, Chicanos and Chicanas.57

Due to Chicanas’ experience with racism as well as sexism their struggle for social justice needed to address both of these issues. In this respect, the experiences of Chicanas and white women were substantially different and this shaped their politics and their agendas. In the *Women’s Studies Newsletter* published in the winter of 1974 Erlinda Gonzalez Berry discussed the inseptionality of sexism and racism in Chicanas’ lives:

…the Chicana women cannot separate her ethnicity from her womanness. As a woman of color and a member of an oppressed minority, she struggles equally against sexism and racism. To dedicate herself solely to combat sexism would mean turning her back on the oppressed men among her people. Here is a dual battle and a difficult one, for sexism runs rampant in the Chicano movement.58

Differences in experiences between Chicana and white feminists and its centrality to the relationship between the two groups was of such importance that it created in the eyes of many Chicanas a feminist agenda that was irrelevant to Chicanas. Chicanas therefore were more likely to ally themselves with the Chicano movement despite its sexism, than to ally themselves to the white feminist movement. According to Velia Hancock,

“Chicanas have no more faith in white women than in white men. We aren’t oppressed by Chicanos, we’re oppressed by a system that serves white power and depends upon a white majority for its survival and perpetuation. In our struggle we identify our men, not

white women as our natural allies.”

Published in *Ideal* in September 1972 Chicana activist and writer Elizabeth Martinez further supported this point of view stating, “Up to now, the U.S. women’s liberation movement has been mainly concerned with sexism and ignored or denied the importance of racism. For the Chicana, the three types of oppression cannot be separated… They are all part of the same system… To undo the wrong, we Chicanas must understand that link, and struggle as a united force with our men and our allies.”

As Chicanas came to understand that their goals and those of white feminists were not on the same trajectory they increasingly sought to gain support for their cause within the Chicano movement. They believed it was important for Chicanos to understand and acknowledge the need to work together with Chicanas on the issues they were facing in order to improve the plight of all Chicanos.

Although there were significant differences between white and Chicana feminists there were common issues of concern for both groups regardless of race, cultural differences informed how each group viewed the issues they sought to confront. Their cultural differences presented yet another barrier to working together. Chicana feminist Martha Cotera acknowledged the common ground among white and Chicana feminists stating, “Chicana feminists from Texas to California admit that Chicana feminism shares with all women the issues which affect them as women, such as welfare, birth control, abortion and employment. Yet Chicanas prefer to address these issues in the context of

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the Chicano community.”61 Martinez also discussed differences that existed among white and Chicana feminists despite the common oppression based on sex. “Some of the demands of that movement have real meaning for the Chicana- such as free day-care centers for children and reform of the welfare system. But more often our demands and concerns do not meet with theirs…the women’s liberation movement has rejected traditional family. For us, the family has been a source of unity and our major defense against the oppressor.62 Given the nationalist nature of the Chicano movement and the common oppression experienced by Chicanas and Chicanos, Chicana feminists understood the need to remain focused on the issues of the group while simultaneously addressing their specific concerns. Francisca Flores a publisher of Regeneracion illustrated this point in an article published in 1973, “…the primary struggle for liberation of the Chicana is the freedom for the whole family.”63

A common sentiment among Chicanas was that the cultural differences between white and Chicana feminists were so significant that their concerns were also vastly different. The differences that existed between white and Chicana feminists limited the possibility of working on common problems. Consuelo Nieto proclaimed, “…a woman who has never shared our culture and history cannot fully grasp the measure of our life experiences. She will be unable to set goals, priorities, and expectations for Chicanas.”64 Nieto’s discussion of goals and priorities is reflective of the role self-determination

61 Cotera, Diosa y Hembra., 193.
64 Consuelo Nieto, “The Chicana and the Women’s Rights Movement,” La Luz, (date not provided, Sally Wagner Papers Special Collection, Sacramento State University), 6.
played in the movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Cultural groups found it necessary to set their own agendas without being co-opted by outside interest groups. Due to cultural differences Chicanas felt misunderstood by white feminists. Bridget Wynne in Off Our Backs, a women’s news journal, expressed the experience of a Chicana who had attempted to work with white feminists: “Estella has found in working with white feminists that ‘their number one bias is that Third World women don't give a shit about feminism--that we are passive, just into being wives and mothers--they (white women) don't understand our culture, so we're never given a chance.’”65 Due to experiences like these Chicanas felt alienated from the white feminist movement. Elena Garcia expressed this idea in Chicana Consciousness: A New Perspective, A New Hope: “We find little connection in the Women’s Liberation Movement being that we are working within a cultural context, a Chicana context. The only resemblance along these lines is that we are all women, yet women with our respective views and problems.”66

The hierarchy within the feminist movement caused Chicana feminists to question whether their needs would be taken seriously. It was evident that class differences existed among women even within their respective ethnic groups. Chicanas questioned how differences in social status would affect whose voice was heard and what agenda was pursued. As Chicanas saw it, the women’s liberation movement was mainly a middle class movement that was concerned with equal hiring practices, equality in salaries, and

opportunities for promotion. Unlike white feminists who were seeking advancement in the positions they already held Chicanas felt that they were still fighting for basic rights. Adelaida Del Castillo eloquently expressed this idea in “La Vision Chicana,” published in *Regeneracion* in 1974:

The Chicana feminist movement, as I see it, is different primarily because we are an oppressed people. Our situation necessarily becomes our responsibility as Chicana feminists to first deal with our poverty and our suppression…So the white woman can gripe about “Oh, there aren’t enough jobs for us, and I want more advancement,” but we still have to deal with the basic, serious issue of obtaining justice…I think the issues are totally different. They give us the impression of being middle-class women working for advancement.

Just as racial discrimination and cultural differences hindered coalition building among white and Chicana feminists class also served as a dividing point. Although not all Chicanas were from the same social class, due to factors such as level of education and systematic discrimination directed at Chicanos, a considerable amount of Chicana feminists came from working class backgrounds. Therefore many of the concerns they sought to address through their organizing centered on class specific issues, and these issues often times were not concerns of white feminists. Most white feminists came from middle class backgrounds and their middle class status shaped their politics. Francisca Flores elaborated the thoughts of many Chicana feminists as she discussed the social class differential between white and Chicana feminists.

Women involved in the women’s liberation are primarily professional, white collar, middle class women or students … but more important… these women are part of or belong to the family identified by minority women as the establishment, the system, whereas Mexican and minority women are primarily the victims of

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the same establishment and system. They are not only ignored and untrained, but insulted, abused and treated as chattels. 69

Chicanas were very much aware of the socio-economic differences that existed between themselves and white feminists. Chicanas participated in the work force for the most part out of necessity. Some Chicanas were heads of household due to divorce or abandonment while other Chicanas needed to work in order to help cover family expenses that could not be covered by the low paying salaries of their husbands. Chicanas’ experiences as workers caused them to be concerned about childcare and equal pay for equal work. Francisca Flores gave voice to these concerns stating in part,

A woman has to experience the pressures of work, speedup, competition, as well as the constant worry about the children’s wellbeing, while she is at work, to understand another woman caught up in the same rat race. (These are not women who are bored with staying at home and doing housework who have gone to work to get away.) And this situation and the conditions described is why Chicanas say their problems are different from those of the women’s liberation movement. And this is also why, in large number, they presently reject joining forces. It is important to understand the differences in priorities… 70

Lower income women had concerns about daily survival that within the context of the larger women’s movement were often considered to be secondary. 71

Chicana feminist analysis of the root of their oppression also differed from the white feminists. Due to this fundamental difference Chicana and white feminists had dissimilar goals. As Arlene Stewart concluded in 1974, “As revolutionaries, they see their commitment to creating the revolution for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.” 72

White feminists saw work done inside the home or associated with a supportive role as

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72 Ibid.
something that held a low status and reflect powerlessness.\textsuperscript{73} White feminists devalued the traditional role of women because they considered it to be restricting. On the other hand, Chicanas embraced it, rejecting its limitations and sought to enhance its status within society. According to Marian Lozano, “The women’s liberation movement has its problems- it must look at all women, not minority women and women. It must be able to make the woman who has chosen to be a housewife feel as worthy as the career woman.”\textsuperscript{74} Due to the differing views between Chicana and white feminists their loyalties did not lay with the same group. As Melville explains, “In the Anglo ideology, the ultimate group with whom unity is indicated is women; in the Chicana ideology, it is ultimately Chicanos/Mexicanos.”\textsuperscript{75}

**Chicana Feminism In the Chicano Movement**

Although there were commonalities between White and Chicana feminists, many Chicanas felt that they had more in common with Chicanos, as they both suffered from racial discrimination and from a low socio-economic status. Chicanas often distrusted women in the Women’s Liberation Movement because they believed that they benefitted from the civil rights work done by minorities, as well as the power structure, and often believed that white women held racist and classist views of Chicanas.\textsuperscript{76} Linda Aguilar explained the emergence of Chicana feminism in *Unequal Opportunity and the Chicana* published in 1973. “Actually, emergence of the Chicana as a strong motivating force..."


\textsuperscript{74} “Humanism is One Goal”, Sacramento Union, September 16, 1973.


within the Spanish-speaking community has been in conjunction with that of the Chicano. For this reason, her struggle cannot be paralleled with the Anglo women’s fight for rights against the Anglo male.”  

Due to their common experience of racial discrimination Chicanas more easily identified their struggle as one that needed to unfold alongside Chicanos. Jennie Chavez in an article published in *Mademoiselle* in 1972, “Fortunately, Mexican-American women can work for liberation with our men and make them understand, more easily than one could a white man, the oppression women feel, because they themselves have been oppressed by the same society.”

Chicana feminism was compatible with the goals of the larger Chicano movement although this was not understood by many at the time. Chicana feminists continued to see their struggle as one that was a part of the struggle for Chicano liberation; they did not view it as an altogether exclusive movement. Chicana feminist strategies were consistent with the values and goals of the Chicano movement. The changes Chicanas demanded in women’s roles were presented as compatible with family solidarity. There was an absence of an overarching opposition between men and women, reflective of the goals of the larger Chicano community. Chicanas understood that in order to effectively address their concerns it was necessary to make Chicanos understand their plight and how addressing their issues would benefit the Chicano community as a whole. Adelaida Del Castillo affirmed,

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We must come to the realization that we have to work together in order to save ourselves. If the male oppresses the female, perhaps it is because he has been oppressed. We can’t turn against them, and they can’t turn against us. We have to help each other. …As Chicanos we have the responsibility to look after each other. We can’t turn to anybody else. They don’t understand our problems.\(^{80}\)

In this respect, Chicana feminists views differed from white feminists, Chicanas believed it was crucial to obtain the liberation of Chicanas in order to accomplish the full liberation of the Chicano people.\(^{81}\) In comparing the white feminist movement and the Chicana feminist movement Jennie Chavez made the following observation.

In contrast to some of the white women of the liberation movement, who appear to encourage an isolationist method of acquiring equality, Mexican-American women want unity with their men…As Chicanas, discriminated against not only by the white dominant society, but also by our own men who have been adhering to the misinterpreted tradition of machismo, we cannot isolate ourselves from them for a simple (or complex) reason. We must rely on each other to fight the injustices of the society which is oppressing our entire ethnic group.\(^{82}\)

Chicanas adamantly believed that the full liberation of Chicanos as a whole would not come without the liberation of Chicanas. However, Chicanas did not perceive the push for Chicana rights as an exclusively Chicana goal. Chicanas believed that it was the responsibility of Chicanos to join with Chicanas to work on social issues that stemmed from sexist views. Chicana activist and writer Elizabeth Martinez proclaimed, “We will not win our liberation struggle unless the women move together with the men rather than against them... We also have the right to expect that our most enlightened men will join the fight against sexism; it should not be our battle alone.”\(^{83}\)


Chicanas understood that their oppression was intertwined with that of the Chicano therefore requiring both men and women to organize together. Consuelo Nieto expressed this sentiment by saying that the Chicana, “…must be involved with Chicanos in the movement. Here the Chicana must sensitize the male to the fact that she, as a woman, is oppressed and that he is a part of that oppression. She must reinforce carnalismo (spirit of fraternity) which is theirs, but point out that as long as his status as a man is earned at her expense, he is not truly free.”84 Chicanas sought to work within the Chicano movement to address the needs of the group as a whole while also garnering support for the specific problems facing Chicanas. Chicana activist and writer Enriqueta Longeaux Vasquez explained,

The Mexican-American Movement demands are such that, with the liberation of La Raza, we must have a total liberation. The woman must help liberate the man and the man must look upon his liberation with the woman at his side, not behind him, following him, but alongside him, leading…We must strive for the fulfillment of all as equals, with the full capability and right to develop as humans. When a man can look upon a woman as human, then, and only then, can he feel the true meaning of liberation and equality.85

Despite this expression of the correlation between the oppression experienced by Chicanos and Chicanas, Chicanos came to see the articulation of Chicana concerns within the Chicano movement as a divergence. Equal pay for equal work, sex segregation in employment, and rape were not considered by Chicano males to be of central importance.86 The lack of regard for women’s issues stemmed from the perception of

84 Consuelo Nieto, “The Chicana and the Women’Rights Movement,” La Luz, date not provided, from Sally Wagner Papers, California State University Sacramento, 7.
class and racial oppression as the root of all Chicano obstacles. Chicano activists considered racism and capitalism to be the fundamental problems responsible for their oppression and many Chicanos equated the rise in Chicana feminism with the Women’s Liberation Movement and were therefore unreceptive to the issues brought up by Chicana feminists.

In response to this criticism, Chicanas asserted that their feminist organizing was not influenced by white feminists and looked to the rich history of women’s organizing in Chicana and Mexicana history. They also made it clear through the creation of their own organizations that they were not seeking to make themselves a part of the larger feminist movement. Instead, Chicanas wanted their concerns to be addressed within the Chicano Movement organizations that were already in existence and at times created their own organizations that maintain the centrality of their Chicana identity. Consuelo Nieto suggested, “Chicanos often question the goals of the women’s movement. Some see it as an ‘Anglo woman’s trip,’ divisive to the cause of el movimiento. These men assert the need to respect women, but women’s liberation…? ‘That deals with trivia, minutiae- we all must concentrate on the battle for social justice.’” Chicanos failed to understand the plight of Chicanas within society and therefore did not see their demands as being crucial to the Chicano movement. In fact, many Chicanos saw Chicana feminism as an oppositional force with which they would have to compete. Consuelo Nieto commented on this belief,

87 Orozco, 12.
88 Consuelo Nieto, “The Chicana and the Women’s Rights Movement,” La Luz, date not provided, from Sally Wagner Papers, California State University Sacramento. 4.
Many of our brothers see the women’s movement as another force which will divert support from la causa. On a list of priorities, many Chicanos fail to see how the plight of la mujer can be of major concern within the context of la raza’s problems. They see the women’s movement as a vehicle to entrench and strengthen the majority culture’s dominance. They are concerned that their sister may be deceived and manipulated.\(^8^9\)

As Chicanas became more vocal in the early 1970s about their concerns surrounding equal pay for equal work, the need for childcare centers, abortion, and forced sterilization, their views were generally not well received and often dismissed as unimportant to the larger cause of the Chicano movement. Linda Aguilar discussed the negative attitude directed toward Chicana feminists within the Chicano movement. “Chicanas who have grouped together for strength and unity of purpose are at best tolerated, more often ostracized and ridiculed by Chicanos.”\(^9^0\) When Chicanas later began forming their own organizations due to the lack of organizing around their specific concerns within the Chicano movement the organizations were also received with hostility and contempt. Gema Matsuda reflected on the response to the creation of Comision Feminil Mexicana, formed in 1970 with the objective of addressing Chicana concerns, networking with other women’s organizations and movement, building leadership among Chicanas, and distributing information pertinent to Chicanas. “… they resented the Comision because they saw it as another distraction from the regular order of business and they felt it would, therefore, be detrimental to their efficiency.”\(^9^1\) Other Chicana organizations met this same fate.

\(^8^9\) Ibid.
Chicanas In Action

Chicanas contributed from within and beyond the Chicano Movement to the betterment of the Chicano community. In 1970, Comisión Femenil Mexicana was formed to draw awareness to the needs of Chicanas. The Comisión then formed the Chicana Action Service Center which was based in East Los Angeles. The purpose of the organization was to provide job training and serve as an employment agency. This was “one of the first antipoverty agencies exclusively serving barrio women.” 92 This organization was able to place up to 50% of the single mothers who used their services. This type of job placement program was crucial for Chicanas who often found themselves as heads of household without high levels of education. 93

Chicanas were active members from within the pre-existing Chicano organizations as well. Women of the Brown Berets made important contributions to the community-based programs. Chicanas were also responsible for organizing the breakfast program for school-age children. 94 Chicanas who had been members of the Brown Berets in Los Angeles launched a free medical clinic to help meet the needs of a community which sorely lacked in medical attention. 95 Chicanas were involved in the planning an execution of the Blowouts that took place to draw attention to the dire education provided to Chicano student. During the Vietnam War Chicanas protested alongside Chicanos and were involved with the Chicano War Moratorium.

93 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
Chicanas were instrumental in the Farah strike and boycott that took place in El Paso, Texas from 1972 to 1974. At this particular clothing manufacturing plant Chicanas made up 85% of the labor force. During the day Chicanas picketed and during the night they held meetings to plan and strategies. The boycott and strike ended successfully. Chicana organizing in the Farah strike exemplifies the concerns Chicanas had as working-class women.

Chicanas were actively involved in La Raza Unida Party. In Texas especially, women were highly visible within the party. Chicanas were among the founders of this new political party that sought to allow for political self-determination for Chicanos. Women within the party also formed their own caucus Mujeres Por La Raza “to promote women’s leadership on their own terms and not in the shadows of LRU men.”

**Conclusion**

Through their efforts, Chicanas historically have sought to improve living conditions for Chicanos as a community. In their plight to address the multiple forms of oppression experienced by Chicanas within American society Chicanas had to define their agenda and organize around it at the expense of being ostracized. Due to their triple oppression Chicanas had needs that went beyond the nationalistic demands of the larger Chicano Movement as well as beyond the gender concerns addressed within the Women’s Liberation Movement. Chicanas negotiated their various forms of oppression in order to be a part of the larger Chicano movement while simultaneously expanding its

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97 Ibid.
98 Ruiz, 116.
scope. Due to their dedication and activism Chicanas fought and made changes that were beneficial not only Chicanas or Chicanos, but to American society as a whole. Further research regarding the work and accomplishments of Chicana feminists is necessary to gain a full understanding and appreciation for the activist work that was done by Chicanas within and beyond the Chicano Movement. Chicana feminist contributions to the fight for civil rights still have not been fully studied. As such the extent of their contributions cannot be truly valued and without a true understanding of this important component neither the Chicano Movement, social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, nor American history can be fully understood.
CHAPTER FOUR

TEACHING THE CHICANO MOVEMENT IN THE HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY CLASSROOM

Introduction

This chapter will explain the methodologies included within the lessons provided in the appendices of this project. Although the history of Chicanos is not a central focus of the California Content Standards for eleventh grade U.S. History course, this chapter explains why it is important to include this within the curriculum. Research that supports the methodologies used to teach and engage students in historical thinking is examined here. Given the current shift in California public education with the adoption of the Common Core Standards, meeting the new demands outlined by the CCSS is addressed.

Challenges for Teaching Historical Thinking In California Public Schools

There are several demands placed on classroom teachers to cover the content standards on which our students are tested at the end of the academic year and by which our schools are judged and rated. The Academic Performance Index (API) for each school can easily be found online, in local magazines, in the local newspaper, and is increasingly used by parents to gauge the quality of education provided at any given school. With many school districts now providing open enrollment opportunities to their students the competition to perform has become more intense. Under open enrollment policies parents and their students are provided more options when it comes to where their students will receive their education. Parents can chose which school within their
district to send their students to and they often use API scores to make comparisons
between schools and to help them evaluate schools overall. Administrators find
themselves being pressured to meet the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) targets for sub-
groups of students and their schools overall.

While the API, AYP, and California Standards Test (CST) scores provide
important indicators that can and are used by educators to reflect on their teaching
practice, achieving and maintaining high CST scores should not be the only focus for
history teachers. In this climate of testing-centered teaching, which at times results in
“teaching to the test”, the teaching of historical thinking skills has suffered. In history
classrooms the focus has been placed on breadth as opposed to depth in order to “cover”
the content to the best of abilities of teachers given the time constraints they encounter
and the resources available to them. Therefore, as history teachers we find ourselves
between the proverbial “rock and a hard place.” If we teach historical thinking skills it
takes away from instructional time we have to “cover” the standards and risk the
possibility that students will underperform on the CST. However, if we do not teach
historical thinking skills we deprive our students of the opportunity to learn to think
deeply and analytically about history. When students are not given the opportunity to
investigate history we are doing them a disservice by not allowing them to explore the
complexity of historical events; instead we teach the type of history that consists of a dry
sequence of facts. It is this type of history instruction that causes students to qualify the
discipline of history as “boring”.
At this point in time public education in California is undergoing changes. With the adoption of the Common Core State Standards announced by the State Superintendent of Public Education, Tom Torlakson on March 20, 2012, public schools are now expected to place a greater emphasis on literacy and writing. This new development in public education creates an opportunity for history teachers to incorporate the teaching and use of historical thinking skills into our lessons. There are many teachers who are already doing this and who have been doing this for a long time, however, this new change will promote a concerted effort to reevaluate the way we teach on a larger scale. Additionally, this should also result in an increase in support for teachers in order to facilitate the use of instructional strategies that will promote literacy within content specific classes.

**Common Core and College Readiness**

The Common Core State Standards (CCSS) were developed through a state-led initiative to establish consistent, clear education standards. The skills required of students under the CCSS are based on practices of academically high-achieving nations around the world. With an expanding global economy and global competition the Common Core was designed to prepare students for success in college and careers in a global economy. Full implementation of the CCSS is expected in 2014-2015. The Curriculum Support and Reform Act of 2011 (AB 250) dictates that the California Department of Education is to supervise the development of Professional Learning Modules (PLMs) which will provide support for educators to present curriculum that is aligned to CCSS to their students.

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Although the California Department of Education website states that Professional Learning Modules for CCSS will be available for teachers to access by September 2012, history is not one of the content areas slated to be in the first round of modules produced. As of July 2012, the CCSS and Educators site includes the common core standards, information about the new assessments, professional development modules, and webinars to support implementation of CCSS. These resources are aimed primarily at understanding CCSS, which is understandable at this stage. However, there do not appear to be any resources that link the standards to history content. Despite the lack of CCSS and content aligned materials readily available to teachers, there are teaching methods already available that facilitate the teaching of skills that are held within the common core reading standards for literacy and writing standards for literacy in history. As teacher historians it will be our responsibility to marry the CCSS and content standards in a thoughtful way throughout the curriculum in order to assure student success. This project’s Appendices present teaching methods and tools that meet the standards of the CCSS and are combined those with historical content in a series the lessons designed to help teachers teach the Chicano movement as part of 11th grade US history.

According to David T. Conley, professor of Educational Methodology, Policy, and Leadership, and Director of the Center for Educational Policy Research at the University of Oregon, it is essential for students to possess key cognitive strategies, or “habits of mind,” which students then utilize when necessary. Key cognitive strategies

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cited by Conley that are relevant to historical thinking include interpretation, communication, and research. Content knowledge, according to Conley, is accomplished when students process and apply information using key cognitive strategies. Through the examination of course syllabi, faculty surveys, and analysis of other course documents Conley and his team of researchers determined the characteristics that differentiate college courses from high school courses. College professors, they found, place emphasis on the use of key thinking skills which include interpretation of information, analysis of conflicting ideas, arguments supported by evidence, reaching conclusions, and engagement in the deliberation of ideas. Professors’ methods of evaluation involve tasks that demand high levels of cognition and support. In evaluating high school curricula and teaching methods, in contrast, Conley found that the majority of high schools that teach key cognitive strategies teach those strategies in isolation from key content knowledge.

This project incorporates Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) methodologies from their College Readiness strand to support students as they grapple with the complex tasks involved in historical investigation. The AVID program is a college readiness program that has been active for over thirty years and has been researched extensively due to the program’s success in helping to close the achievement gap.

This project weaves together content knowledge and cognitive strategies that are considered essential thinking skills for college success. The methods included in this project are meant to foster critical thinking in high school students by providing scaffolds that facilitate this process and result in the successful completion of complex tasks,
therefore, increasing students’ confidence in their ability to perform higher order thinking tasks. While the AVID methodologies provided here such as Marking the Text, Selective and Purpose Driven Reading, and Focused Note-Taking (appendix…) are coupled with historical content on the Chicano Movement, they are intended to be interchangeable scaffolds that can be used in any unit of historical study. The AVID methodologies included within this project facilitate the teaching of many of the skills that are required for history students under the CCSS.

**Content Selection: The Standards Dilemma, an Argument for Chicano Inclusion**

The 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts was a protest against among other issues, the lack of a curriculum inclusive of Mexican Americans. While in 1968 Chicano students experienced success as a result of their activism to the degree that today there are some high schools in the Los Angeles area that offer Chicano studies courses, something that would have been unheard of in pre-1968 California. Yet, today, over four decades later, the Chicano experience on a state level remains largely lacking in the history curriculum. Chicano students in 1968 demanded a curriculum that was relevant to their experiences as members of this society and as historical actors in the history of this nation but in 2012 we have still not managed to accomplish these basic demands for inclusion.

Although there is a significant Mexican and Mexican-American population in the United States, historically there has been minimal attention given to this segment of the population within history education. This neglect may be attributed to the near absence of Mexican Americans from the California state history-social science content standards,
which were most recently revised and adopted in 1998. From a total of over eighty 11th-grade history content standards and sub-standards, there is only one sub-standard that explicitly mentions Hispanics and one that explicitly mentions Mexicans. Of those sub-standards, only one places Mexicans centrally within the standard. The focus of this standard (11.8.2.), is on Mexican immigration to the United States in the post-World War II period and its relationship to the agricultural economy, with an emphasis on California. Without a broader frame of reference (this is the first time Mexicans appear in the eleventh grade content standards), this standard is misleading since it seems to imply that Mexicans were new arrivals in the country. Hispanic Americans then appear in standard 11.10.5, that instructs teachers to teach students about how the African American civil right movement influenced the outgrowth of the Hispanic American fight for civil rights, among other groups.

It is imperative that California and other states formulate history standards that are reflective of the contributions of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in order to accurately teach the historical past of this nation. However, the process involved in improving the history standards is a process that takes time. Yet as teachers we have the ability to improve the curriculum we present to our students despite the limitations presented within the content standards. As history teachers one of the challenges we face is the lack of resources readily available on any topic that goes beyond the content standards. This thesis project proposes the use of curriculum that can be used to address this deficiency within our content standards in order to facilitate the teaching of the contributions of

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4California Department of Education. *Grade Eleven: History-Social Science Content Standards.*
Mexican Americans, to highlight their participation in our historic past, and place them within the context of the larger American society, where they rightfully belong.

The California content standards are extremely important in shaping what teachers teach as well as what textbooks contain. Because California is one of the largest textbook purchasing states publishers are heavily influenced by what is considered important in California public education when determining what to include in their textbooks. Given the previously mentioned pressures history teachers face, when Mexican Americans are largely absent from the content standards there is not much incentive to teach the history of Mexican Americans within the United States, as it will not be necessary for students to know about the topic in order to do well on the CST. Additionally, teachers are not provided with resources by the textbook publishers to facilitate the teaching of this history providing an additional barrier. Many teachers may not have prior knowledge of the history of Mexican Americans, which also presents a challenge. Furthermore, professional development opportunities for history teachers are plentiful, but not on the topic of Mexican American history. Professional development providers, like teachers are also driven by the content standards because they know that those are the topics teachers must teach, and therefore are the ones teachers are most interested in.

This project provides secondary-level history teachers with four lesson plans that focus on Mexican Americans and the Chicano movement. The lesson plans contain information on a range of historical information pertaining to Mexican Americans but the curriculum included within this project is not intended to be inclusive of all Chicano
history. The first lesson examines the early history of Chicanos beginning in 1519 and concluding in 1920. The three subsequent lessons address the Chicano Movement by: 1) providing a general overview of the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s 2) focusing on the art of the Chicano Movement through the examination of the work of the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) 3) exploring the growth of Chicana feminism. In addition to providing lesson plans, the Appendices include resources specifically to help teachers build their content knowledge and to minimize the amount of time needed to prepare to teach the topic. To help teachers with further research on Chicano history, each lesson includes a list of selected titles for further reading as well as related websites with a description of what can be found on the site for each of the lessons.

**Organizing History Curriculum Around Investigation Questions**

Each of the lessons included in this project, are built around guiding historical questions that students consider and are able to answer using the historical sources provided. The purpose is to give students a focal point to ponder and to work toward addressing while learning content knowledge throughout the lesson. This approach is based on the recognition by Sam Wineburg and others of what historians “do” when they study the past: ask questions. Using the follow up questions, teachers can expand each lesson to fit their specific needs.

“Without questions of some sort,” historian David Hackett Fischer asserts, “a historian is condemned to wander aimlessly through dark corridors of learning.”

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B. Sheets suggests questions be used by teachers and historians to frame the examination of the past. He argues that framing the past as a series of questions “…teaches students an important lesson.” Students come to understand the past as “…a conversation about interpretation and they are invited to join in the discussion.” Framing questions for the students early on serves as a model of the types of historical questions that lend themselves to a historical investigation. Once students have been exposed to these types of questions formulated by a teacher they are encouraged to formulate their own historical investigation questions. Historical investigation questions created by the student can be used to guide class discussions or as a research question for a written assignment. The level of inquiry fostered by historical investigation questions promotes student engagement while guiding students through their investigation.

**Combining Historical Thinking and Literacy Skills to Analyze Primary Sources**

Chauncey Monte-Sano, professor of history and social studies education at the University of Maryland, suggests that discipline specific ways of reading and writing can help students understand history and learn to think historically while developing advanced literacy skills. Given the requirements set out by the Common Core State Standards, the successful incorporation of literacy skills will now be expected within the history classroom. The use of primary sources lends itself to the promotion of literacy and historical thinking skills. When students use primary sources, they are presented with

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the opportunity to interpret history, yet due to the fact that many students do not know how to interpret sources it is necessary for teachers to provide explicit instruction as well as scaffolding to support student success. Teaching students historical thinking skills such as sourcing, contextualizing, how to detect bias, recognizing perspective, and corroborating sources allows students to use these tools to analyze primary sources. As students practice these skills they can create historical interpretations of their own. This type of engagement is crucial to the historical thinking process and moves students away from the conception of history as an unending list of dates.

Monte-Sano suggests that the focus on reading comprehension and summarization, which is commonly used in the history classroom, hinders students’ ability to think historically. Due to the interpretive nature of history it is necessary for students to examine the author’s perspective as well as the context in which a given document was written in order to understand the historical account. Monte-Sano cites reports on adolescent literacy conducted in 2006 and 2007, which found that only 5% of adolescents tested by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) could interpret an author’s point of view, consistently support their conclusions with evidence, make connections between multiple texts, or recognize that authors of documents have a purpose for their writing. Literacy experts recommend the use of literacy instruction within content specific classes. Based on original historical research and classroom experience, this project promotes teaching historical thinking skills and incorporates

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9 Ibid.,
10 Ibid.,
literacy skills to provide students with the scaffolds that will guide them through the process of historical thinking in order for student to be successful.

When faced with a primary source, as Sam Wineburg has demonstrated over the past decade, historians immediately begin with questions such as, “who wrote this?”, “when did they write this?”, and “what was their purpose?”. By uncovering the intentions and perceptions of historical actors, historians begin to make meaning of the evidence. It is only after historians have examined their sources, placed them within their historical context, and corroborated their sources with other evidence that they are able to create their own interpretation of the past. According to Monte-Sano historical literacy research suggests that the types of texts students use have an impact on their reasoning processes. When students are exposed to textbooks and monographs they are less likely to assess the genre of the document or cite passages in their writing, while the opposite is true of students who utilize primary sources. Therefore, the use of primary sources, by the nature of the reading material itself, facilitates historical thinking. Unlike textbooks, which hamper analysis because they present history as a straightforward narrative and offer an absolute account of the past, primary sources present multiple perspectives. Yet, the use of primary sources alone does not result in students thinking historically.

Historical thinking must be explicitly taught because students do not naturally think in this fashion. It is important for students to identify multiple perspectives in history instruction because this enables them to construct a richer, more complex mental

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12 Ibid.,
representation of the event, which in turn enhances their content knowledge. Students can, however, become confused when confronted with multiple texts, especially when they present conflicting points of view if they have not received specific instruction about how to evaluate primary sources. Each lesson in this project provides scaffolds to support student analysis of primary source documents while simultaneously including literacy scaffolds to ensure student comprehension of the content. Each lesson also provides information about the historical context for students through PowerPoint lectures, (see appendix index) and/or secondary source reading. Historical information is included to provide students with contextual information for each of the topics presented. Research suggests that in order for information that is learned by students to be retained, it is necessary for it to be actively combined with prior knowledge. Regardless of how powerful the sources may be, if students do not have prior knowledge, they become incomprehensible and it becomes impossible for students to make sense of them.

Teachers should not assume that the use of primary sources in and of itself is sufficient to promote historical thinking. Keith Barton, professor of curriculum and instruction of social studies from the University of Indiana, cautions, “If students work with sources in isolation- ‘sourcing’ them, spotting bias, answering comprehension questions-then they will not learn very much historical content, they will not learn how

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historical knowledge is constructed, and they will not learn to use evidence to reach conclusions about issues that face them as citizens.”

Learning to read, understand, and interpret a diversity of sources is also essential to students’ success with historical thinking skills. Lessons one, two, and four (see appendix index) focus on textual primary source documents while lesson three focuses on visual primary sources. All of the lessons provide multiple sources to be analyzed and used for interpretation. Just as textual primary sources provide a wealth of information and a window onto our historical past, visual images in the form of political cartoons, photographs, and art are also rich in historical content and offer students the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the past. The effective use of images, suggest university Professor Joseph Coohill, provides a narrative of history that is not fixed and invites students to delve into its complexity. Coohill argues that students need to be presented with as full an array of sources as possible to allow students to fully understand the atmosphere and mindset of past cultures. In order for students to access the rich historical content within visual sources they must develop strategies that allow them to successfully interpret historical images. The third lesson offered by this project provides an analysis sheet to be used in conjunction with the art of the RCAF. This worksheet presents teachers with a model they can use to scaffold their students’ analysis of images. There are other models for analysis of images available which can be used in place of

16 Ibid.,
18 Ibid.,
what is offered in this project if teachers find that other tools will serve their analytical purposes.

**Primary Source Pitfalls**

The value of the use of primary sources in the history classroom is impacted by the way in which teachers choose to utilize sources in their lessons. When selecting primary source documents for history lessons, Professor of History and Education Laura M. Westhoff suggests, ask yourself “What function do these documents serve?” In order for the use of primary sources to be helpful in advancing the learning of history, allow students the opportunity to connect documents to a larger historical interpretation. Primary sources should not only be used as sources of information, they should also be used to encourage historical thinking in order to truly be effective. In employing the use of primary sources in the classroom teachers should create lessons that will promote the use of historical thinking among their students. History teachers should strive to get their students to “do” history. According to Sam Wineburg, historical thinking can be accomplished through the careful consideration of the subtext of documents, the examination of the author’s intentions, motivations, and goals as well as the author’s world beliefs, and values.

Instructing students on how to think as historians do can be difficult. Studies have indicated that teachers often do not have a solid grasp of historical thinking themselves,
which in turn makes it impossible to design lessons that can teach students how to study history using historical thinking methods. VanSledright indicates, “…it is important to consider that even teachers who understand the nature of the discipline may not know how to teach it.”

Westhoff explains that “Even when TAH grants intend to develop teachers’ historical thinking, and even when they are successful at doing so, my experience suggests that teachers still need considerable support in translating that knowledge into effective lessons… what has been lost in translation from grant activities to classroom lessons is fundamental to history education: an understanding of the way to use documents to teach historical thinking.”

This project seeks to address this barrier to teaching historical thinking within the lesson plans and teacher resources provided in the appendix by providing primary sources that are aligned with the content standards as well as student activities that scaffold the historical thinking process.

**Connecting Local Events to the National Narrative**

Making local connections in the history curriculum draws students into the national narrative. When students are familiar with the geographic locations in which history has transpired they tend to have a higher interest because they can automatically make a connection to the past. Primary sources that reflect local history can be found in local newspapers, historical societies, local museums, as well as archives. These types of local sources “provide unique opportunities for teachers to assess primary documents from the community that emphasize the fact that watershed events in American history

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25 Ibid, 68.
impact everyone.”\textsuperscript{27} As students examine national events through local happenings and are exposed to the stories of local historical actors they are more likely to appreciate and evaluate the historical record of the nation.\textsuperscript{28} “Looking at American history through the lens of local events increases student interest and enhances understanding and historical thinking.”\textsuperscript{29}

This project makes connections to local history through the use of archival sources related to The Royal Chicano Air Force, a local art collective founded in Sacramento, California in the late 1960s, a period of intense activism within the Chicano community. The art of the RCAF is indicative of the concerns facing the Chicano movement at this time. Through their art RCAF artists expressed cultural affirmation and promoted Chicano culture, grassroots activism on a variety of issues, support for the United Farm Works Union, and support for politicians who were responsive to the needs of Chicanos. The work of the RCAF provides a rich collection of poster art from which history can be evaluated from a local and cultural perspective. The driving themes of the Chicano Movement are clearly expressed in the work of the RCAF. The reading on the RCAF along with the PowerPoint prove background information that will be helpful to the teacher and students in order to gain an understanding of the RCAF. The art work included exemplified the philosophy of the RCAF and is indicative of its connection to the Chicano Movement. The warm up exercise and the poster analysis sheet will facilitate student analysis of visual primary sources.

\textsuperscript{27} Owen, Donald D. and Barbour, Katherine. \textit{Through the Lens of Local History} in Ragland, Rachel G. and Woestman, Kelly A. eds. \textit{The Teaching American History Project: Lessons for History Educators and Historians}. New York: Routledge, 2009, 90.

\textsuperscript{28} Westhoff, 67.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid, 102.
Writing In the History Classroom

Each lesson offered by this project includes a writing component. Writing involves critical thinking and more closely mirrors what will be expected of college students by their professors. Some of the writing tasks included within this project are simple and more straight-forward, such as the fifty-word response see appendix index and the quick write see appendix index, other short writing assessments include summarizing and the OPVL paragraph see appendix index. Writing within the history classroom necessitates scaffolding for longer writing tasks. The KNL chart see appendix index is used to help students analyze a writing prompt and consciously work toward finding textual evidence to support their argument. The selective and purpose-driven reading method see appendix index is included to demonstrate one way in which teachers can instruct students to read with a clear purpose in mind, in this case to find evidence to support the students’ argument. “Focused Note-Taking” also gives students a manageable method to use as they gather textual information see appendix index. Shorter as well as lengthier writing assignments each serve their own purpose within the history classroom. When planning lessons consider what the learning objective is, how much information you have provided students, and what type of information to determine which type of writing task is most appropriate for the lesson. Modifications can be made to the writing tasks included in this project to serve the specific purposes and demands of your classroom. Providing students with writing opportunities allows them to enhance their use of historical thinking skills, which are so crucial to learning about the past.30

1st, 2nd, and 3rd-Order Primary Source Method of Historical Investigation

The “first, second, and third-order” document method of analysis, also known as the Drake Method, is structured in a way in which students are invited to examine primary source documents and advance an interpretation of history. The “first-order document” is thoughtfully and purposefully selected by the teacher. Drake explains that the first-order document should be chosen based on three key components: its historical value, its potential contribution to student’s historical knowledge and its potential to help them develop their historical thinking. The first–order document should represent the core of a historical issue or period in history. Your first document should express a position so clearly that other documents can be found to challenge or corroborate the position.  

Drake points out that second-order documents are those that support or challenge the first-order document. He suggests the use of three to five documents as second–order documents. These documents can be charts, texts, images, tables, or paintings. Students are to examine the connection between the first–order and second-order documents, and determine if the second-order documents refute or support what is being stated in the first–order document. Finally, third-order documents are primary sources that are found by students that they consider to be important to the historical investigation question or topic of study. The third-order documents should relate to the first-order document. In this project the third-order documents have been pre-selected for the lessons that employ

32 Ibid., 145.
this methodology see appendix index and are included to further guide this process. This was deliberately done to scaffold the method, with the idea in mind that as students become familiar with the types of documents that are appropriate as third-order options they will be given more autonomy to select these documents on their own. As students are selecting third–order documents they should consider three key questions: Does this document challenge or corroborate the first-order document? How so?, and How does this document relate to the essential qualities of the issue presented or the historical period?33

Drake contends that students cannot simply be given first-order documents and expected to answer questions about the document. He affirms that intellectual engagement largely results from the intellectual exchange between teachers and their students.34 He explains that given the investigative nature of history the interrogation of primary sources and secondary source narratives is needed. Questions posed by teachers and students should be posed in an effort to give meaning to historical facts. History teaching, Drake suggests, “…is a coinvestigation in which the teacher and students shape and reshape their interpretations about the past.”35 As students go through the process of discovering third-order documents they are given the opportunity to take ownership of the historical period under study and to re-envision the period in a deliberate way. Drake argues, “Such ownership lies at the heart of historical thinking because students are

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., 147.
engaged in the doing of history with historians’ habits of mind. This skill is their portal to an illuminated knowledge of the past.\textsuperscript{36}

**The SCIM-C Strategy: Using Technology to Scaffold Historical Inquiry**

Another method used in this project to scaffold the historical inquiry process is the SCIM-C strategy. Given the difficulty that students at all levels have with historical inquiry this strategy was selected to assist in teaching students how to evaluate sources to extract the historical evidence within sources and to get students to “reconcile conflicting evidence to create an interpretive account of the past.”\textsuperscript{37} The SCIM-C strategy refers to five phases of questioning: Summarizing, Contextualizing, Inferring, Monitoring, and Corroborating. At every phase there are four questions that guide students through the process of analyzing the document\textsuperscript{38} see appendix index. According to Hicks and Doolittle, this model should be seen “as an initiating device through which to nurture and support students’ abilities to begin to engage in source analysis.”\textsuperscript{39} The SCIM-C model was developed based on research which addressed: historical inquiry, cognitive strategy instruction, instructional multimedia development, scaffolding in a technology-rich instructional environment, and classroom-based history teaching.\textsuperscript{40}

The SCIM-C method was included in this project because it provides a valuable scaffold to foster historical inquiry. For teachers who employ technology regularly within their history lessons or teachers who would like to incorporate multimedia more

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 153.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, 133.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 137.
frequently, this model provides a highly structured approach to historical inquiry instruction. This strategy is presented in the final lesson of this project on Chicana feminism. The purpose of introducing it in this study is to expose teachers to different methods which scaffold historical thinking. This strategy could also be introduced early on in the academic year, while being used initially to examine only one primary source document and building up to the analysis of multiple documents.  

**Conclusion**

Although public school teachers face many challenges in teaching students historical thinking skills, the return on investing time in this area will be quickly evident. While possessing historical thinking skills is crucial to student engagement with historical questions students generally, do not enter history classrooms knowing how to think like a historian. Because this is the case, teachers must take it upon themselves to scaffold this process for students. The use of primary sources is essential to this process as it allows students to examine the past as they ponder the implications of the message expressed within a source. In scaffolding historical thinking teachers can simultaneously incorporate literacy, writing, and reading skills. There are several methods available that help scaffold historical thinking to ensure student success as they become accustomed with the process of historical investigations, it is up to the teacher to employ the method that they determine will best suit the needs of their students, or to make adjustments to pre-existing methods to better serve them.

41 The SCIM-C Historical Inquiry Tutorial can be found at http://www.historical inquiry.com, (accessed March 24, 2012)
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## APPENDIX A: GENERAL TEACHER RESOURCES

**Teacher Resource 1.1: Bradley Commission’s History’s Habits of Mind**

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<th>Habit of Mind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perspectives and modes of thoughtful judgment derived from the study of history are many, and they ought to be its principal aim. Courses in history, geography, and government should be designed to take students well beyond formal skills of critical thinking, to help them through their own learning to:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Understand the significance of the past to their own lives, both private and public, and to their society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Distinguish between the important and the inconsequential, to develop the “discriminating memory” needed for a discerning judgment in public and personal life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Acquire at one and the same time a comprehension of diverse cultures and of shared humanity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Understand how things happen and how things change, how human intentions matter, but also how their consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purpose and process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Comprehend the interplay of change and continuity, and avoid assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more to be expected, than the other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Prepare to live with uncertainties and exasperating, even perilous, unfinished business, realizing that not all problems have solutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Grasp the complexity of historical causation, respect particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Appreciate the often tentative nature of judgments about the past, and thereby avoid the temptation to seize upon particular &quot;lessons&quot; or history as cures for present ills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Recognize the importance of individuals who have made a difference in history, and the significance of personal character for both good and ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Appreciate the force of the nonrational, the irrational, the accidental, in history and human affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Understand the relationship between geography and history as a matrix of time and place, and as context for events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Read widely and critically in order to recognize the difference between fact and conjecture, between evidence and assertion, and thereby to frame useful questions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teacher Resource 1.2: Bradley Commission’s Vital Themes and Narratives

In the search for historical understanding of ourselves and others, certain themes emerge as vital, whether the subject be world history, the history of Western civilization, or the history of the United States.

Civilization, cultural diffusion, and innovation
The evolution of human skills and the means of exerting power over nature and people. The rise, interaction, and decline of successive centers of such skills and power. The cultural flowering of major civilizations in the arts, literature, and thought. The role of social, religious, and political patronage of the arts and learning. The importance of the city in different eras and places.

Human interaction with the environment
The relationships among geography, technology, and culture, and their effects on economic, social, and political developments. The choices made possible by climate, resources, and location, and the effect of culture and human values on such choices. The gains and losses of technological change. The central role of agriculture. The effect of disease, and disease-fighting, on plants, animals, and human beings.

Values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions
The origins and spread of influential religions and ideologies. The evolution of political and social institutions, at various stages of industrial and commercial development. The interplay among ideas, material conditions, moral values, and leadership, especially in the evolution of democratic societies. The tensions between the aspirations for freedom and security, for liberty and equality, for distinction and commonality, in human affairs.

Conflict and cooperation
The many and various causes of war, and of approaches to peacemaking and war prevention. Relations between domestic affairs and ways of dealing with the outside world. Contrasts between international conflict and cooperation, between isolation and interdependence. The consequences of war and peace for societies and their cultures.

Comparative history of major developments
The characteristics of revolutionary, reactionary, and reform periods across time and place. Imperialism, ancient and modern. Comparative instances of slavery and emancipation, feudalism and centralization, human successes and failures, of wisdom and folly. Comparative elites and aristocracies; the role of family, wealth, and merit.
Patterns of social and political interaction
The changing patterns of class, ethnic, racial, and gender structures and relations. Immigration, migration, and social mobility. The effects of schooling. The new prominence of women, minorities, and the common people in the study of history, and their relation to political power and influential elites. The characteristics of multicultural societies; forces for unity and disunity.


Source: http://

“The teaching of history should introduce students to the process of historical inquiry. This process requires critical examination of evidence, thoughtful consideration of conflicting claims, and careful weighing of facts and hypotheses. Historical inquiry provides experience in the kind of reasoned and informed decision making that should characterize each citizen’s participation in our American democracy.”

The framework organizes U.S. history into four central themes. Each theme is described briefly below and more fully in chapter two of the framework.

1. Change and Continuity in American Democracy: Ideas, Institutions, Events, Key Figures, and Controversies. The development of American political democracy from colonial times to the present. This includes basic principles and core civic ideas developed through the American Revolution, the U.S. Constitution, the Civil War, and the struggles over slavery and civil rights.

2. The Gathering and Interactions of Peoples, Cultures, and Ideas. The gathering of people and cultures of many countries, races, and religious traditions that have contributed to the development of the American heritage and American society.

3. Economic and Technological Changes and Their Relationship to Society, Ideas, and the Environment. The transformation of the American economy from rural frontier to industrial superpower and its impact on society, ideas, and the environment. This includes the influence of geography; the development of business and labor; and the impact of science and technology, a market economy, and urbanization.

4. The Changing Role of America in the World. The movement from isolation to worldwide responsibility. The evolution of relationships between the United States and other nations, including American foreign policy and the nation’s participation in world and regional wars. Students will consider the influence of geography, economic interests, and democratic ideals in evaluating the role of the United States in foreign affairs.

The framework for the assessment of U.S. history in elementary, middle, and high schools is based on seven basic assumptions:

First, historical study must strive to connect people and events across time and to establish a context that includes the political, social, cultural, economic, technological, philosophical, and religious dimensions of human activities.

Second, the study of U.S. history must analyze change and continuity over time, explore the range of choices that have been available to people, and examine the events, people, and ideas that have been most significant in our nation’s development. The study of history introduces students to people from all walks of life and to key events, major turning points, and significant records that reveal the American people’s beliefs, hopes, and ideas.

Third, to illuminate the range and depth of the human experience, as well as differing perspectives, historical study must include famous people and ordinary individuals and events on the grand scale and in everyday life to convey the ideas and experiences that have shaped U.S. history. It must be informed by the humanities and social sciences, and it must draw upon many forms of documentation such as original documents, speeches, cartoons, artifacts, photos, art, music, architecture, literature, drama, dance, popular culture, biographies, journals, folklore, historic sites and places, and oral histories.

Fourth, history must include the analytical study of the nation’s political ideals of individual dignity, individual rights, civic virtue, democracy, the rule of law, equality of opportunity, liberty, popular sovereignty, justice, and the right to dissent. The study of U.S. history must show how and why these core civic ideas have influenced American society, while recognizing historical moments such as the Civil War, when these ideals were challenged or violated. The study of American history will (1) address the conflict between the founding proposition that “all men are created equal” in possession of certain rights and the reality that enormous inequalities in legal protection and in political and economic opportunity were common and accepted practice throughout the world at the outset of the American experiment, (2) show how individuals and groups have worked since the founding to make the nation’s civic ideals real for all people, and (3) identify the institutions and laws that establish equality under law for everyone.

Fifth, history has a spatial dimension—the places where human actions occur. The study of history must examine how events were influenced by geography,
such as the locations of places and relationships within places. Aspects of the natural environment, such as climate and terrain, influence human behavior, and people affect the places they inhabit.

**Sixth**, it is necessary to identify enduring themes that link people and events across time and space. People and events in history are not isolated and discrete; they are linked in many ways. The linkages are not static but are continuously evolving, and later generations will certainly perceive new relationships that are not evident today. Among the many possible themes of U.S. history, four have been selected for emphasis in the assessment:

1. Change and Continuity in American Democracy: Ideas, Institutions, Events, Key Figures, and Controversies
2. The Gathering and Interactions of Peoples, Cultures, and Ideas
3. Economic and Technological Changes and Their Relationship to Society, Ideas, and the Environment
4. The Changing Role of America in the World

**Seventh**, students need historical reasoning skills to enable them to examine evidence, analyze cause and effect, and appreciate how complex and sometimes ambiguous the explanation of historical events can be. Historical study must encourage students to think and judge evidence responsibly, independently, imaginatively, and critically. In developing critical thinking skills, students should engage in debates and consider alternative viewpoints or possibilities of historical movements and their causes.

In sum, students must know the specific facts of American history, be able to evaluate historical evidence, and understand change and continuity over time. For them, the nation’s past should be a body of knowledge as well as a source for understanding America’s promise, achievements, and shortcomings. They must be prepared to examine the influence of past upon present and to weigh evidence in order to reach generalizations and conclusions about how change and continuity have occurred.

**Teacher Resource 1.5: “Paring” Primary Sources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When paring down a Primary Source Consider the following:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the standard that you are covering ask for? Are students being asked to analyze, describe, etc.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are your student’s interest levels and attention spans? How long should the source be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the point you want to make with the primary source? How does it relate to the investigative question for the lesson?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the primary source grade-level appropriate? If not, can it be made so by paring it down?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will you help students access the vocabulary in the source?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Helpful Steps to Paring a Primary Source:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Choose a piece that meets the standards that you are covering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Design a guiding question that students should be able to answer after examining the source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Give the source a quick read through, crossing out material that will definitely be of no use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. From the portion of the source that is left, highlight sections that:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Meet the standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Hold your student’s interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Will give students a clear representation/visual of the period and/or event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. If you find that you have highlighted too large of a piece, go back through and underline the sections that seem to be the most essential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Circle any vocabulary that students may need to know. Decide how you will help students access this vocabulary in class.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Teacher Resource 1.6: The Process of Historical Investigation

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1. Create an investigative question</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. Seek information for primary and secondary sources</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>STEP 1-4: Analyzing an Individual Source:</td>
</tr>
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<td>1. LITERAL SOURCE QUESTIONING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>What are the literal aspects of the document?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. LOOKING FOR POINT OF VIEW &amp; PERSPECTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>What is the point of view of the source?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LOOKING AT THE CONTEXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>How did historical circumstances shape the source?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ASSESSING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A SOURCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>What can be learned from this piece of evidence?</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<th>STEP 5: Working with Multiple Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. CORROBORATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Compare different pieces of evidence</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 3: Making an Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Construct an explanation about history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seek peer review</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The History Project, University of California, Davis. Copyright © 2005 UC Regents

Teacher Resource 1.7: Marking the Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marking the text is an active reading strategy that asks students to identify information in the text that is relevant to the reading purpose. This strategy has three distinct marks: numbering paragraphs, underlining, and circling.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do I use it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Based on the reading purpose, students will use marking the text to identify information as they read. They will begin by numbering the paragraphs they have been asked to read. Then, as they identify information that is relevant to the reading task, they will underline or circle this information, making it easier to locate for notes or discussion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even though the reading purpose will determine what students mark, the types of marks should not change. A student’s ability to learn and apply a reading strategy relies heavily on the consistency of the strategy. If marking the text is understood to mean any pen or pencil mark on the paper, the student will never learn how this particular strategy aids his or her comprehension of the text.

When should I use it?
A fundamental strategy, marking the text ought to be used whenever students are asked to read academic texts. When students are asked to read arguments, students should underline the author’s claims and circle key terms and names of people who are essential to the argument. While reading passages from the textbook, that pertains to the reading purpose and circle names, places, and dates that are relevant to the topic being studied.

In the beginning, encourage students to read the text one time before they go back and mark the text while they read it a second time. Eventually, students will become comfortable with this strategy and begin marking the text during their first read.

Why should I use it?
When students mark texts purposefully, they are actively engaged in meaning making. To mark texts effectively, students must evaluate an entire passage and begin to recognize and isolate the key information. Once the text is marked, students will be able to quickly reference information that pertains to the reading purpose. Students might also use their markings to assist in summary writing, to connect ideas presented within the text, or to investigate claims, evidence, or rhetorical devices. Numbering paragraphs is also essential for class discussions. Once paragraphs are numbered, students can easily direct others to those places where they have found relevant information.

Note: Marking the text is a strategy used by the Department of Rhetoric and Writing Studies at SDSU.

Source: AVID Weekly Marking the Text, Teacher Reference
APPENDIX B: Lesson Plan #1

Lesson Plan Title: Introduction to the Chicano Movement: Early Chicano History

Grade Level: 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Overview for Lesson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The primary sources provided for this lesson speak to the changes experienced by Mexicans and Mexican Americans following the Mexican-American War in which Mexico lost a significant amount of territory. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo rights of Mexicans remaining in the newly acquired territory were to be protected and Mexicans who chose to remain were to be given American citizenship and therefore citizenship rights. However, following the war migration and immigration to California increased due to the gold rush. As a result many Mexicans in California (Californios) lost their lands to squatters. Many were unable to defend their right to the land due to a lack of understanding of the language and the new legal system. The status of Californios quickly diminished after the war due to their loss of power and American beliefs that Mexicans and Mexican Americans were inferior. In addition to losing land Californios also lost political power. Some historians argue that Chicanos became an internally colonized group.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guiding Historical Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How did early Chicano history affect the trajectory of the Chicano experience in the United States?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Follow Up Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How were Mexicans in California (Californios) affected by the Mexican American War?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What rights were taken from Mexicans in California (Californios) and for what reasons? How were these violations of rights justified?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Objectives and Assessment Criteria:

Students will:

- Explore identity labels in the Chicano community and their implications
- Understand early Chicano history from 1519-1920s
- Analyze primary source documents pertaining to the plight of Chicanos in the post Mexican-American War period
- Chronologically place events within Chicano and United States History
- Compose a summary
- Compose an OPVL paragraph

Learning Experiences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Learning Activity</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warm Up</td>
<td>writing and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWL</td>
<td>writing and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano History/U.S. History Timeline</td>
<td>writing and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary, Origin, Purpose, Value, Limitations (SOPVL)</td>
<td>writing, collaboration, and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Source Document Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bradley Commission’s Vital Theme(s)

**Conflict and cooperation**
The many and various causes of war, and of approaches to peacemaking and war prevention. Relations between domestic affairs and ways of dealing with the outside world. Contrasts between international conflict and cooperation, between isolation and interdependence. The consequences of war and peace for societies and their cultures.

**Patterns of social and political interaction**
The changing patterns of class, ethnic, racial, and gender structures and relations. Immigration, migration, and social mobility. The effects of schooling. The new prominence of women, minorities, and the common people in the study of history, and their relation to political power and influential elites. The characteristics of multicultural societies; forces for unity and disunity.
### Bradley Commission’s History’s Habits of Mind

3. perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness.
5. understand how things happen and how things change, how human intentions matter, but also how their consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purpose and process.
6. comprehend the interplay of change and continuity, and avoid assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more to be expected, than the other.

### California State Standards: Historical Thinking Skills

#### Chronological and Spatial Thinking
1. Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.
2. Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.
3. Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

#### Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View
2. Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.
4. Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

#### Historical Interpretation
1. Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
3. Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

### Common Core Standards

#### College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Reading

#### Key Ideas and Details
1. Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
2. Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
3. Analyze how and why individuals, events, or ideas develop and interact over the course of a text.

**Craft and Structure**
6. Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.

**Integration of Knowledge and Ideas**
6. Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.
8. Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence.
9. Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches authors take.

Source: “In history/social studies, for example, students need to be able to analyze, evaluate, and differentiate primary and secondary sources.” (Common Core Standards, p. 60) (accessed April 9, 2012)

**Standards Correlation:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>California State Standards: U.S. History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.8.2 Describe the significance of Mexican immigration and its relationship to the agricultural economy, especially in California.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10 Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materials Needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Chicano History PowerPoint, white board, white board markers, computer, CTX Projector, documents and student handouts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Report of the Secretary of the Interior- California Land Titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo- article VIII and IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Spanish Language Rights Debate- 1879 California Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Antonio Maria Pico Petition to U.S. Senate- Land titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. John L O’Sullivan on Manifest Destiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. California Voting Literacy Test and the Grandfather Clause Amendment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Where the Soft Winds Blow: Civilization at Los Angeles Has Driven Out Adobe Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. California Anti-Vagrancy Act of 1855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Activity 1.1: Introduction- Identity Labels: What’s In a Name?
Define the following given your own knowledge/understanding of the terms.
Hispanic:
Latina/o:
Chicana/o:

Provide students with time to think about and write their definitions for the above listed terms. Once students have done this hold a class discussion about what students wrote down as their definitions for each. There will likely be contention among the students regarding their definitions, this is good as it will elicit more discussion among the group. Once students have shared and discussed their definitions as a class discuss with them the differences between the labels and discuss the fluidity of labels as well as their significance as social markers. See Teacher Resource 1.3 for background information on these terms prior to leading this activity.

Activity 1.2: KWL- Know, Want to Know, Learned: Chicano History and the Chicano Movement
Direct students to set up their page to do a KWL on Chicano History and the Chicano Movement. Draw a chart on the board (you will fill this in later). Instruct students to fill in the “Know” section with information pertaining to Chicano History and the Chicano Movement that they know or think they know (letting students know that it is acceptable for them to make mistakes here is important, otherwise students often feel that they know nothing and therefore think they have nothing to write in this section). Instruct students to write in any questions they have or things they “Want to Know”. Direct the
students to leave the last section (Learned) blank for now. Allow time for students to complete this section. Once students have finished writing lead a class discussion on what the students know, and list these on the board then move on to the want to know section and record student responses. This activity will help you gauge what your students know about the topic and allows for students to actively think about their learning, providing them the opportunity to let you know where their interests lie.

**Activity 1.3: Direct Teaching:**
*PowerPoint: Early Chicano History Lecture*
Lecture will briefly explain Chicano history from 1519-1920s. This lecture will help to provide background information to students in order to allow them to better understand the history of Chicanos in the United States. (See Teacher Resource 1.8)

**Activity 1.4: Chicano History/U.S. History Timeline Assignment:**
After conducting the lecture on early Chicano History from 1519-1920s distribute the timeline assignment (Student Handout 1.1) and go over the directions with your students. The purpose of this activity is so allow your students to visually see the interconnections between Chicano and U.S. History. Through this assignment students will also access the changes and implications of those changes for the Chicano community between 1519 and the 1920s.

**Activity Modification:** You may choose to distribute the timeline to students before you begin the lecture and instruct students to fill the timeline out during lecture.

**Activity 1.5: Document Analysis SOPVL (Summary, Origin, Purpose, Value, and Limitation) Jigsaw Activity:**
Students work in small groups, pre-selected to create mixed ability groups so that students are able to work through analyzing the documents. I have provided eight documents (Document 1A-1H). Create eight groups. Each group will have a different document they will be analyzing using the SOPVL method (Student Handout 1.2).

**First Read:** Have students read over their assigned document keeping in mind that their objective will be to summarize the contents of the document.

**Second Read:** During the second read students should focus on identifying the OPVL (Origin, Purpose, Value, and Limitation) for the given document. This will take some scaffolding in order to get students to be more analytical. For example, as students are considering origin, they should pinpoint not only the authors’ names, but also their social status, profession, etc.

**Sharing-out:** Within their groups have students share out their findings.
**OPVL Paragraph:** Use the handout (Student Handout 1.2) to scaffold this process for the students, as you do this assignment with your students they will become more familiar with the structure and you may discontinue the use of this scaffold.

**Note:** The jigsaw method is recommended here to allow the scaffolding of this method of analysis while still gathering the content presented in all eight documents, this will provide students with ample evidence to use in their written response in relation to the guiding historical investigation question. If you prefer not to jigsaw the activity you can reduce the number of documents to be analyzed by the students.

**Activity Modification:** Once students are more experienced with the analysis of primary sources and the SOPVL method you can put them into groups of eight with each student in the group analyzing a different document and sharing out to their group mates. If you feel that the groups of eight are too large, reduce the number of documents by selecting the ones you believe to be most crucial to the lesson.

**English Language Learners:** The first time you use this method of analysis select only one document to analyze as a class, walk students through the process. As students gain more confidence with this method you may want to select a few (3–4) short documents to be analyzed in small groups or have students work in pairs on analyzing the same document.

**Activity 1.6 Written Response:** Based on the documents analyzed have students answer the guiding historical question(s) at the beginning of the lesson. Depending on the level of your students you may want to select one question for them to answer in an essay (if students are expected to write an essay this should be scaffolded and students should be provided with a rubric so that they are aware of what is expected). or you may have them address all three questions in shorter paragraph responses. Encourage students to use evidence to support their arguments.

**Extension(s):**

**Class Discussion:** Once students have written responses to the guiding historical questions you may guide a class discussion so that students are exposed to different points of view as well as the varying perspectives provided by their peers. This will also give students a sense of what information their peers used as evidence. This will be especially helpful when students are becoming accustomed to using evidence to support their argument.
Teacher Resource 1.1: Further Reading


Teacher Resource 1.2: Related Web Sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic: A brief history of Mexican Los Angeles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> El Pueblo de Los Angeles: Brief History of Mexicans in Los Angeles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> City of Los Angeles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://elpueblo.lacity.org/elphis2.htm">http://elpueblo.lacity.org/elphis2.htm</a> (accessed June 7, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> The history discussed on this site begins in 1781 and culminates in 2005.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic: Mexican American History in California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> A History of Mexican Americans in California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> National Park Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views5h31.htm">http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views5h31.htm</a> (accessed June 7, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> Provides information on the Mexican American War, discussion of anti-Mexican sentiment, the gold rush period, discusses lynching of a Mexican woman, the focus of this specific section is on Downieville, Sierra County. On this site you will also find sections on 1900-1940, World War II, and the Chicano Movement.</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic: Mexican American War</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> A Guide to the Mexican War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> Library of Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/mexicanwar/">http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/mexicanwar/</a> (accessed June 7, 2012)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description: This site provides access to primary sources on the Mexican American War including sources from Lincoln and Polk. You will also find a list of related websites for further research as well as a selected bibliography that also provides suggested books for “younger readers”.

Topic: Mexican California
Title: Early California History
Author: Library of Congress
Web Address: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/cbhtml/cbintro.html (assessed June 7, 2012)
Description: On this site you will find background information on this period. Among the relevant topics covered include Mexican California, The United States and California, The Discovery of Gold, and The Forty Niners.

Topic: Mexican American War and its Aftermath
Title: U.S. Mexican American War 1846-1848
Author: Public Broadcasting Service
Description: On this site you will find several resources, including information on the pre-war period, during the war, and its aftermath. You will also find biographies of Mexican and American key figures. There is an interactive timeline of the events of the war. In the section for educators you will find lesson plans, a video library, biographical essays, primary source materials and a list of other useful websites.

Teacher Resource 1.3: Definitions for Identity Labels: What’s In a Name?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Hispano/Hispanoamérica/Hispania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Term if often used to refer collectively to those who speak Spanish language or who are culturally connected to Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Category created by the U.S. federal government in 1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Erases differences along region (TX, AZ), class, ethnicity, race and Spanish dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is not a racial category, but a “Pan-ethnic” label</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Millions of people who speak Spanish but are not of Spanish descent (i.e. Native Americans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mexican and Puerto Rican groups have not been discriminated because of their “Spanish” culture but with their Indian features and culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hispanic term emphasizes wanting to be part of America</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latina/o</th>
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• Latin/ Latinoamérica/America Latina/Amérique Latine
• Term is widely used to refer to person of Latin America descent, regardless of ancestry.
• Became popular in the 1970s by community groups
• More widely accepted than "Hispanic" but still ignores indigenous who are of pre-Columbian origin and African peoples in the Americas
• Erases differences along region (CA, FL, NY), class, ethnicity, race and Spanish dialect
• The term is more concerned with preserving language and culture.
• Obscures the class and national difference between historically oppressed groups like Mexican and Puerto Ricans and newly arrived immigrants from South America) = Pan-ethnic category, not racial category..
• According to the Pew Hispanic Center 75% do not prefer Latino or Hispanic, prefer country of origin labels.

Chicana/o

Pre-Columbian Origins:
• Indigenous people in Mexico referred to themselves as “Mexica” (Meh-chi-ca) before the Spanish conquest.
• “X” was pronounced “Sh” so the term gradually evolved: “Xicano” ⇔ “Shicano” ⇔ “Chicano”

Working class origins:
• “Chicanos” were the lowest of the low in barrios, ill-mannered, dirt poor, up to no good, similar to “redneck” or “white trash.”

Chicana/o Movement Origins:
• In the 1960s & 1970s the Chicano Movement appropriated the term and turned it into a positive identity that emphasized indigenous history, cultural pride, and group solidarity
• Denoted a group rejected by Mexico and the United States, represented a state of In-betweenness (nepantla)
• Asserts and insists upon difference as opposed to sameness
• The power of the decision to be “Chicano” is more significant than the term itself.
• Women critiqued the male bias of the term and added “A” to create Chicana

Mexican/Mexicano/Mexicana

• Technically a Mexican citizen
• Used sometimes by mistake to refer to all people of Mexican descent (racial lumping/they all look alike)
• Just because someone lives in the United States doesn’t mean he is not
a Mexican citizen or has dual citizenship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Mexican-American</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Originated after 1848 and Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• U.S. citizens or residents of Mexican ancestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Some have a problem with the “Hyphen”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Can one be 50% Mexican and 50% American?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** adapted from [www.josealamillo.com/latinolabels.ppt](http://www.josealamillo.com/latinolabels.ppt), Jose Alamillo Ph.D., CSU Channel Islands Professor of Chicana/o Studies (accessed June 12, 2012)
## The Decline of the Californios

### The Case of San Diego, 1846-1856

By Charles Hughes

In his widely read Decline of the Californios, historian Leonard Pitt sought to explain the rapid political and economic demise of the Spanish-speaking families who occupied and controlled California before the United States takeover in 1846. Pitt says the political demise of the Californios took longer in southern California compared with the rest of the state. Following statehood in 1849, Californios ran successfully for public offices in Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. Along with their political successes, Pitt argues that these Californios also reaped windfall profits from cattle sales during the early 1850s. They hastened their own economic demise, however, by propagating these profits, and by the 1860s their ranchos were either heavily mortgaged or in the hands of Anglo-Americans.

This case study suggests that San Diego does not fit the pattern for southern California as described by Pitt. Californios in San Diego had very little "declining" left to do by 1846. Far from enjoying an "Arcadian" era, the Californios were beleaguered and penniless landholders at the time of American occupation. The San Diego rancheros did not "decline." Their economic status was already nil in the Mexican period, and circumstances largely beyond their control prevented them from prospering in the 1850s, as Pitt says other rancheros did in the Los Angeles and Santa Barbara areas.

Political affairs in San Diego reveals that Anglo-Americans controlled the city government much earlier than local historians have supposed, or that Pitt suggests was the pattern for southern California.

This study is based on contemporary newspapers and public documents. Few of the personal papers of the Californios in San Diego have been preserved. The memoirs and writings of Anglo-American residents of the community were used circumspectly, because their observations and recollections were strongly influenced by their racial and ethnic biases toward the Californios. Most of the research was done in San Diego and Sacramento, and only the first ten years following the American conquest is considered. Pitt has labeled the years 1850 to 1856 as the formative years of state government. Since the policies of the new state government caused the Californios many hardships, it is appropriate to study the community from the end of the American conquest through the formative years of state government.

Lack of sources prevented a systematic study of justice for the Californios under the new Anglo system. Government officials and local librarians
believe that local court records from this period have been destroyed or lost. Available evidence, however, suggests that Pitt's arguments concerning a dual standard of justice, one for Anglos and one for Californios, seem applicable to San Diego during this era.

The terms "Anglo-American" (sometimes shortened to Anglo) and "Californio" are used to differentiate between two general groups. It is occasionally necessary to consider a Californio as any non-Indian with a Spanish surname, and born in California, Spain, or Latin America. Strictly speaking, however, Californios were those Mexicans who inhabited California prior to the American conquest, and the term also refers to their descendants. Anyone who had other than a Spanish surname and was Caucasian is considered to be Anglo-American for purposes of this study. These broad criteria are applied because of the difficulty in determining which individuals were citizens of the United States. Citizenship was automatically confirmed on the former citizens of Mexico who remained in California one year after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Both the national census of 1850 and the California State Census of 1852 fail to indicate clearly whether a person was a citizen of the United States. The high degree of social mobility among early residents of San Diego constantly changed the makeup of both the Anglo and Californio communities. It is impractical to research more than seven hundred people to establish their citizenship and thus their status within San Diego. This study concentrates on those Californios who owned land grants, the same group whose decline Pitt studied.

Not included in this study are local Indians, who numbered several hundred more than both Anglos and Californios. During these years, Indians were confronted with a different set of problems from those which faced the Californios. Indians had to contend with hostilities from both Anglos and Californios. The new Anglo government extended in writing certain rights to the Californios which it denied to Indians. Rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution did not apply to Indians. They could not vote or own property. This study deals only with the two groups included in the new system of government, Anglos and Californios.

CALIFORNIOS AS "ARCADIANS," 1821-1846

Following the War of 1846, and up until the Civil War, Californios, or Spanish-speaking inhabitants of California, experienced a decline in economic status, political power, and social influence. With the coming of Americans, especially after the discovery of gold, Californios lost their dominance over the affairs of the state and the vast tracts of land they originally possessed. In part, this decline resulted from events occurring prior to American rule, during California's "Pastoral Era." This was especially true in San Diego. The
secularization of the missions, Indian hostilities, and civil strife had all impaired the ability of the Californios to adjust to the changes initiated by the American government.

In describing the "Pastoral Era," most historians have emphasized the affluence of the Californios. Between 1826 and 1846, the Californios received approval for several hundred land grants from the Mexican government. After the secularization of the missions in 1833, these land grants included former mission lands. The Californios also acquired the large cattle herds that once belonged to the missions. These herds allowed the Californios to carry on a lucrative business with trading ships visiting the coast. In exchange for hides and tallow, Californios received manufactured goods and other luxury items. Along with the former mission lands and herds, Californios also inherited the labor force of the missions. After 1833 Christian Indians were relegated to positions of servitude by the Californios.

Because of these circumstances, one historian has argued that the Californios enjoyed a life similar to that of southern plantation owners in the antebellum South or feudal lords in the Middle Ages. Although most historians find this description a bit exaggerated, they have accepted the arguments of Robert Glass Cleland, a prominent California historian. Cleland stated that "free from the pressure of economic competition, ignorant of the wretchedness and poverty indigenous to other lands, amply supplied with the means of satisfying their simple wants, devoted to 'the grand and primary business of the enjoyment of life,' the Californios enjoyed a pastoral, patriarchal, almost Arcadian existence..."

Contrary to what Cleland and other historians believed, Californios in San Diego never experienced an Arcadian existence. In their studies, Cleland and others neglected to analyze the disruptive influence that the secularization of the missions had on San Diego's economy. They also failed to recognize the effect that the ouster of the Franciscans had on Indian and white relations.

In 1830 San Diego consisted of about thirty houses located some three miles inland from the harbor, below the hill where the presidio was situated. The community's 520 residents were mostly retired soldiers and their families. Those living in town cultivated small gardens and grazed their cattle on communal lands. Before 1833 only seven land grants had been approved in the area. In 1823 Francisco Ruiz received Rancho Santa María de Peñasquitos and in 1829 José Antonio Estudillo was given ranchos Janal and Otay. In the latter year Santiago Argüello was also granted Rancho Tijuana, and four years later Rancho Melyo. In 1831 Pío Pico accepted a grant for the Jamul Rancho and the Silva family received Rancho San Dieguito. Under Spanish law, and under the Mexican constitutions after 1821, all land in California belonged to
the state. A person could receive usufructuary rights to as much as 48,818 acres, if he met certain requirements. Franciscan missionaries, however, vigorously opposed the granting of land to settlers, arguing that it belonged to the Indians. Until 1833 the missionaries continued to control the best farming and grazing land in San Diego, as they did throughout the rest of coastal California.5

The missions in San Diego dated back to the arrival of the first Mexican colonists in Alta California. In 1769. Franciscan missionaries, accompanied by soldiers, came to San Diego with plans to settle in the territory and Christianize the Indians. Spanish officials had grown increasingly alarmed over Russian encroachment into Spanish territory. By using Franciscans and soldiers, these officials hoped to utilize the Indians to maintain control of their territory. The Franciscans had learned from previous experiences, however, that Indians required close supervision to insure lasting Spanish influence.6

To solve this problem, the Franciscans created mission establishments that could support several hundred people. They built two missions in the San Diego Area, Mission San Diego de Alcalá in 1769 and Mission San Luis Rey de Francia in 1798. At these missions, Franciscans constructed blacksmith shops, tanneries, weaving rooms, and storeroms along with the churches. They planted crops, started vineyards, cultivated vegetable gardens, and raised livestock. Eventually both missions managed to provide for a large population. However, when the rainfall was slight and the crop yield minimal, the missionaries were forced to allow the Christian Indians to return to their villages to fend for themselves.7

In time the Franciscans acquired considerable wealth and land. Mission San Diego controlled land in the areas of El Cajon, Escondido, Santa Isabel, San Dieguito, and Rosarita Beach. The area south of San Diego was used by the presidio to graze government livestock. The lands belonging to Mission San Luis Rey stretched thirty-five miles from north to south and forty-five miles from east to west of the mission site. By 1800 the crop yield at Mission San Diego was from 2,500 to 10,000 bushels, and the livestock increased to more than 12,000. San Luis Rey Mission owned more than 16,000 animals and the crop yield exceeded 67,000 bushels in 1810.8

Despite these and other successes, the California missions came under increasing criticism after 1810. In theory, missionaries moved into a frontier region to convert and civilize the Indians. After being in an area for ten years, Hispanicizing the Indians, missionaries were supposed to move on to a new region. The missions that were built, would be secularized -- that is, a regular priest would take over the spiritual functions of the missionaries. The lands
connected with the missions would be divided among the Indians, who would then farm on their own.9

In California this process was delayed. Franciscans argued that the Indians were not ready for secularization, even after forty years. The Franciscans believed that their wards, once freed, would return to their "pagan" ways. Franciscans also claimed that some Californios wanted the missions secularized to gain possession of the lands and to make slaves of the Indians. Both the Franciscans and the Californios who coveted Indian lands, charged one another with enslaving Indians. There is probably some truth to the allegations of each group.10

Throughout California, at this time, a strong anti-Spanish feeling existed among the Californios, creating attitudes which surely influenced the arguments of both groups. The Franciscans were probably correct when they stated that some Californios supported secularization to gain access to mission property.11 Many Californios had lived in the territory for years, and had served in the military protecting the Franciscans and the missions. They had suffered hardships, and because of their service they probably expected some favors from their government. Up to the 1830s most of the Californios continued to live in coastal towns, on small lots granted to them; the missionaries monopolized most of the land and wealth of the province.

Critics, among them some Californios, were skeptical about the arguments of the Franciscans and doubted the efficacy of the mission system. Their thinking was influenced by the new philosophy of liberalism and its emphasis on humanitarianism and equal rights. These critics argued that Indians were equal to other Mexicans and entitled to equal rights. They opposed the absolute authority Franciscans had over the Indians and advocated the secularization of the missions. They proposed that Indians be granted the same rights as other citizens and suggested that they also be given land. Because of the profits and benefits accrued from their land, Indians would integrate into society. Critics also believed that Indians would eventually upgrade themselves and achieve social as well as political equality.12

After 1824 leaders of the new republican government in Mexico generally concurred with these liberal ideas, especially since many of them had some Indian ancestry. Their attitude, however, was also swayed by considerations of state. These new leaders were dissatisfied with the progress of the Franciscans in "civilizing" California Indians. This seemed particularly important to them since they feared Russian and American designs on the territory. In 1812 the Russians built Fort Ross at Bodega Bay in northern California to help supply food for their colony farther north. Mexican officials had heard rumors concerning a secret treaty in which Spain was to have ceded California to
Russia. Officials realized that if Mexico wanted to retain California, she would have to occupy it effectively.13

Officials further recognized the necessity of making California independent of the national government and its exhausted treasury. Following the outbreak of the war for independence in 1810, the Spanish government stopped sending an annual stipend to the soldiers and missionaries in California. With the ouster of Spanish officials from Mexico in 1812, the new government failed to provide continuous support. Thus, soldiers in the territory forced the missionaries to provide them with supplies, and Franciscans were allowed to sell cowhides and tallow to trading ships stopping on the California coast.14

To remedy these unfavorable economic conditions, Mexican officials planned further colonization of the territory. As early as 1825 they started the practice of sending convicts to help populate the territory, over the protest of those already living there. To attract potential colonists, officials had to offer land, and the missions controlled most of the farming and grazing land along the coast. In the interior, non-Christian Indians hindered further colonization by Mexican farmers. Secularization of the missions, then, provided the only immediate way to make land available for further colonization.15

When the newly appointed Mexican governor, Lieutenant Colonel José María Echeandía, reached California in 1826, he brought orders to secularize the missions. He had been advised, however, to proceed with caution. Accordingly, he devised a plan to partially secularize the missions in the south to see how the Indians got along without Franciscan supervision. He proposed to grant land to those Indians who had been Christians for fifteen years, married, and no longer considered minors. These Indians also had to have a trade or a way to support themselves, and needed a favorable report from a Franciscan. Despite these stringent qualifications, the plan failed. The Indians who left the missions lost their property and ended up working for Mexican settlers, or were taken back by the Franciscans within a few years. Again, in 1833, another Mexican governor, José Figueroa, formulated plans for partial secularization of the California missions, but the national government's actions superseded his plans.16

In August 1833 the Mexican congress, cognizant of the complex problems involved, nevertheless approved legislation secularizing the California missions. The congress, however, failed to specify how this was to be done. Among other things, it neglected to establish regulations concerning the distribution of mission lands. Territorial officials did not know who was to have first priority, Indians, Californios, soldiers, or new settlers. The territorial assembly, consisting of Californios, and with the approval of the new government, finally devised a plan for secularizing the missions in June 1834.
The missionaries were to be relieved of their temporal duties, but would remain at the missions until regular clergy were found to take over their spiritual functions. Civilian administrators were appointed to take over the economic affairs of the missions. They were required to take inventories of the property belonging to the missions. They were also to oversee the granting of land and other mission property to Christian Indians. The land remaining, after the Indians had received their allotments, was to be distributed among non-Indians. This plan was implemented tentatively until final approval came from the national government.17

In San Diego Mission San Luis Rey was secularized in 1834 and Mission San Diego the following year. With more land available for settlers, the national government expected the area to prosper. Within the next few years, new land grants were approved by government officials. Among them were Rancho Jolijol to José and Ignacio López, Rancho Jesús to M. J. López, and Rancho Temescal to Leandro Serrano; all granted in 1836. Secularization and the release of Christian Indians from the missions, however, brought disastrous consequences for the Californios in San Diego.18

After 1830 when secularization of the missions seemed assured, Indian hostilities increased throughout the San Diego area. In 1833 rumors spread that Christian as well as non-Christian Indians planned to unite and seize mission property. In the following year community officials reported numerous robberies committed by Indians. During 1835 citizens organized an expedition to put down a threatened Indian attack on Santa Isabel and San Luis Rey. That same year, authorities at San Luis Rey thwarted an Indian project to kidnap the governor when one of the planners revealed his intent. Throughout 1836 and 1837 Indian attacks reached new heights and forced the evacuation of ranchos, several times threatening San Diego itself. One of the more famous attacks occurred at the Jamul Rancho in April 1837. Indians killed several ranch hands and the foreman, and captured the foreman's two daughters. Californios' efforts to rescue the girls from their Indian captors failed. Shortly after the Jamul incident an Indian servant revealed a plan to attack San Diego and kill its residents. On the designated night, servants were to leave doors open to allow attackers to enter the houses and kill their occupants. After this project was uncovered, the residents apprehended its leaders and executed them.19

Indian violence continued through 1840 threatening the community and forcing the Californios to abandon their ranchos again and again. On several occasions Juan Bandini fled his rancho near Tijuana to seek safety in San Diego, and Silvestre de la Portilla and José Antonio Pico abandoned their grants, Rancho Valle de San José and Rancho San José del Valle, because of
indian pressure. Bandini eventually gave up his rancho near Tijuana and received a grant farther north.20

After 1842 and until the American hostilities subsided, never again reaching the intensity they did in the late 1830s. During these last few years before the conquest San Diego enjoyed some prosperity, and many new land grants were approved. Prior to 1842 twenty land grants were affirmed, and from 1842 until 1846 twenty-five more grants were issued. Some of these grants were the larger and more famous ones in the area. In 1845 Pío Pico, governor of California, gave the El Cajon Rancho 48,799 acres, to María Antonia Estudillo de Pedrorena and the Cuyamaca Rancho, 35,501 acres, to Augustín Olvera. Pico also approved a grant for Rancho de la Nación, 26,631 acres, to his brother-in-law, Juan Forster. Despite these developments, Californios continued to worry about the threat of Indian violence in the San Diego area, and with some justification. During the American conquest, in December 1846, Indians surprised eleven Californios at a rancho, took them prisoners, and later killed all of them. The threat of violence continued to concern San Diegans after the Mexican War.21

The outbreak of Indian attacks occurred for a variety of reasons during the 1830s. In the San Diego area, the non-Christian Indian population exceeded the white and Christian Indian population by several hundred. Although no exact figure is known for this period, non-Christian Indian population in 1847 numbered several hundred more than the other two groups. Prior to this time, the white population never exceeded six hundred, and declined drastically after the outbreak of attacks. The numerical superiority of the Indians must have influenced Californios' treatment of them. Franciscans reported that Indians received harsh punishments for minor infractions of the law. Evidently Californios tried to use the threat of severe punishment to teach the Indians to respect territorial laws. This kind of treatment must have created bitterness between the Californios and the Indians, which caused some of the violence.22

With the secularization of the missions, many of the Christian Indians joined other Indians in attacking the Californios. Christian Indians believed that the property of the missions belonged to them, and resented the Californios receiving any of it. They planned to kidnap Governor Figueroa to protest the approval of a land grant, which included land the Indians said belonged to them. Franciscans might have influenced this attitude of the Indians, since the missionaries used it in arguing against the breakup of the missions.23

Secularization also caused a significant decrease in military personnel in the San Diego area. The missions had been the main source of food and other supplies for the soldiers. Since neither the national nor the territorial
government could afford to pay them, many soldiers left the army to avoid starvation. After their departure, the military force that remained failed to discourage Indian aggressions. Finally, Christian Indians cultivated crops to furnish their food supply, but in years of little rainfall they turned to taking cattle from the ranchos to avert starvation. Although rainfall amounts are not known for these years, this could have been an additional source of conflict. For example, in 1834 statistical reports for Mission San Diego and Mission San Luis Rey showed the lowest yield in crop production in recent years, while local authorities reported numerous robberies by Indians.24

The prevalence of Indian resistance during this period resulted in severe political and economic consequences for the Californios in San Diego. In the beginning of the 1830s, an estimated 520 non-Indians lived throughout the area. Up to this time, San Diego was a military town, with the presidio commander supervising community affairs. In 1834 residents petitioned the governor for self-rule, arguing that they possessed the population required by law, and that military rule violated the spirit of the Mexican constitution. Officials approved the petition, and in 1835 citizens in San Diego held elections to choose electors that would select a mayor, two councilmen, and a city attorney. Self-rule continued until 1837 when the mayor received a notice rescinding the city charter and making San Diego part of the Los Angeles district. In part, self-rule was withdrawn because of the ascendancy of centralism in Mexico, but more specifically because of the decline in population caused by the Indians. By 1840 only an estimated 150 people lived in San Diego. By 1846 the population had increased to 350, but prior to the Mexican War the city was far from its former population of 520. After the American conquest, this decline in population weakened the Californios' political strength significantly.25

The Indian attacks on San Diego in the 1830s also impeded economic development in a community already experiencing straitened circumstances. The descriptions of contemporary travelers visiting San Diego before the outbreak of hostilities emphasized the backwardness of the area. French traveler Auguste Bernard du Haut-Cilly wrote in 1827:

Of all the places we have visited since our coming to California, excepting San Pedro, which is entirely deserted, the presidio at San Diego was the saddest. It is built upon the slope of a barren hill, and has no regular form: it is a collection of houses whose appearance is made still more gloomy by the dark color of the bricks, roughly made, of which they are built.26

Two years later, New Englander Alfred Robinson made a similar comparison when he wrote that "on the lawn beneath the hill on which the presidio is built stood about thirty houses of rude appearance, mostly occupied by retired
veterans, not so well constructed in respect either to beauty or stability as the houses at Monterey..."27 If we assume that the way people lived reflected their economic well-being, Californios in San Diego apparently were not as prosperous as the rest of their countrymen in the 1820s. Then, in the 1830s their circumstances were further reduced when secularization of the missions and the subsequent outbreak of Indian hostilities forced the San Diegans to abandon their ranchos and disrupted agriculture.

Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft has evaluated the impact of these attacks on the Californios in the 1830s and after. He wrote that Indian depredations . . . kept the country in a state of chronic disquietude in these and later years, being the most serious obstacle to progress and prosperity. Murders of the gente de razon [californios] were of comparatively rare occurrence, but in other respects the scourge was similar to that of the Apache ravages in Sonora and Chihuahua. Over a large extent of country the Indians lived mainly on the flesh of stolen horses, and cattle were killed for their hides when money to buy liquor could not be less laboriously obtained by the sale of other stolen articles. The presence of the neophytes and their intimate relations with other inhabitants doubtless tended to prevent general attacks and bloody massacres, as any plot was sure to be revealed by somebody; but they also rendered it wellnigh impossible to break up the complicated and destructive system of robbery. Far be it from me to blame the Indians for their conduct; for there was little in their past training or present treatment by white men to encourage honest industry.28

Despite the prevalence of Indian hostilities and the abandonment of many ranchos, the hide and tallow trade seems not to have been significantly affected. Records left behind by American and English traders are, for the most part, silent about the break down in law and order. It appears that although the Californios had to leave their ranchos, they still managed to slaughter their cattle and sell the hides for manufactured goods. Conceivably, this trade might have sustained the Californios when they were unable to produce the food they needed. Juan Bandini, at one point, had to go north to sell his family jewels to provide for his family. Later, he had to write a friend in northern California to ask him to send food, so his family would not starve.29 This seems to have been a common situation for other residents in the community. Alfred Robinson revisited San Diego in 1840 and observed that "everything was prostrated the Presidio ruined, the Mission depopulated, the town almost deserted, and its few inhabitants miserably poor."30 Under such circumstances, the Californios must have used the cattle they owned to provide for their families. The disruption of agriculture and the heavy reliance on the hide and tallow trade also explain the decline in the size of the cattle herds. When the missions were secularized, the herds exceeded 25,000, but by
the beginning of the 1850s San Diego had less than 10,000. This meant that the Californios had fewer resources to meet the new demands placed on their ranchos after the Americans arrived.31

All of San Diego's economic woes, however, were not caused by the secularization of the missions and subsequent Indian hostilities. Some historians have emphasized the influence of civil strife in contributing to the economic problems of the territory. Others have argued that political upheaval in California during the 1830s and 1840s resulted in the disruption and decline of agriculture and trade throughout the territory. The main cause for confusion, and one which led to open revolt several times, was the failure of the national government to effectively govern its territories. After Mexico gained independence from Spain, the republic's new Constitution of 1824 failed to provide for the internal administration of the territories. Because of this failure, Mexican and territorial officials continued to use Spanish laws not in apparent conflict with the constitution to govern the territories. The resulting confusion concerning the laws of the territory created many political disputes.32 Sectional rivalries, a struggle over the location of the capital and the custom house, and personal jealousies all added to the political divisions of the period. The controversy over a strong or a weak central government also increased the political divisions.33 In San Diego in 1836 the decline of agriculture and trade, secularization, Indian hostilities, and the lack of local courts provoked the Californios to rebel against the territorial government.34

Evaluating the impact of two decades of political turmoil in California before the Mexican War, historians have agreed that it added to the declining fortunes of Californios. Historian George Tays wrote that armed conflict in California "caused the decline of commerce, the spoliation of the missions, and finally plunged the country into chaos."35 In San Diego, these revolts had two specific consequences for the Californios. Northern Californios won control of the territorial government and sought to regulate trade for the benefit of the North. Hence, San Diego failed to become a legal port of entry for foreign trade. Ships involved in this trade had to go to Monterey and pay the import duties due on their goods there before doing business along the coast. A share in the revenue from import duties could have improved San Diego's commercial fortunes. More significant than the commercial impact, however, was the failure of the territorial government to aid San Diego with its Indian problem. Governors were more concerned with maintaining a sufficient military force in Monterey to insure their positions, rather than sending assistance to the South. With the American conquest in 1846 this proved to be a crucial matter.36

When the United States declared war with Mexico on May 12, 1846, American naval forces off the Pacific coast used the occasion to take
possession of California. The initial occupation of San Diego and southern California occurred without any armed resistance by the Californios. On July 29 United States forces occupied San Diego, and on August 13 they seized control of Los Angeles. By the first part of October, however, some Californios forced the Americans to abandon Los Angeles and then, under the leadership of José Castro and Pío Pico, laid siege to American occupied San Diego. During this critical period, Americans enlisted the support of those Californios who opposed the actions of their countrymen. Efforts to maintain control of San Diego and retake Los Angeles included the participation of some Californios. Miguel de Pedrorena, a prominent San Diego resident, made a hazardous trip in an old whaling boat from San Diego to San Pedro, to get military assistance and supplies. In the reconquest of Los Angeles by an expedition under Commodore Robert Stockton, in January 1847, one military company was made up of thirty-one Californios.  

The loyalties of the Californios divided over the American conquest, partly because of the policy implemented by the conquering Americans. At first, the Californios appeared reluctant to resist the Americans, despite the urging by some who believed that as loyal Mexican citizens they had a duty to repel the American intruders. But the actions of Commodore Stockton and Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie in Monterey and Los Angeles also created angry resentments among the Californios. In Monterey, Stockton’s arbitrary actions toward José Castro led to open resistance. Strict regulations imposed by Gillespie provoked the citizens of Los Angeles to expel the Americans.  

While the actions of Americans angered some Californios, others chose to accept the change in governments. Many supported the change because the Americans promised military protection against Indians and a stable government. Juan Bandini and Santiago Argüello issued a statement following the American occupation of San Diego which urged the local citizens to support the change. With protection and stability, they said, prosperity would follow. In accepting American rule, Californios believed California would become a territory of the United States. In the new territorial government, they expected to receive appointments to public office and retain some control over territorial affairs. At the same time, they would receive military protection and become part of an expanding commercial empire.  

Like the Indian attacks and the civil disorders, the American conquest resulted in the destruction and loss of property by some Californios. Historian George Tays declared that in reprisal to Californios’ resistance, "Americans confiscated and robbed the peaceful population of its horses, cattle and other property." In San Diego, some of the Californios who resisted the American aggressions incurred such losses. Lieutenant W. H. Emory recalled that when the United States military force he was with arrived at the Peñasquitos
Rancho, they seized all the property they did not destroy because the owner opposed the Americans."41

During the "Pastoral Era" in San Diego, then, Californios experienced frustrations and setbacks while trying to improve their economic condition. Their efforts only began to succeed late in the period. The promise of economic prosperity as a result of secularization of the missions came after additional years of hardships. Although more Californios received land grants, the breakdown in law and order caused a decline in the political and economic fortunes of the community. The Californios had little opportunity to develop the resources of their ranchos. The decline in San Diego's population during Indian hostilities weakened the Californios politically after the arrival of the Americans, since political strength depended on numerical strength. Rather than being like feudal lords on princely estates, with vast herds and large retinues of Indian slaves, Californios in San Diego were impoverished rancheros struggling to survive in a hostile environment.

CALIFORNIOS AS IMPOVERISHED RANCHEROS 1846-1856

Following the outbreak of war between the United States and Mexico, Commodore John D. Sloat seized Monterey, claiming California for the Americans on July 7, 1846. In a proclamation to the inhabitants of the territory, Sloat urged them to accept the American conquest and guaranteed protection and recognition of their rights and property. He predicted that California and her inhabitants would benefit from this change. Real estate values would increase as the territory became a part of an expanding commercial empire. In San Diego some Californios, such as Santiago Argüello and Miguel de Pedrorena, accepted Sloat's arguments and welcomed the American invaders. They pleaded with others to do likewise, stressing that with stability and protection the area would prosper. However, neither the Californios nor United States officials knew what the future held. No one could have predicted the great changes brought by the gold rush.42

By 1850 Californios consisted of less than 15 percent of the state's population. In the North where the gold was, Anglo-Americans supplanted the Californios, taking over the political affairs and seizing ranchos through legal and illegal means. In the South, however, historians have discerned a different pattern of events.43

Although the gold rush attracted thousands of immigrants to California, relatively few settled in the South, leaving the Californios and their ranchos unmolested. Rather than facing a threat to their ranchos, Californios in the South experienced a bonanza from the cattle trade. The throngs of immigrants
arriving in the territory increased the demand for beef, and cattle prices soared. Before the gold rush Californios had sold cattle hides and tallow for a few dollars. By 1850, however, the price of cattle exceeded fifty dollars a head. Nevertheless, the enormous profits from the cattle trade led to the downfall of the Californios, according to some historians of the era. They have suggested that quick and easy wealth made the Californios extravagant and improvident.44 Leonard Pitt put the matter squarely:

More than any other factor, the Californio's spendthrift tendency, encouraged by windfall profits in the early cattle trade, put him in financial hot water and caused him to part with more land than he wished.

. . . Most rancheros simply spent cash prodigiously and mortgaged their future profits at usurious rates, in baseless expectation of a continuing boom in cattle. Recognition of deep economic trouble came in 1855, when out-of-state growers introduced new herds and toppled the established prices, but by then it was often too late for the rancheros to make amends, even if they cared to do so.45

Because of San Diego's peculiar circumstances, the boom in cattle prices brought only a few Californios very limited profits; rancheros in San Diego County had little with which to be improvident.

Along with improvidence, economic backwardness has also been suggested by historians to explain the demise of the Californios. This collateral argument asserts that the pastoral economy of Mexican California left the rancheros unprepared to cope with the Anglo-American free enterprise system. Californios lacked the initiative and drive to succeed in a capitalistic economy. But rather than being bewildered by free enterprise, Californios in San Diego during this early period seemed eager to take advantage of opportunities in their community. They participated in ventures to develop economic resources in the back country and the city in attempts to improve their economic condition.46

In the back country, most of the forty or more ranchos were vacant in 1846 because of war with the Americans and renewed Indian unrest. Hostilities between the Indians and rancheros continued through May 1848, by which time many of the Californios had departed for the gold fields. In 1849, however, San Diego began to undergo startling changes. The arrival of the boundary commission to establish a new border between the United States and Mexico and the presence of an increasing number of immigrants contributed to these developments. The Daily Alta California reported that:
this port has taken quite a start, and is now rapidly growing. Quite a number of Americans have gone down there recently and established themselves in business for the winter. A number of frame houses are in the process of erection and many others are being shipped from this port [San Francisco]. The town is represented to us as being quite a bustling, lively, little place.47

Encouraged by San Diego's new prosperity, a group of men, including both Anglo-Americans and Californios, initiated efforts to relocate the town closer to the harbor. They believed San Diego would become a major commercial center because she had the best harbor south of San Francisco. It was deep, had a good entrance, and provided ample protection for ships. Up to this time, ships landed on the northwest side of the harbor at La Playa, where several hide houses stood, then passengers traveled by wagons to town. On March 16, 1850, William Heath Davis, José Antonio Aguirre, Miguel de Pedrorena, William C. Ferrell, Andrew B. Grey, and Thomas D. Johns formed a partnership and bought 160 acres for $2,304 near Punto de los Muertos, the foot of Market Street in downtown San Diego. These men recognized the necessity of moving the town closer to the harbor so ships could load and unload more easily. Soon a second group of men purchased land from the city between the two town sites hoping to make their site the new location of the town. On May 27, 1850, Oliver S. Witherby, William H. Emory, Cave J. Couts, Thomas W. Sutherland, Agostin Haraszthy, Juan Bandini, José M. Estudillo, Charles P. Noell, and Henry Clayton purchased 687 acres for $3,187. San Diegans called the original townsite Old Town, the site purchased by Davis and others New Town, and the site between the two Middletown.48

Along with efforts to relocate the town, Anglos and Californios also speculated in city lands, opened numerous businesses, and constructed new buildings. Many speculators believed the land around the harbor would be quite valuable once the community began to develop. They purchased lots from the common council for twenty dollars in 1850, but paid as much as five hundred dollars for lots owned by others. Many of these speculators also recognized the opportunity to earn a good profit by serving the needs of immigrants passing through the town. Immigrants coming by ship or overland along the Gila River, as well as miners from Mexico, paused in San Diego before going on to the gold fields. Between 1849-1851 some Anglos and Californios opened several new hotels, retail stores, and saloons to meet the needs of these travelers. In all, more than fifteen businesses operated in Old Town, New Town, and La Playa; Middletown remained unoccupied.49

Business from these immigrants also caused a building boom in the community during these years. At New Town, William Heath Davis
constructed a wharf to accommodate the ships arriving in the harbor. He also built a general store and the Pantoja House, where he opened a billiard room and saloon. Two lots south of Davis's general store, Frank Ames and Eugene Pendleton built a structure to house their mercantile business. On the south side of New Town's plaza, J. Van Ness, Levi Slack, and E. W. Morse erected the Boston House and opened a general store and restaurant. The United States Army built a corral and barracks at this townsite after receiving land from its promoters. In Old Town, Juan Bandini constructed the Gila House, a two story structure, where he operated an inn and general store. This also seems to be the period when three hotels were constructed at La Playa: the Ocean House, New Orleans, and Playa House.50

By February 1851 San Diego's economy began to decline when gold was discovered 120 miles south in Baja California, and the flow of immigrants into the community subsided. In September George Hooper wrote to William Heath Davis that "with respect to the Pantoja House, everything goes on very quietly -- indeed too quietly, for there is no business doing here or anywhere."51 Efforts to relocate the city at New Town foundered because of this lack of business, opposition from Old Town residents, and the lack of water and fuel. By 1853 most of the community's residents lived in Old Town or La Playa with New Town nearly abandoned.52

Despite the languishing economy, some Anglos continued to speculate in city lots, still paying as much as five hundred dollars for a lot. The federal government wanted to build a transcontinental railroad, and these Anglos hoped San Diego would be the West Coast terminus. Lieutenant George Derby, a noted humorist and author who resided in San Diego during this period, commented on this paradoxical situation. He said that:

...from present appearances one would be little disposed to imagine that the Playa in five or six years might become a city the size of Louisville, with brick buildings, paved streets, gas lights, theaters, gambling houses, and so forth. It is not at all improbable, however, should the great Pacific Railroad terminate at San Diego....53

With merchants continuing their dominance of business affairs in the community, several unsuccessful enterprises and schemes were tried in order to revive the economy. The most significant undertaking, between 1852-1856, was the organization of the San Diego Gila, Southern Pacific, and Atlantic Railroad Company. In 1854 San Diegans formed their own company to construct a railroad to Yuma and join the transcontinental railroad that they thought would be built on a southern route. These plans never succeeded because the United States Congress could not decide on a route. Eventually the Civil War ended San Diego's chances for being the terminus of the
transcontinental railroad. San Diegans formed another company in 1855 to mine coal deposits on Point Loma. These deposits, however, showed little profit. During this period some residents also contemplated building a road to San Bernardino, hoping to stimulate trade between San Diego and the Mormons in Utah. These plans never got beyond the discussion and planning stages. Trade with lower California also raised the hopes of the town merchants, but it lasted only a short time. In 1853 Louis Rose opened a tannery which employed about twenty workers. This venture proved profitable for Mr. Rose, but had a negligible effect on the community's economy. By 1855 some whaling ships from the Pacific fleet began to stop and buy supplies in San Diego. The community's economy, however, did not benefit substantially from whaling till about 1859.

All these different enterprises, then, failed to revive the community's economy. Many of San Diego's Anglo and California businessmen experienced financial losses and hardships within a few years. Once the economy began to falter in 1851, William Heath Davis encountered one financial reversal after another, and at one point some of his property was sold for delinquent taxes. Juan Bandini needed the assistance of his son-in-law to pay loans he had contracted to finance his various enterprises. Delinquent tax lists for 1854 and 1855 indicate that other businessmen, such as William C. Ferrell, Andrew B. Grey, and Henry Clayton, also incurred financial difficulties. With the onset of this business slump, farmers and ranchers became the principal customers of Anglo and Californio merchants and the main support of the economy. During the decade 1846 to 1856, ranching showed meager profits and farming remained unprofitable.

At the beginning of American rule forty-five Mexican land grants existed in the San Diego area; Californios possessed forty ranchos, Anglos four, and Indians two. These ranchos varied in size from a few acres to several thousand. In the early 1850s, after the Anglo population began to expand, most owners retained control of their ranchos or sold them through their own volition. Pedro Carrillo sold Peninsula de San Diego Rancho to Capt. Bezer Simmons for $1,000 in 1849. Abel Stearns purchased the Guajome Rancho for $550 from its Indian owners, and later gave it to his brother-in-law, Cave J. Couts, as a wedding gift.

Only one incident has been recorded which a Californio's rancho changed owners through other than legal means in San Diego in the 1850s. Sometime during 1850 or 1851 Juan Forster, agent in charge of Rancho Santa Clara de Jamacha, allowed Captain John Magruder to use the ranch for grazing horses belonging to the United States cavalry detachment stationed in the community. About nine years later Magruder visited Apolinaria Lorenzana, the owner of the rancho, in San Juan Capistrano, hoping to buy the property.
According to her recollection, she refused to sell or rent it to Magruder since she had never received any remuneration from him for his previous use of the property. After an angry exchange Magruder returned to San Diego and seized the property. Miss Lorenzana claimed that she never received any payment for her property and after being intimidated by Magruder never pressed her claim.58

Since Californios did not own all the usable land in the San Diego area, the problem of squatters never reached as serious proportions as it did in northern California. Anglo settlers moving into the community found land they could farm. Yet, contrary to what some historians have believed, squatting was widely practiced in the county. As early as September 1850 the common council found it necessary to pass an ordinance forbidding squatters from settling on city property. Indian agents in the county reported that Moses Manasse and others, sometime between 1847 and 1852, had moved into the San Pascual Valley and settled on Indian lands. Once the prosperity of the town declined after 1852 more settlers ventured into the surrounding country to take up ranching and farming. In 1853 Daniel Cline and William Moody settled in the Temecula Valley which was then a part of San Diego County. That same year the San Diego Herald reported that several individuals left town with plans to proceed to San Luis Rey to squat in that valley.59

By 1856 squatting had become quite common, especially on land belonging to Indians. Panto, "captain" of the San Pascual Indians, demanded that the government protect the Indians from squatters. One Indian agent published advertisements in newspapers warning squatters to stay off Indian lands. Explaining this action to his superiors, he wrote that:

. . . my reasons for advertising in English and Spanish was [sic] . . . at the date of my advertisement a great mania seized upon the people for acquiring lands . . . these squatting operations were creating great excitement. . . . The object of my publication was to show and maintain the rights of the Indians to their lands and as far as possible to prevent collision between them and the squatters.60

Although squatting was widely practiced in San Diego, squatters were few in number because of the county's small population. Nevertheless, squatters did constitute a large percentage of the county's farming and ranching community. A comparison of statistics found in the United States National Census for 1860 and the county tax records reveals how widespread this practice was. Aside from the Mexican land grants and city property, the National Census for 1860 lists seventy-six persons with property. Of this seventy-six, thirty-six appear on the tax assessor's rolls for that same year, but only two paid taxes on the property that census records show they occupied. In other words, over
half the ranchers and farmers in the community, including Anglos and Californios, resided on land they did not own.61

The large land holdings of the Californios and the boom in the cattle trade have caused many historians to believe that the Californios throughout southern California were quite wealthy. The flood of immigrants arriving in California after 1848 sent cattle prices skyrocketing as the demand for beef increased. Cattle that once brought only a few dollars, by early 1849 were worth fifty dollars a head and for awhile sold as high as five hundred dollars a head in some mining camps. For seven prosperous years, southern California ranchers drove their herds along the coast or through the San Joaquin Valley to the markets in northern California. During these years rancheros took between twenty-five and thirty thousand cattle annually out of Los Angeles alone to the northern markets. By 1855 the demand for southern California cattle began to decrease as a growing number of sheep from New Mexico and cattle from the Mississippi and Missouri valleys reached the California market. In 1848 California had only about twenty thousand sheep and three hundred thousand cattle, but by 1860 the state possessed one million sheep and three million cattle. As the market became more glutted, prices declined to about five or six dollars a head.62

Although some Californios reaped handsome profits from this cattle trade, in San Diego the decimation of the herds following the secularization of the missions in 1834 had left the Californios only a few thousand head of cattle. While rancheros in Los Angeles sold over 25,000 head of cattle a year during the boom, in San Diego cattle sales probably did not exceed 2,500 a year. The first assessment list for San Diego shows twenty-four persons owning 5,552 head of cattle in the county. Twenty of these twenty-four cattle owners were Californios, with 4,846 head of cattle. Four were Anglos with 697 head of cattle, or about 13 percent of the cattle in the county. Eight Californios out of twenty owned 3,870 head of cattle, about 79 percent of the cattle belonging to the Californios. In short, the small number of cattle in the county belonged to a few ranchers who derived profits from the cattle boom. Out of forty-five persons with land grants only fifteen rancheros, or less than 30 percent, owned cattle in 1850.63

Where twenty-four persons owned cattle in 1850, the California State Census of 1852 indicated only twenty individuals owning a total of 5,208 head of cattle in San Diego. The census showed that 252 head of cattle belonged to two Indians and seven Anglos possessed 458 head of cattle. or not quite 9 percent. Among the eleven California cattlemen, four of them owned about 87 percent of all cattle belonging to Californios. Out of all twenty cattlemen in 1852, only six owned land grants. The state census, then reveals the same type of trends that the first assessment list did. Within San Diego County a small
group of persons owned the few thousand head of cattle in the area. Despite the high prices at the markets in San Francisco and Stockton, the Californios did not have the cattle to reap large profits that some historians believed they did.64

San Diego continued throughout this period to have only a few thousand head of cattle on its ranges. The Surveyor General's Report for 1855 shows only 8,100 head of cattle in the county. His report of 1856, however, indicates a dramatic increase, to about 18,000 head. This was probably not local cattle entirely. Judson Ames, editor of the Herald, explained that rancheros from Los Angeles were bringing their cattle down the coast because of ample grazing land in the county. Obviously, the fact that there was available grazing land in the area would indicate San Diego rancheros did not need all the grazing land available.65

Before and after the cattle market declined, some early Anglo residents recalled that Californios in San Diego neglected the agricultural potential of their ranchos. E. W. Morse, a prominent Anglo in Community affairs, claimed that the county had "literally no agriculture" in 1850. He said that most people believed the area was unsuitable for farming.66 The San Diego correspondent to the Alta California noted in 1853 that a segment of the population opposed farming because it had never been done before and they were convinced it would never succeed. The county surveyor commented in 1856 that farming was neglected because of laziness among county residents.67

Contrary to what contemporaries stated, ample evidence exists which reveals that Californios and Anglos did pursue farming during this period. During the American conquest of San Diego John C. Frémont observed that "among the arid, brush-covered hills south of San Diego we found little valleys converted by a single spring into crowded gardens, where pears, peaches, quinces, pomegranates, grapes, olives and other fruits grew luxuriantly together...."68 The agricultural statistics in the National Census of 1850 reveal that several individuals were actively engaged in farming. José Antonio Estudillo had 158 acres of improved land and 1,475 bushels of wheat, 165 bushels of Indian corn, and 1,650 bushels of barley. Santiago E. Argüello's farm included 100 acres of improved land with 275 bushels of wheat, 180 bushels of Indian corn, 13 bushels of peas and beans, and $200 worth of garden produce. Finally, the California surveyor general's report concerning agricultural statistics for 1856 indicated that over 17,000 bushels of wheat, barley, corn, potatoes, beans, peas, and sweet potatoes were produced in San Diego during that year.69

What most of the early critics of San Diego farmers were probably lamenting, however, was not the absence of agriculture but the failure to produce enough
to meet San Diego's needs. For the most part, between 1846 and 1856 San Diego farmers failed to produce what the community required. Editor Ames declared in 1855 that it was "a disgrace to the people of this county that we are obliged to send to San Francisco for everything we eat except fresh beef and garlic."70 Most of the Californios and Anglos who possessed land seem to have practiced subsistence farming or engaged in farming without the assistance of other workers. The small quantity of farm implements and the few acres under cultivation, as revealed by tax and census records, indicated that most Californios and Anglos with land carried on farming on a small scale.71 They continued to farm on a small scale because they encountered problems and circumstances which hampered their efforts to develop agriculture, as well as the livestock industry.

One problem San Diego settlers faced rose from the geographical location of the county in relation to major centers of population in the state. The thousands of immigrants settling in California after 1848 created a demand for both beef and farm products, but the demand existed in the northern part of the state, more than five hundred miles from San Diego. The only means that San Diegans had of getting their goods to these markets was to ship them or send them overland. In 1856 the county assessor, realizing the effect of this problem on farmers, commented that "the distance of the county from the principal markets, [has] had a tendency to retard agricultural pursuits, and much land that might be advantageously cultivated, is now left for the free use of stock."72

Cattle owners drove their livestock overland to northern markets facing many hazards and dangers. Inclement weather, inefficient herdsmen, stampedes, great gels of mustard seed where animals were lost, and the lack of grass were some of the problems encountered on trail drives north. On one such arduous trip in 1853, John Forster suffered severe losses, and many of his cattle perished. Thieves and cattle rustlers presented another problem for cattle owners taking their livestock north. In 1852 Cave J. Couts reported to his brother-in-law, Abel Stearns, that he outwitted the thieves in Santa Clara, but some other San Diegans were not as fortunate. Couts reported that "they got about 100 head of Forsters, 50 from José Antonio Argüello, 70 of Machados, all of Castros and others in proportion."73

Besides their distance from the major markets, a gold rush inflated economy also hindered development of livestock and farming resources in the community. With thousands of immigrants arriving in California, prices soared as goods became more scarce. In May 1852 the Herald informed its readers that only a few members of the boundary commission were returning, "their salaries being absolutely too small to support them in the necessary expenses they are obliged to incur, at the exhorbitantly [sic] high prices of
California, ..." 74 In San Diego prices exceeded those of San Francisco, the main commercial center, since merchants had to pay for shipping their merchandise down the coast. Editor Ames calculated that San Diegans paid between eight to ten thousand dollars a year in freight cost. These high prices made it impossible for farmers to produce their crops cheaply enough to earn a good profit. With labor, shipping, and other necessary expenses, commercial agriculture remained unprofitable during this period. 75

High interest rates deterred many residents from securing a loan or mortgage to invest in agriculture. Throughout California during this era, a person had to pay usurious rates to borrow money. To finance some of his various ventures, Juan Bandini borrowed ten thousand dollars from a French gambler at 4 percent interest a month compounded. Bandini eventually needed the assistance of his son-in-law to pay this debt. Interest rates such as this "...proved an enormous handicap to the state's prosperity and economic development; . . . In southern California, especially, a complete dearth of capital caused general economic stagnation." 76

Years of sparse rainfall constituted another serious problem confronting farmers and ranchers in San Diego between 1846 and 1856. Among the hills in the surrounding countryside, Californios and Anglos settled in valleys with streams passing through so they would have water to irrigate their crops. Over the rolling hills their cattle grazed on grass produced annually by the rains. Usually by the end of summer, these streams were dry and the grass supply exhausted. The ranchers and farmers depended each year on the rainfall to refurnish their water supply and produce more grass; several times during this period the rainfall was insufficient for their needs. Meteorologists who have studied rainfall patterns in southern California between 1850 and 1880 have noted that the facts "indicate a preponderance of dry years, with the result that the water supply of the period as a whole was undoubtedly considerably below normal." 77

Rainfall statistics available for seven years between 1846-1856 show San Diego received less than ten inches in four of these years. In 1851 the Alta California reported "that the scarcity of water and feed of the present season [in southern California] has not been equalled in the last twenty-two years." 78 The sparse rainfall during the winter of 1856-57 resulted in even greater hardships for county residents. In the spring of 1857 the Herald reported that:

Not one solitary blade of barley, wheat or other cereal is left. Every blade of grass this side of San Bernardino is parched up and withered, and our rancheros are selling off their cattle at any price that is offered. But for the money realized from the sale of stock, which will enable our farmers to purchase from abroad what, under other circumstances, they would produce at
home, two-thirds of the rancheros in the county would be obliged to abandon
their farms and seek a home in some more favored part of the State. What few
cattle are left remaining here will have to be driven back into the mountains,
where there is grass, and it will be a miracle if any escape the starving
Indians....79

Besides disadvantages created by their geographical location and problems
caused by weather conditions and inflation, the lack of law and order
throughout the entire region added further troubles to the precarious condition
of county ranchers and farmers. During the American conquest of California,
United States officials promised the inhabitants of the territory protection and
security for their lives and property. Following the conquest in June 1847
citizens of San Diego petitioned the commander of the Southern Military
District to have a force remain in the community. They informed the
commander that renewed Indian attacks had forced the evacuation of local
ranchos, and they expressed fear of an Indian attack on the town if the military
was withdrawn.80 Although a military force remained in the community, it
provided little assistance to the rancheros. In a letter recommending the
organization of a local militia, an officer informed the military governor:

. . . that almost daily places of deposit for cattle heads and other evidences of
indian depredations upon cattle are found by the people of the country
between here [Los Angeles] and San Diego and for some 70 miles below and
'tis impossible to prevent it unless either the Alcaldes or myself are permitted
to authorize the people of the country to unite for the protection of their
property, a measure which in itself appears to me just especially as we cannot
afford them the protection our government have [sic] promised.81

Further Indian resistance occurred in 1851 under the leadership of Antonio
Garra, who planned to expel the Americans. The outbreak of violence started
with an attack on the Warner Rancho in Agua Caliente and the killing of four
persons. With renewed hostilities, most of the rancheros again evacuated their
lands and sought safety in town until the uprising was quelled.82

Rancheros also had to contend constantly with attacks from Indians who
poached on the ranch herds. The Los Angeles Star reported in March 1851
that Paiutes stole several hundred head of horses from area ranchos including
Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores. Again in March and November of 1853
a group of Utah Indians raided several ranchos and stole several hundred head
of livestock. At times circumstances beyond their control forced some Indians
to steal livestock. In San Diego County Indians who did not work for whites
supported themselves by growing their own food. During years of insufficient
rainfall, however, Indians seized the rancheros' cattle to keep from starving.83
Although ranchers and farmers suffered severely from Indian thefts and attacks, historian Robert Glass Cleland suggested that bandits and other outlaws posed an even more serious problem. Numerous accounts of thefts and robberies throughout this period exist and a few demonstrate the effect they had on agriculture and the livestock industry. In 1852, the Alta California reported that:

Several different communications from Los Angeles have been received at San Diego, warning the citizens against a band of robbers who have left that vicinity for Lower California, and now said to be at Temecula. It has caused no little solicitude among the rancheros. They have brought their families into town, run their horses etc., into some private and secluded gorge of the mountains not easily to be found by the robbers, and fear themselves to return to their ranches. Those of them disposed to plant have lost the season entirely, by such stampedes. It appears that the place cannot rest in peace and quietude for a month at a time. These fears, which are too true and well-founded, not to be heeded, have seriously injured the agricultural portion of the community this season.

Through 1856 lawlessness in the county continued unabated. In that year Cave J. Couts wrote to his brother-in-law that "the like in stealing as goes on at present we hardly ever knew of." Couts further stated that he was forced to kill his cattle to prevent thieves from getting them.

Circumstances of their locality did not cause all the economic problems of the Californios. Laws affecting their property adopted by the new American government produced additional hardships for them. Concepts of land ownership and uncertainty concerning some land titles led to the passage of laws which brought distressing financial demands on their ranchos. Anglos settling in California after 1848 came with their own concept of land ownership, which collided with those of the Californios. These Anglos believed they had a right to settle on public land, build a farm, and, after making a number of improvements, buy the land for a moderate price. They thought that the individual's right to own land was an essential ingredient for a democratic society. An article in the Alta California expressed this belief quite explicitly:

For trade to flourish, for wealth to increase, for the establishing of good morals, and a virtuous and solid population, it is essential that the lands should be owned in small parcels by their cultivators. The very essence of Republicanism lies in this fact. A population that would properly exercise the right of suffrage must be free, and it cannot be free so long as the lands are held by great landholders, who rent them to their tenants, over whom they
exercise an undue influence. It is against the very genius of our institutions that the lands be thus monopolized.88

Between thirteen and fourteen million acres belonged to grantees of Mexican ranchos in California. Under the former Mexican government, a person could receive as much as 48,818 acres provided he occupy the land, build a house on it, and raise cattle. During the Mexican period, officials employed very informal procedures for granting land which led to confusion after the Americans took over. When granting land, officials sometimes used objects of the natural terrain to mark boundaries and after a few years the tree, stream, or rock might disappear. Along with uncertainty about boundaries, many of the grantees were not careful about preserving legal papers that proved their ownership. Also, officials neglected to follow procedures established by law for approving land grants.89

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, ending the war between the United States and Mexico, guaranteed the inhabitants of California the right to their land. To clear up the confusion surrounding Mexican land grants, however, the Congress passed the Land Act of 1851, requiring the grantees to present evidence proving their ownership to a three member board of land commissioners. This act also allowed the federal government and the petitioners to appeal the Land Commission's decisions to the District Court, and from there to the Supreme Court. Historians have generally condemned this act because it placed the responsibility on the landowners to prove their ownership at considerable cost to themselves. William Heath Davis asserted that José Joaquin Estudillo paid over two hundred thousand dollars in litigation fees for Rancho San Leandro.90

Between 1852 and 1856 more than forty-five claimants in San Diego and other claimants throughout California presented their cases to the Land Commission. Paul Gates, one of the few historians to defend the land act, admitted that this lengthy legal procedure proved expensive for the Californios. Gates stated that lawyers' fees for presenting a claim before the Land Commission ranged from fifty dollars for small tracts to more than seventeen hundred dollars for larger grants.91 Gates, however, did not discuss other expenses incurred by claimants while presenting their case before the Land Commission. Since most of the hearings were held in San Francisco, claimants had to pay to send witnesses and documents to substantiate their claim. One group of landowners claimed:

. . . that if the Government of the United States required them to proceed to San Francisco to have their claims settled, it would diminish the value of their lands at least one-third, and it would necessarily result that many just but ancient claims would be lost, owing to the impossibility of carrying all the
witnesses there, and the impracticability of supplying the defect by taking testimony by deposition.92

For one of the few sessions held in Los Angeles, the San Diego Board of Trustees paid $1032.47 in lawyer's fees and for arrangements for a witness to appear. The latter expense exceeded the lawyer's fees by more than 300 percent; the lawyer's fees amounted to $250.00 and other necessary expenses totaled $782.47.93 If the rancheros experienced similar expenses, many of their ranchos would indeed depreciate by one-third.

Along with expenses arising out of land grant litigation, the state government initiated a property tax in 1850 which placed further financial demands on property owners. The law obligated property owners to pay state, county, poll, and other taxes for special purposes. In 1850 on every hundred dollars worth of property, San Diegans paid fifty cents to the state, twenty-five cents to the county, and twenty-five cents for a new county court house. They also had to pay eight dollars in poll taxes to the state and county. Between 1850 and 1856 these tax rates increased twice. In 1854 on every hundred dollars of property, county residents paid sixty cents to the state and fifty-five cents to the county. The following year they paid $1.50 for every hundred dollars of property: sixty cents to the state, fifty cents to the county, a five cent school tax, and thirty-five cents special funding tax.94

Since state laws exempted much of the northern mining industry, the brunt of the property tax fell on the large property owners of southern California who were primarily Californios. Most of the state's population resided in the North and worked in the mines or in related occupations. Their representatives dominated state government and attempted to use taxation to break up the large land holdings.95 Southern representatives, being powerless to modify state tax laws, sought to have the state divided, making southern California the "Territory of the Colorado." At a convention of delegates from southern California in Monterey in 1851, a resolution was approved stating that "the counties of the South do not feel able to support the expense of a State Government and are desirous of becoming a 'Territory,' to escape onerous taxation to which they are now subject."96 In 1853 a State Senate Committee investigating these grievances claimed that large landowners desired light taxation "to retain their enormous possession to the detriment of progress and improvement."97

Not only did the large landowners and Californios suffer the brunt of the property tax, but maladministration appears to have been added to their plight. Judge Benjamin Hayes noted that:
. . . under the change of governments, the Californians have many cases of complaint. If the matter were examined into, it would doubtless be found that they could also make just and grievous accusations against their old system. Be this as it may, for half burthens they have borne and half the losses they have sustained from defective government of maladministration, since the year 1850.

He went on to cite the example of Juan Forster, owner of the San Felipe and Nación ranchos, as being taxed twice for the same property in 1856. Both Los Angeles and San Diego counties were taxing him for the cattle he owned because during the year the animals had been in both counties.98

Tax records indicate other areas of questionable action. There are reports of some city lots selling for as much as five hundred dollars during speculation booms, but tax records show most lots were valued below one hundred dollars. During the land boom of 1888, tax records reflect the inflated prices. On the other hand, while Californios did not have clear title to their land, they were required to pay taxes on the property. The assessments of their property seemed to fluctuate from one year to the next. In 1854 officials assessed the Agua Hedionda Rancho at $2,000 for 17,020 acres; the next year the ranch was worth $1,200 more when it had 3,820 acres less. Again, in 1854 José Aguirre's rancho was assessed at $15,000 for 85,000 acres; the following year the ranch was worth $400 more when it had 23,400 acres less. Aguirre never received the patent to this ranch.99

While Californios were being assessed for their ranchos, most squatters were not being assessed for the land they used. Tax records of Moses Manasse, Daniel Cline, and William Moody show no assessment for real estate. In 1856, however, Lorenzo Soto, listed as squatting in San Pascual after 1848, was assessed three hundred dollars for improvements he made in the valley. Obviously, the manner of assessing property was less than equitable.100

Throughout the period 1846 to 1856 it was evident that San Diego residents continued to experience economic hardships and the Californios in the community met additional financial demands placed on them by the new government. Once the boom from the immigrants subsided, the town never recovered its prosperity as farmers and ranchers again constituted the main part of the economy. The small number of cattle, distance from the major markets, years of sparse rainfall, low prices for agricultural products, and inflationary economy, land litigation, and taxes combined to keep farmers and ranchers in straitened circumstances. Difficulties the Californios experienced stemmed from their situation and from policies initiated by the new government, not from improvidence or bewilderment with the new capitalistic system. Their adverse circumstances and government policies set the stage for
the eventual loss of their ranchos. Finally, the promises and predictions of conquering Americans never came to pass. The guarantees of protection and security were never kept, and the prosperity predicted by American officials never occurred.

CALIFORNIOS AS POWERLESS POLITICOS 
1846-1856

After the United States conquest of California in 1846 and the establishment of state government four years later, Anglo-Americans seized control of the state's political affairs, leaving the Spanish-speaking Californians without political influence. Leonard Pitt wrote that the exclusion of Californios from public office and the loss of political influence was especially acute in northern California with the arrival of thousands of Anglos, after the discovery of gold in 1848. On the other hand, in southern California, Pitt argued that Californios continued to win elections to local offices and managed to receive some of the spoils of office. Since fewer Anglos settled in this part of the state, Californios remained a viable political force during the formative years of state and local government, 1850-1856. The evidence Pitt used to support his arguments about southern California came from Los Angeles and Santa Barbara.101 Available records regarding San Diego County, however, show that Californios there experienced less success than in Santa Barbara or Los Angeles.

During the ten year period 1846 to 1856 San Diego underwent several changes in the organization of local government. Following the cessation of armed resistance to the American conquest, the United States Army governed California until the National Congress decided the territory's status in 1850. Those laws which did not conflict with or were not specifically prohibited by United States' laws remained in force. Californios in San Diego and throughout the territory were allowed to keep their alcalde form of local government. With the organization of state government in 1850, the boundaries of the county were established and the city received a charter. Included in the boundaries of San Diego County were the present-day counties of San Bernardino, Riverside, Imperial, San Diego, and part of Inyo. The state legislature redrew boundary lines in 1851 giving a northern portion of the county to Los Angeles County. The Courts of Session looked after county business until the election of a Board of Supervisors in 1853. The new city charter called for the election of a mayor, city attorney, a five member city council, and several other officials to manage city affairs. Two years later, however, the exhaustion of city funds caused the state legislature to revoke the charter and set up a Board of Trustees to attend to city business.102
Following the conquest and during most of the military government period, Californios retained their political control of the community. With the arrival of the Americans in July 1846 most Californios refused to serve in public office; so Henry Delano Fitch, an American living in the community, was appointed alcalde. Because of pressing business matters, Fitch resigned in May 1847 and the military governor appointed Juan Bandini to take his place. In October 1848 bad health forced Bandini to resign and Juan Maria Marron, one of those who opposed the American conquest, won election as alcalde. By the end of 1849 the large number of immigrants in the community began to displace the Californios as the dominant political force. Poll lists show Anglo-Americans outnumbering the Californios by more than two to one.103

Once the new state government began to function after 1850, Anglo-Americans' control of civic affairs was never threatened. Out of more than 154 political offices available during the next six years, Californios held only eight positions. On April 1, 1850, the first county elections took place with Californios winning two of the eleven offices. San Diegans chose José Antonio Estudillo as their assessor and Juan Bandini as their treasurer. Bandini, however, never served in office; why he did not remains uncertain. One historian wrote that Bandini failed to qualify for office and another historian said that he refused to accept the office. Bandini's name appears on the poll list of the first precinct as having voted in the county elections of 1850. Under the new California Constitution, anyone who was eligible to vote was qualified to hold public office. In the city election held in June of that same year, Estudillo and Bandini again won election to once. With ten positions available, the citizenry elected Estudillo as treasurer and Bandini as assessor. Again Bandini failed to serve, but this time all the evidence indicated that he refused the job.104

The reason for Bandini's refusal remains uncertain. His personal affairs might have prevented him from accepting added responsibilities. He owned a large rancho near present-day Tijuana which might have required his close supervision. Bandini might also have thought it futile to serve in city and county governments that Anglos completely dominated. Other Californios throughout the state reached this conclusion, since Anglos managed to control different issues and exclude the Californian from the decision-making process.105

Californios did not serve in public office in San Diego during 1851, but in the following year they won election to four offices. José A. Estudillo served as both city and county treasurer, Francisco Alvarado as coroner, and Santiago Argüello as county assessor. In the elections between 1853 and 1855 one of José A. Estudillo's sons, either José María or José Guadalupe, tried twice to win election to office. In the 1853 election one of the Estudillo brothers
sought to succeed his father in the county treasurer's office, but received only five votes out of 163. During the 1855 political campaigns one of the Estudillos tried to become the new superintendent of the schools, but again finished last, receiving nineteen votes out of 123. Little evidence remains concerning office seekers in 1856, and no Californios won election to public office.106

Thus, it appears that between 1850 and 1856 Californios did not seek political office, although ample opportunity appears to have been available since most of these elections suffered from a shortage of candidates. During this six-year period many candidates ran unopposed for office and some ran for more than one office at the same time. In the 1853 elections, for example, J. W. Robinson ran unopposed for district attorney and L. Stratiss won the post of coroner without opposition. Those running for sheriff, county judge, county surveyor, and coroner in 1854 all ran without opponents. P. H. Hoff campaigned for both justice of the peace and county judge in the 1853 elections, while G. P. Tebbets sought the offices of county judge and constable. In the following year William C. Ferrell sought election as the county's assemblyman and as a school commissioner. During the same election in the San Luis Rey Township, Cave J. Couts and a man named Cline both campaigned for positions of justice of the peace and school commissioner. In 1856 James Nichols won election as justice of the peace and county supervisor.107

Anglos monopolized county and city offices while Californios, for reasons yet unclear, never exploited this shortage of candidates to their own advantage. Failure to serve in more public offices, however, probably did not stem from a spirit of apathy. During this period a number of public meetings were held in San Diego to deal with community problems and Californios took an active part in these events.

In the 1850s, for example, southern Californians tried to separate themselves from northern California and establish a territorial government. Southerners resented the political domination of the northerners in state affairs and the property tax, which forced them to pay more taxes, since lands in the South still remained in large tracts. In seeking separation San Diegans held public meetings and formed several committees, which included some Californios as members. On August 28, 1851, the Herald cited the following Californios as being active in the territorial cause: José Estudillo, Joaquín Ortega, Juan Bandini, Juan Marron, and José Antonio Aguilla. Those who attended a public meeting on August 30 appointed a correspondence committee, with Joaquín Ortega and Pedro Carrillo as members, to petition Congress for territorial government.108
Besides being involved in efforts to divide the state, Californios also participated in attempts to build a road from San Diego to San Bernardino to develop trade with the Utah Territory. William C. Ferrell argued at a public meeting, held in April 1854, that San Diego possessed a fine harbor and with a good wagon road settlers in Utah would buy and trade their goods in this city rather than send their goods eastward by land. Most of the people attending this meeting agreed and a committee was established to study the feasibility of the proposal. The committee consisted of seven members: J. W. Robinson, E. W. Morse, O. S. Witherby, Lewis Rose, M. Jacobs, M. A. Franklin, and Juan Bandini. When a company was created to build this road Bandini became its treasurer.

Even though Californios did not hold public office, these examples show that they did participate actively in public affairs when it was in their interest. Had the state become divided and the property tax lowered, a tremendous financial burden would have been taken off the Californios and their ranchos. Juan Bandini must have realized the potential benefits for San Diego and retail merchants such as himself in his efforts to build a road to San Bernardino.

Californios, then, were not apathetic about participation in community affairs, but their reluctance to run for public office between 1850 and 1856 is difficult to explain without examining it in a larger context.

The large number of Anglo immigrants who came to California after 1848 provides one explanation for the Californios' loss of political power. When news of the 1848 gold discovery became known many people throughout the Americas and other foreign countries began to migrate to California. By 1850 California's white population had reached one hundred thousand with the Californios making up only 8 percent.

During this period the population of San Diego more than tripled, despite its remoteness from the gold fields. In 1847 the military governor of California, William B. Mason, ordered a census taken in San Diego County. Captain D. C. Davis of the Mormon Volunteers carried out this order and reported a total of 248 white men, women, and children within the county. He set the total population of the county at 2,287 including whites, "tame" Indians, "wild" Indians, Sandwich Islanders, and Negroes. When the federal government took the national census in 1850 the white population of the county had nearly tripled to 735.

The 1847 census reveals very little information about the voting strength of Anglos and Californios. In the census Davis neglected to give a numerical breakdown of the two groups. From his figures there were possibly seventy eligible voters living in San Diego. With the national census a breakdown of eligible voters between Anglos and Californios can be determined. Out of a
In political terms the difference was more significant. The Californios had only seventy-eight eligible voters and the Anglos 266. Moreover, the figure for the number of Anglo voters is probably too low because the census fails to provide the ages of thirty-three soldiers stationed at San Diego. Out of the other fifty-eight soldiers listed on the census only one did not qualify to vote because of age. It would, therefore, seem reasonable to assume that most of these thirty-three men were over twenty-one and qualified to vote. Anglos, then, could marshal about 299 voters, four times as many as the Californios, even though they outnumbered the Californios by only 120.112

The explanation for this disparity lies, in part, in the nature of San Diego's Anglo population, which contained many soldiers and government employees. The United States government stationed ninety-one soldiers at the San Diego Mission in 1850, and the Quartermaster Department employed forty-two individuals in the city. Available evidence indicated that these soldiers could and did participate in community affairs and vote in local elections. Even without counting the soldiers, Anglos possessed almost three times as many eligible voters as the Californios. According to the census of 1850, Californios consisted of 78 men, 52 women, and 181 children, while 299 men, 39 women, and 86 children made up the Anglo population. Obviously, many of the Anglos coming to San Diego in the 1850s came without their wives and families. The fact that almost 75 percent of the Anglo population consisted of men over twenty-one years of age also accounts for the difference in the number of residents and voters between the two groups in the city.113 This analysis clearly shows the voting superiority of Anglos in San Diego in 1850 and provides one of the reasons why the Californios lost political power.

The social attitudes of Anglos and Californios also played a significant part in the Californios loss of political power in San Diego in the early 1850s. Racist ideas appear to have influenced most San Diegans. Articles in the Herald make this quite apparent. When people discussed racial matters, they referred to individuals of different nationalities as belonging to separate races. Whenever an article in the paper discussed a social event in the city, for example, the writer usually mentioned the different racial groups present. In one article the writer compared the conduct of Californios and Anglo women:

Suffice it to say, that the senoritas looked their prettiest and with their dangerous eyes shot bright glances clean through many a masculine waistcoat, while the American ladies present, appeared with that quiet grace and ease which belongs to their social character, . . . 114

Articles about crimes committed in the city usually commented on the nationality of the individuals who committed these acts, informing the reader
if the criminals were Mexicans, Indians, or Anglos. A typical article appeared in the Herald on August 6, 1853, and told the reader about a Mexican who had raped a little girl at Soledad. The listing of letters left in the post office, which appeared in the Herald periodically, also suggests the emphasis on racial characteristics. These lists always appeared with the different nationalities grouped under separate headings. In one list Anglos appeared in one group alphabetically, Californios in another, and Frenchmen in another. If people did not stress ethnic backgrounds so strongly, all of the letters would have been cited in one large list. They did, however, and their attitudes must have influenced their political behavior.

When Anglos considered the racial background of the Californios, they divided them in two distinct groups. They thought of the upper-class Californios as Spaniards who had maintained the purity of their race. John Russell Bartlett, head of the Second United States Boundary Commission, wrote from San Diego: "there remain many of the old Castillian families here, who have preserved their blood from all mixture with the Indians." Even so, most Anglos considered Spaniards inferior, known for cruelty and deceit. This was made evident in 1851 in events surrounding an Indian revolt in San Diego County. When Anglos apprehended the leader of this rebellion he implicated two upper-class Californios as his advisors, José Antonio Estudillo and Juan Ortega. Most of the citizens of San Diego dismissed these accusations, but on March 13, 1851, a letter appeared in the Herald commenting on them. The writer declared that he could "hardly believe the imputation cast upon these men, nor would [he] entertain it, but that it is possible they are illustrations of the refined and subtle [sic] treachery that has so long characterized the race from which they are descended." Another example of Anglos' belief in Spanish cruelty appeared in an article in the Herald in May 1855. The writer described a recent execution in Havana, emphasizing the enjoyment Spaniards took in the event and calling it a brutal murder.

Whereas Anglos believed upper-class Californios to be cruel and treacherous, they considered the lower-class Californios, whom they termed "greasers," even more inferior because they were of mixed blood. One early Anglo traveler described a "greaser" as exhibiting "much of the Indian character; the dull suspicious countenance, the small twinkling piercing eye, the laziness and filth of a free brute, using freedom as the mere means of animal enjoyment." Lt. Cave J. Couts, a prominent San Diego resident, declared that when you have met a "greaser," you have met a thief and a robber. Upperclass Californios even made this fallacious distinction, separating their class racially from the lower-class Californios, whom they termed cholos. Modern scholarship demonstrates that both classes had mixed blood and
suggests slight racial differences between upper- and lower-class Californios.120

The important point, however, is not the existence of this belief about upper-class racial purity, but its manifestations. One of the significant manifestations of class divisions among Californios occurred over the conflicts with the administration of justice. Many Californios believed that a dual system of justice existed, one for Anglos and a harsher one for Californios, Mexicans, and Indians. Yet, some upper-class Californios joined with Anglos and supported the Anglo system of justice. In San Diego, José M. Estudillo served as a member of the 1854 Grand Jury. The report of the jury talked about the problem of justice when the system had to deal with people of a lower order. The members of the jury, apparently including Estudillo, believed that the presence of Mexicans and Indians in San Diego made the enforcement of the law more difficult. One political repercussion of this division among Californios is the fact that Californios running for public office could not win a majority of even the Californios' votes. In the 1855 election, for example, poll lists show that Californios cast forty-one votes. One of the Estudillo brothers, running for school superintendent, won only nineteen votes, less than half of the Californios' votes.121

Besides racial attitudes, other feelings developed from a cultural conflict between Anglos and Californios which affected the political fortunes of the Californios. In 1854 and 1855 articles appeared in the Herald about the new American Party, popularly known as the Know-Nothings. Those who belonged to this party worried about the threat of the Catholic Church to the United States. They looked upon Catholic priests and bishops as instruments in a popish plot to gain control of the country. One article in the paper discussed this plot and suggested actions that could be taken to defend against it.

This Know-Nothing Movement will have one good effect, we think, in the Western States, where some denominations have attempted to interfere with, and get control of our public schools. By being prescribed and debarred from holding any office of honor, profit or trust, for a few years, they will learn to conduct themselves as republicans should, and keep Church and State as far asunder as possible.122

In the first half of the 1850s the Know-Nothing party gained little support at the polls in San Diego, but some Anglos agreed with their ideas about Catholicism. One writer believed that the growing Catholic population threatened America and declared that the Catholic world planned to gain control of the country. The author appealed to the patriotism of the readers to resist this threat.123 In another issue of the paper the editor condemned a
Catholic priest for interfering in local affairs because the priest told Catholics of the community not to participate in the St. John celebration of the Free Masons. The writer criticized the priest for stirring up discord among the people "who have long been taught to consider the Romish Church as the most corrupt and wicked institution ever organized since the creation of the world."124

Some contemporary observers in this period have revealed other explanations for Californios' loss of political power. John H. Richardson, in an interview in the San Diego Union on July 16, 1876, described the apparent lack of strict enforcement of residency requirements and election regulations. He recalled that when he arrived in San Diego in the summer of 1849, after traveling around Cape Horn, some men came out to the ship and asked the Anglo passengers if they would like to vote in the local elections. These men offered to take the passengers into town and if they did not want to do this, the men told them to write their choices down on paper and they would take their ballots to the polls.125

This incident demonstrates the importance of two points which allowed Anglos to dominate political affairs over the Californios. First, election regulations created by Anglos allowed other Anglos the privilege of voting and holding office after being in California for only a short period of time. In the election of 1849 the military governor of the state declared that every free male citizen of the United States and Upper California who was twenty-one years of age could vote, if they were residents of their electoral district.126 The lack of time qualifications with residency requirements enabled almost all Anglo adult males to vote. After the state constitution went into effect in 1850, these regulations changed making it necessary for voters to be residents of the state six months prior to any election and a resident in a voting district for thirty days before an election.

For the first city and county elections the state legislature declared that all persons eligible to vote were eligible to hold public office. Californios under these regulations became citizens and eligible to vote if they gave up their Mexican citizenship as required by the treaty signed by the United States and Mexico ending the war of 1846.127

All of these regulations enabled Anglos to quickly assert their dominance over California to the disadvantage of the Californios. Anglos coming to California in tremendous numbers during these years received the right to vote with little delay and also the right to hold public offices. On the other hand, Californios remained relatively fixed in the numerical size of their group after they became citizens of the United States, and the flood of Anglo immigrants eventually overwhelmed them. In time regulations governing voters and once
seekers became stiffer, but only after a large number of Anglos had lived in the state for five or six years. In the first half of 1855 the state legislature modified some of the laws pertaining to qualifications for office holding. The assembly and senate both approved an amendment to the state constitution requiring candidates for the legislature to be citizens of the state for two years and of their district one year prior to their candidacy.128

The shipboard episode described by Richardson also suggested that the operation of elections functioned under Anglo control. Little evidence remains about early election procedures in San Diego, especially since the city did not have a newspaper to cover them until 1851. Because Richardson and his traveling companions cast ballots in the election of 1849, it seems reasonable to conclude that Anglos took charge of the local elections and controlled the different precincts.

After 1851 the Herald reported information about local elections which included the names of judges and inspectors appointed to watch over the elections. Through an examination of these appointments the extent of Anglo control over these affairs becomes evident. In the 1853 election for city trustees, Judge Benjamin Hayes appointed E. M. Morse as inspector and Julian Ames and Albert B. Smith as judges. In this election San Diegans elected Morse as a trustee; evidently no one thought he would have a conflict of interest acting as an inspector while running for office. During the 1853 electoral activity Judge Hayes appointed two Californios to serve as judges for the precinct at San Luis Rey, Ramón Osuna and Jesús Machado. Anglos filled the remaining positions of judges and inspectors throughout the county. Of the five elections during this period in which records do exist, this is the only time Californios were given appointments. One practice, however, did repeat itself in 1853. William H. Moon served as an inspector for the precinct at New San Diego while running for the office of public administrator.129

In the 1854, 1855, and 1856 elections, Anglos filled all the positions of inspectors and judges in the different precincts. Again, individuals served as inspectors and judges while running for office. In the first election Cave J. Couts, the county judge, appointed J. S. McIntire as one of the judges at the Township of Agua Caliente while McIntire sought election as justice of the peace. Couts also appointed John S. Barkers a candidate for justice of the peace, as a Judge for the precinct at New San Diego. While Couts was making all of these appointments, he was running for offices of justice of the peace and school commissioner in the San Luis Rey Township. This pattern repeated itself in the 1855 election with Anglos filling all the positions as inspectors and judges. Julian Ames served as a Judge in New San Diego and also ran for superintendent of public instruction. In 1856 James Nichols acted as an
inspector at New San Diego, while winning election as justice of the peace and county supervisor.130

The way election judges and inspectors could influence an election is revealed in an editorial in the Herald by Judson Ames, calling for election reform.

The present slow-coach process of counting the votes, delays the knowledge of the result until the officers of the polls (who may be always honest, but are not invariably,) choose to declare it. In the meantime, as is the notorious practice in San Francisco, the wrong tickets may be stolen from the box, the right ones stuffed in, and any candidate made sure of his election.

The judges or inspectors of the election, who reads off the tickets, in the process of counting, may without detection, substitute in the reading, another name in the body of the tickets, for the one that is there, if he wishes to help out a friend of his, or a political candidate of his own faith.131

These charges leveled by Ames were not without some substance. After the new members of the Common Council took office in 1851, Charles Haraszthy, a member of the previous council, contested the election of Councilman J. Jordan. After prolonged debate, the council decided that Jordan should be removed from office because his election was invalid. The next year, some San Diegans sent formal protests to the state legislature contesting the election of their representative to that body. They charged that many people were allowed to vote who were not qualified.132

Besides voting procedures, contemporary observers also indicated language as a reason for the weakened political strength of Californios. George Derby, a lieutenant in the United States Army and a popular writer, described one of the elections and noted that an Anglo translator explained the ballot to the Californios who wished to vote. Judson Ames, editor of the Herald, commented on one occasion that the language barrier made it difficult for Californios and Anglos to understand each others' ways. Significantly enough, election notices, appearing in the Herald, were printed in English, while tax notices were published in Spanish and English.133

Benjamin Hayes, a county judge during the 1850s and a sympathetic observer, noted that the Californios' lack of political experience put them at a disadvantage. Prior to the coming of Anglos, Californios in San Diego had seldom participated in local elections. Only briefly, In the 1830s did the Mexican government grant San Diego civil rule and permit elections to be held. Otherwise, San Diego was under a military government. The populace did choose their representatives to territorial and national government occasionally in the Mexican period. Thus, although the system of government
instituted by the Anglos was not entirely new to the Californios, they had little experience with it. Judge Hayes declared further that the Californios never took full advantage of the new Anglo system of government. The Californios, he thought, were too reserved in their manners and did not know how to use the system to their full advantage. He remarked that Anglos would seek political office or try and force those in office to do what they wanted. The Californios only voiced their grievances in private.

The reluctance of Californios to run for public office in San Diego, and their subsequent loss of political power, between 1849 and 1856, occurred for a variety of reasons. Americans from the beginning dominated political affairs of the community through their numerical superiority and control of election laws. Racial biases and cultural conflicts created attitudes which also made it difficult politically for Californios. The lack of unity among the Californios added further to their political weakness. Language differences and cultural patterns made it difficult for Californios to compete successfully with Anglos at their own game, under their rules. This experience of Californios in San Diego contrasted sharply with the experiences of Californios in other parts of southern California. In the formative years of state and local government, from 1850-1856, Californios in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara apparently remained a viable political force while in San Diego Anglos took charge almost immediately.

Notes:
3. Although most historians have agreed with Cleland, some have not. For example, see Jessie Davis Francis, "An Economic and Social History of Mexican California. 1828-1846," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of
11. Ibid., pp. 133-34.
18. Ibid., pp. 611-12, 620-23.
21. Ibid., 4:618; and Cowan, Ranchos of California, passim.


33. Killea, "Mexican Pueblo" October, 33-34.

34. Ibid.


37. Rolle, California, pp. 196, 201-2; Samuel Francis DuPont, Extracts from Private Journals-Letters of Captain S.F. DuPont while in Command of the Cyane during the War with Mexico, 1846-1848 (Wilmington, Del.: Ferris Bros., 1885), pp. 40-42; James Millar Guinn. Historical and Biographical Records of Southern California, Containing a History of Southern California from Its Earliest Settlement to the Opening Year of the Twentieth Century (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1902), pp. 104-9; Muster Rolls of the Native California Co., December 22, 1846, Pierson B. Reading Collection, California State Library, Sacramento, Calif; and Bancroft, Works: California. 5:386.

38. Pitt, Decline of the Californios, pp. 28-34.
47. San Francisco Daily Alta California, December 22, 1849.
49. San Francisco Daily Alta California, January 22, 1850; and Pourade, History: Silver Dons, p. 163; Pitt, Decline of the Californios, p. 111; and Pourade, History: Silver Dons, pp. 170-72.
50. Pitt, Decline of the Californios, p. 111; Pourade. History: Silver Dons, pp. 170-72; and San Diego Herald, September 25 and October 6, 1851.
51. San Francisco Daily Alta California. February 27, 1851; and Pourade, History: Silver Dons, p. 172.
53. Smythe, San Diego, p. 243; and San Francisco Daily Alta California. July 6, 1854. An account book of the county treasurer listed more Anglo and California merchants than newspaper records indicated were here. In 1855 eight Californios and twenty-four Anglos paid license fees to "vend goods and wares." (All those with Spanish surnames were considered Californios, and the others listed were counted as Anglos.) Evidently, some of these merchants chose not to advertise in the local paper. San Diego County, Calif., Treasurer's Office, Cash Book of the Treasurer of San Diego, 1854-1855, Ephraim W. Morse Collection. California State Library, Sacramento, Calif.
56. Cowan. Ranchos of California, passim. Cowan listed three other ranchos as being within the county, but they were either in Orange County or Baja California. Historical research on the number of ranchos in the San Diego area is incomplete. Most of the literature on the subject listed only those ranchos approved by the 1851 Land Commission. Bancroft, Cowan, and newspaper accounts revealed that other ranchos existed in San Diego but were either not presented to or rejected by the commission. Since Cowan examined all the land grant papers, I relied on his research for deciding how many ranchos were in the area.
58. Memorias de la Beata by Apolinaria Lorenzana. March 1878. Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif. Bancroft concluded that she lost the rancho "by some legal hocus-pocus" which she never understood (Bancroft, Works: California, 4:718). Most other historians have accepted Bancroft's conclusions. A Federal Writers' Project book about San Diego, however, has a third explanation for Miss Lorenzana's loss of the rancho. They described how some men induced her to sign over the property, while she believed she was signing a statement about the census. Federal Writers' Project, San Diego: A California City (San Diego: San Diego History Center, 1937), p. 56.
62. Caughey, California, p. 198; and Cleland, Thousand Hills, pp. 103-10.
64. California, State Legislature. State Census of 1852, Agricultural Production Statistics for San Diego County, State Archives, Sacramento, Calif. This analysis is not an exhaustive review of all available statistics about this problem. Cursory examination of other statistics, such as the Assessor's Appraisement List for 1852, revealed the same kind of trends. San Diego County, Calif., Assessor's Office. Assessor's Appraisement List 1852. Tax Files, Serra Museum and Library, San Diego, Calif.
71. See tax records for the years 1850 through 1856, the United States Census for 1850, and the California State Census for 1852. They all show small amounts of improved land, as well as the value of farming implements.
73. Cleland, Thousand Hills, pp. 104-5; and San Diego Herald, May 21, 1853.
74. San Diego Herald. May 15, 1852.
79. San Diego Herald, April 11, 1857.
80. Letter to Captain Jesse D. Hunter from Miguel de Pedrorena et al., July 2, 1847, Records of the Tenth Military Department, 1846-1851. 7 rolls, Microcopy No. 210, National Archives, Washington, D.C., roll 2.
81. Letter to Col. R. B. Mason from Col. J. D. Stevenson, May 16, 1848, Tenth Military Department, roll 3.
82. Pourade, History: Silver Dons, pp. 177-80.
83. Cleland, Thousand Hills, p. 67; and San Francisco Daily Alta California, March 31 and November 22, 1853. San Francisco Daily Alta California, September 10, 1856.
84. Cleland, Thousand Hills, p. 70.
85. San Francisco Daily Alta California, February 14, 1852.
86. Cleland, Thousand Hills, p. 302.
88. San Francisco Daily Alta California, December 26, 1853.
90. Cleland, Thousand Hills, p. 294; and Weber, Native Land, p. 159.
92. San Francisco Daily Alta California, March 8, 1852.
93. Common Council, Minutes to the Common Council, August 2, 1854.
94. California, Statutes Passed at the First Session of the Legislature (1850), pp. 135-44. San Diego County, Calif., Clerk to the Board of Supervisors, Minutes to the Board of Supervisors, County Administration Building, San Diego, Calif., July 30, 1853 and July 10, 1855.
96. San Francisco Daily Alta California, September 8, 1851 and March 1, 1852.
97. San Francisco Daily Alta California, January 28, 1853.
98. Wollcott, Pioneer Notes, pp. 113-14.

103. Letter to Stephen Kearny from Henry Fitch, May 2, 1847, Election Results for the Office of the Alcalde, October 1847, Tenth Military Department, rolls 2 and 6; and U.S., California Military Governor, San Diego Election Poll List, San Diego Election Files, State Archives, Sacramento, Calif.


106. Smythe, San Diego, pp. 427-35; San Diego Herald, September 27, 1853, September 15, 1855 and November 8, 1856.

107. San Diego Herald, September 27, 1853, September 9, 1854, and November 1, 1856.

108. San Diego Herald, August 28, 1851 and September 4, 1851.

109. San Diego Herald, April 1, 1854 and April 22, 1854.


111. Heilbron, San Diego County. p. 76. This total remains uncertain because he listed thirty-one males between the ages of twenty and thirty, and there is no way of knowing how many were twenty and, therefore, below the minimum voting age of twenty-one.


113. Smythe, San Diego, pp. 230-31. Comparing the poll list in the 1850 county election with the 1850 census disclosed evidence that soldiers had cast ballots. U.S., Census Bureau, 7th Census, 1850. The California State Census of 1852 showed the same type of trends as the national census. California, Legislature, California State Census, 1852, San Diego Public Library, San Diego, Calif.

114. San Diego Herald, December 10, 1853.

115. San Diego Herald, August 6, 1853 and November 4, 1854.


117. Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers, pp. 67-68, 190-95; and San Diego Herald, March 13, 1852.

118. San Diego Herald, May 19, 1855.

Charles Hughes, a native San Diegan, received his B.A. degree in History from San Diego State University in 1971, and his Master's degree in History from the same institution in 1974. For the past three years he has been doing research on the Californios in San Diego during the period between the Mexican War and the United States Civil War. An article entitled "A Military View of San Diego in 1847: Four Letters from Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson to Governor Richard B. Mason," edited by Mr. Hughes was published in this Journal in Vol. XX, No. 3, Summer, 1974. His article published here is an edited version of his Master's thesis at San Diego State University. Illustrations are from the Historical Collections, Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego, and the San Diego Historical Society.

By the time California's first constitution was drafted in 1849, the Gold Rush had already transformed the state's Spanish-speakers into a minority (13,000 of nearly 100,000 residents). Without opposition, however, delegates to the constitutional convention approved an important recognition of Spanish language rights: "All laws, decrees, regulations, and provisions emanating from any of the three supreme powers of this State, which from their nature require publication, shall be published in English and Spanish." To some, this step seemed legally required by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), in which Mexico had ceded nearly half its territory to the United States. Although the treaty made no explicit reference to language rights, Article IX guaranteed, among other things, that Mexicans who chose to remain on the conquered lands would enjoy "all the rights of citizens of the United States ... and in the mean time shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction."

By 1878, however, when Californians met to revise their state constitution, support for minority language rights had waned. Not a single delegate to the convention came from a Spanish-language background. Moreover, the assembly was dominated by the nativist Workingmen's Party, which pushed through a number of draconian measures aimed at Chinese immigrants. In this climate the delegates not only eliminated the 1849 guarantee for Spanish-language publications, but also limited all official proceedings to English (a restriction that remained in effect until 1966), making California one of the nation's first "English only" states. The debate on this provision, and on an unsuccessful attempt to amend it, is excerpted from Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, 1878-1879 (Sacramento: 1880-1881), vol. 2, pp. 801-2.

Teacher Resource 1.6: Background on California Voting Literacy Test and Grandfather Clause Amendment of 1894

In 1894, the voters of California passed an amendment to the state constitution that established literacy in the English language as a requirement to vote. This amendment also contained a “grandfather clause” that exempted from this requirement all persons who previously had been eligible to vote. The procedures enacting this amendment authorized individuals working at the many polling places across the state to challenge any voter to read 100 words in the English version of the California Constitution, or to accept a voter’s word that he (only males could vote) was literate in English.

This voting literacy requirement remained in effect in California until 1970, when the California Supreme Court ruled it to be unconstitutional.

Source: http://web.me.com/joelarkin/MontereyDemographicHistory/1894_Lit_Test.html (accessed June 10, 2012)
Originating in the mid-1800s, the term greaser first came to be used against those of Mexican appearance in California and the Southwest. Although some suggest the derogatory description came from the practice of Mexican laborers in the Southwest greasing their backs to facilitate the unloading of hides and cargo, others suppose it stemmed from a similarity between Mexican skin color and grease. Its origin may be more disparaging still—the “greasers” label may derive from longstanding conceptions of Mexicans as unkempt and unclean, with unwashed, greasy black hair. “Greasers” was a popular reference by U.S. troops in the U.S.-Mexico war of 1846–1848, as well as by settlers in gold rush California. Its original usage appears to have been sexualized, a way to describe a “treacherous Mexican male who was sexually threatening to and desirous of white women.” Although the term continued to be associated with Mexican men in its Hollywood usage, “greasers” came to refer to Mexicans generally, encompassing both sexes as well as both Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Further, the term originated as a derogatory reference toward those of Mexican origin, but its use expanded over time to encompass Peruvian and Chilean miners during the California gold rush and, more broadly, to describe anyone of Spanish origin.

The term greasers and the negative sentiments behind it had legal bite too. In 1855, California adopted the Vagrancy Act, known popularly as the Greaser Act, addressing “all persons who are commonly known as ‘Greasers’ or the issue of Spanish and Indian blood . . . and who go armed and are not peaceable and quiet persons.” Targeting the supposed “idle Mexican,” this antiloitering law was the precursor to modern laws directed at loitering, gang activity, and other apparently race-neutral offenses that in practice are often used to justify interrogatory stops of persons of color.

Source: Complete author & title and publication information required
Teacher Resource 1.8: Early Chicano History PowerPoint

Slide 7: Effects of the War on Mexicans
- Beginning in 1849 Mexican-Americans displaced by the Gold Rush
- 1850: Gold rush lure of new Mexican land
- Violation of Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo terms
- Internal colonization of Mexican Americans

Slide 8: Californios
- Lost of land: 60% owned land in 1849, by 1889 only 5% owned land
- Integration, assimilation, usurpation, & loss of land
- Loss of Anglo: loss of political power, increase in unemployment & poverty

Slide 9: Californios and the Gold Rush
- Struggled to maintain culture
- 1850: change attitude: praised for devotion to work of Mexicans
- Californios viewed as ‘idiotic’, hinders progress, & Americanization
- Subjected to hostilities & mistreatment
- Spanish vs. Mexican identity

Slide 10: Formation of Barrios
- Segregated neighborhoods
- Stated in cities in Northern, CA & towns in Southern, CA
- Preservation of traditional customs, language, religious practice, cultural activities & family ties
- Creation of mutual aid societies & Spanish language newspapers

Slide 11: Occupational Changes
- Crippled to menial jobs
- Sustained by labor
- Provided a labor force (farm workers, gardeners, canneries workers, etc.)
- Crucial to California’s economic prosperity but no financial benefit for themselves

Slide 12: Increase in Mexican Immigration
- 1900-1910 Mexican Revolution causes instability
- 1900-1910: 70,000 contracted workers brought to fill WWI labor shortage
- 1920 & 1930:��shermen & miners
- Mexican immigration to the U.S. increased
- 1924: interior stations established
### Student Handout 1.1: Chicano History/U.S. History Timeline

**Chicano History/U.S. History Timeline**

**Directions:** Include the following dates on a timeline. Place all U.S. dates above and the Chicano History dates below. Dates are to be placed in chronological order.

**Writing Assignment:** Write a well written 2-3 paragraph response in which you outline the changes experienced by Chicanos and the impact it had on them economically, socially, and politically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1519 – 1521</td>
<td>Hernan Cortez Conquers central Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1535</td>
<td>Spain Establishes Colonial Govt. in Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>Colony of Jamestown Virginia founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>U.S. colonies declare independence from Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Louisiana Purchase- U.S. buys land west of the Mississippi from France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804 – 1806</td>
<td>Lewis and Clark expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Grito de Miguel Hidalgo- beginning of Mexico fight for independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Adam-Onis treaty establishes Mexico U.S. boundary by Spain and U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Mexico wins independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Mexico allows Stephen F. Austin to colonize Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Texas declares independence from Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>U.S. Congress declares war on Mexico (May 13th)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Feb. 2nd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Mexicans displaced due to Gold Rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Gadsden Purchase- U.S. buys land in present day Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 – 1920</td>
<td>Mexican Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Mexico immigration to U.S. increases due to revolution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Student Handout 1.2: SOPVL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOPVL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S- Summary:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this section, explain the key points of the document succinctly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **O- Origin:** |
| Origin is where the source comes from: author/artist, date it was written/finished, which country the author/artist was born in, where the source was produced, in which media (newspaper, book, letter, etc) it is presented. |

| **P- Purpose:** |
| Purpose is where you have to put yourself in the author/artist’s shoe. What do you think they were trying to communicate to readers? What ideas/feelings were they trying to express/evoke? (The purpose is especially important when it comes to pieces of propaganda as sources). What are the ramifications of the origins? In terms of the historical context of the source, what does it mean? |

| **V- Value:** |
| Value is how valuable the source is. Basically it’s linked to the amount of bias in the source: the more bias= the less valuable (usually). Primary sources are obviously more valuable than secondary/tertiary ones. Bias does not make a source worthless. What does the source show about the society? What does it show about the type of thinking at that time? |

| **L- Limitation:** |
| Limitations is also linked to bias, each source will be at least a little biased and thus they are limited by that. If the source has been translated from the original (e.g. Hitler’s diary entry translated into English by a historian and you’re using the historian’s book as a source) then the language source will be another source of inaccuracy and a limitation. |

**Sample “OPVL” Paragraph**

The origin of this source is a ___________ (journal, letter, newspaper article, etc.) that was written by ______________ in ______________ in ______________. Its purpose was to ______________ so ______________. A value of this is that it gives the perspective of ______________. However, a limitation is that ______________, making ______________.


Note: OPVL is a method commonly used in the International Baccalaureate curriculum for history. I have added the summary component to allow students to first synthesize the content of the document.
Report of the Secretary of the Interior, communicating a copy of the report of William Carey Jones, special agent to examine the subject of land titles in California

Washington D.C., 1851

## Document B

**Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**  
February 2, 1848

### ARTICLE VIII
Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever. Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States. In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

### ARTICLE IX
The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the mean time, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.

Mr. SMITH of Santa Clara. I wish to offer an amendment to [Article IV].

The SECRETARY read: "Amend section twenty-four by adding `and all laws of the State of California, and all official writings, and the executive, legislative, and judicial proceedings shall be conducted, preserved, and published in no other than the English language.' "

Mr. ROLFE. Mr. Chairman: I understand that refers to all judicial proceedings. I hardly think that it is necessary, and in some instances it would work injury. We have a provision in our present Constitution requiring laws to be translated and published in Spanish; that, I think is entirely unnecessary, and should be rescinded. We have statutes, however, passed for the purpose of meeting exigencies in some parts of this State, allowing, in some kind of proceedings – judicial proceedings in the Courts – to be conducted either in the English or Spanish language. Now, while I would not make that mandatory, and while I would say nothing about it in the Constitution, I would leave it in the discretion of the Legislature to make that same provision, for I can assure this Convention that there are Justices of the Peace in my county [San Bernardino], and their proceedings are judicial proceedings, who are intelligent men, and very able Justices of the Peace, who have no knowledge of the English language. There are settlements in that county, in certain localities and townships, in which the English language is scarcely spoken, the population being made up, almost entirely, of people who use the Spanish language. Now, in this instance, it would work a very great injury. ... Therefore I think that in these townships where almost the entire population is made up of a Spanish-speaking people, there would be no harm done in allowing the judicial proceedings of the Justices' Courts to be conducted in the Spanish language....

Mr. TINNIN. Mr. Chairman: I hope this amendment will be adopted. There was a day when such proceedings were necessary – in the early days of this State – but I contend that day has now passed. Thirty years have elapsed since this portion of the country became a portion of the Government of the United States, and the different residents who were here at that time have had ample time to be conversant with the English language if they desired to do so. This is an English-speaking Government, and persons who are incapable of speaking the English language certainly are not competent to discharge public
duties. We have here in the Capitol now tons and tons of documents published in Spanish for the benefit of foreigners.

Mr. ROLFE. Do you call the native population of this State foreigners?

Mr. TINNIN. They had ample time to learn the language.

Mr. AYERS. ... In the section of the State which I represent [Los Angeles County] there are large portions of it which are entirely populated by a Spanish-American population, not a foreign population, but a population who were here before we were here, and I wish to say that almost without an exceptional instance these natives of California, who were adults at the time this State was ceded to the United States by Mexico, are still in the same condition, as far as their knowledge of English is concerned. There are but very few of them, if any, who understand our language at all, and, if I am not mistaken, in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo there was an assurance that the natives should continue to enjoy the rights and privileges they did under their former Government, and there was an implied contract that they should be governed as they were before. It was in this spirit that the laws were printed in Spanish. As Judge Rolfe says, there are townships in Southern California which are entirely Spanish, or Spanish-American. ... [I]t would be wrong, it seems to me, for this Convention to prevent these people from transacting their local business in their own language. It does no harm to Americans, and I think they should be permitted to do so....

Mr. BEERSTECHER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: As has been aptly stated by the gentleman from Los Angeles, Mr. Ayers, there was an implied contract in the treaty of peace with Mexico that the Mexican citizen should enjoy the same privileges and immunities under the American rule as they enjoy it under the Mexican rule. And among these privileges and immunities was the right of having laws of this State printed in Spanish, and having the judicial proceedings of this State, at least in certain districts, ... conducted in the Spanish language. And the Codes of this State, to-day, contain a special provision that in certain counties of this State the proceedings may be in the Spanish language. ... Now, it is not the policy of any State in the Union to publish exclusively in the English language. In the State of Michigan, where I resided for eight years, our public documents were published in the English, the German, and the French languages. In the State of Wisconsin the public documents are printed in the English, German, and Norwegian languages. In Pennsylvania, in English and German; and it is the policy of the Western States, generally, with their cosmopolitan population, to publish State documents in more than one language. Be this proper, or be it improper, it is a matter that ought to rest in the discretion of the Legislature, and we ought not to put any Know-Nothing clause into the Constitution. ... I
hope that the Spaniards will have their rights, as they have them to-day, and if the Legislature can assist them by having documents published in their language, I hope they will do so.

Mr. TINNIN. Where do you find in the treaty of Hidalgo any such contract?

Mr. AYERS. I say the treaty implied that.

Mr. BEERSTECHE. It says that they should have the same privileges and immunities.

Mr. SCHELL. If we are to be so exceedingly cosmopolitan, would it not be equally reasonable that our laws should be published in German and French?

Mr. INMAN. And Chinese.

Mr. SCHELL. And every other language that we have here.

Mr. BEERSTECHE. I do not say that our laws ought to be published in any but the English language; but I do say that there should not be any inhibition contained in the Constitution that would prevent the Legislature from publishing official documents in any other language, if it was desirable to do so. I do not see why the Governor's messages should not be published in German and French, and any other language, if it is desirable. ...

Mr. SCHELL. How many voters are there that speak the Spanish language down there that can also speak the English language?

Mr. BLACKMER. There are a great many, but there are a great many who are able to speak the English language who cannot read it.

Mr. GREGG. Can they read the Spanish?

Mr. BLACKMER. Most of them can.

Mr. HEISKELL. I demand the previous question.

The main question was ordered. ...

The amendment was adopted, on a division, by a vote of 46 ayes to 39 noes.

Mr. ROLFE. Mr. Chairman: I offer an amendment to the last amendment.
The SECRETARY read: "Add to the last amendment to section twenty-four the following: 'Provided, that the Legislature may, by law, authorize judicial or other official proceedings in any designated counties or other localities, to be conducted in the English or Spanish language.' " ... 

Mr. ROLFE. This amendment which I propose now does not interfere with the laws of this State, proclamations of the Governor, or anything of a State nature. It only refers to proceedings of a local nature, and then, unless the Legislature specifically authorizes that to be done, these local proceedings must be conducted in the English language. But I do say that, in localities in this State, where the population are almost universally of the Spanish-speaking people, it is unjust to them to compel them to conduct their proceedings in the English language. ... There are some English-speaking people there, it is true, but most of them understand the Spanish language. They conduct their business and all their proceedings in Spanish. They make their contracts in Spanish. Although a man may be very well-educated in Spanish, and may have a very ordinary knowledge of the English language, it may still be very inconvenient for him to conduct his proceedings in English. ... He will make mistakes in language which will be injurious to litigants before his Court....

Now, I say that we should take into consideration the fact that the American, or English-speaking people, of this State are the new comers. We settled this State and took it from these people when the Spanish was universally the mother tongue of the people. Now, I say when we take their country and the people, too, and make American citizens of them, we must take them as they are and give them an equal show with us whether it was so contracted in the treaty or not. I say it is nothing but just, as long as there is one township in the State which is populated mostly by these people. ...

Mr. WEST. Mr. Chairman: I have as high regard, sir, as any man for the foreign element of citizens of this State who have come here and identified themselves with the institutions of this country, and assimilated, they and their families, with its institutions; but I have no regard for that demagogism that panders to this foreign element, that follows it for years and years for the sake of the votes it affords on election days. I speak whereof I know when I say that hundreds of those who pretend to be citizens of California are recent immigrants from Sonora and other portions of Mexico, some of them bandits, cutthroats, and robbers, that come in and are placed on the Great Register, and vote ... while the Dutchman, and the Irishman, and the Frenchman must be naturalized and come in, in the regular way. It is an abuse, it is an outrage upon the institutions of our country. On election day they are corralled and voted, when they have not been in the State five days. ...
We have opened the doors of our public schools to them and their children, and attempted to educate them under the general influence of our schools, and if thirty years will not do it, I think we had better send missionaries into the county from which the gentleman from San Bernardino comes. I do not know that these gentlemen spoken of are competent to perform the duties of Justices of the Peace or any other position, but I am satisfied that the Spanish element do not ask it. It is the demagogues who ask it, and not the educated, thinking, and reading part of that population. I respect that population, where they are bona fide citizens, as much as any member of this Convention, but I want a period placed where the importation of Mexicans into this country and the collecting of them as the polls shall cease.

Mr. AYERS. Mr. Chairman: This is not a question of demagogism, or partisanism; it is a question of right. Now, I know that in Southern California there are districts and communities that are so entirely Spanish that if you deprive them of the right to continue their proceedings in Justices’ Courts in Spanish, you will deprive them of justice. I do not see what it has to do with this case, whether people are run in, in bands, from Mexico, and put upon the Great Register, or not. That is a question for the Courts. If they are run in, in that way, and falsely placed on the Register, it ought to be stopped; but even if that was the case, it is no reason for taking away the rights of any portion of this people. It is only five years since the Mayor of Los Angeles could not speak the English language, and he was a very efficient Mayor. ... I hope that the amendment of the gentleman from San Bernardino will be adopted on the ground that it is right and just. It is all well enough for us here, who are strong, to stand up and denounce them because they are weak. We have taken from them their patrimony and their lands and now we are kicking them when they are down.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. Chairman: I am not in favor of the amendment; neither do I care for this sympathetic appeal. We have done it, it is true. We have done it honorably, and we have lived up to their contract. We have protected them for thirty years, and if they have not learned to conduct their business in English, I think it is about time they did learn. I do not think, Mr. President, that there is a township in this State that there is not some Americans, or some foreigners, who do not speak the Spanish language, and we are doing them an injustice if we allow proceedings to be carried on in a language they do not understand. These cases are subject to appeal, and if the proceedings of that Court is had in Spanish, there is not a County Court in this State the proceedings of which are conducted in Spanish, and therefore you cannot appeal. If you are going to permit one township to have it in Spanish, there is just as much reason why another would have it in Swiss and another in Italian.
Mr. AYERS. Mr. Chairman: I would like to ask the gentleman whether the Swiss and Italians came here from other countries, or were born here, or whether they were found here?

Mr. OVERTON. They came here under a treaty, and have got just as much right as those under the Hidalgo treaty. These people sold us their country, and we have paid them the money. I am not in favor of printing laws in Spanish. Our County Court House has a room that is occupied by statutes published in Spanish, and there they remain to-day by the ton, and they are not worth anything. This State has paid out thousands and thousands of dollars – thrown it away – for the purpose of publishing books in Spanish, and we have got them there now, and no one ever has any use for them.

Mr. ROLFE. We do not ask the laws to be published in Spanish.

Mr. AYERS. Does the gentleman know that there are tons and tons of English literature in this building too?

Mr. OVERTON. Yes, I know there are. We can read it too. When it comes to publishing laws in Spanish, I hold that it is useless. There is not a nationality in this State that has not got papers that publish them, and they can read them there. ... 

Mr. BLACKMER. Mr. Chairman: I do believe that these people have some rights that we ought to respect. I do not believe, because we are stronger, because we outnumber them and are continually increasing the ratio, that we should entirely ignore the rights that these people ought to have under a free government. It is a simple question whether we will do right because it is right, or whether we will do wrong because we have the power to do it. I look upon it in that light. I say that it is but simple justice that the Legislature be given the authority to allow, in certain localities, these Courts to conduct their business in that language, and, if necessary, that they may also publish in that language. ...

Mr. WICKES. Mr. Chairman: In addition to what has been said, I think it very good policy to give some official recognition to the Spanish language. It is a noble language, spoken by millions of people upon the American continent. ...

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from San Bernardino, Mr. Rolfe.

The amendment was lost on a division, by a vote of 27 ayes to 55 noes.

**Document 1.D: Petition of Antonio Maria Pico et. al. to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, 1859**

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<td>HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA</td>
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We, the undersigned, residents of California, and some of us citizens of the United States, previously citizens of the Republic of Mexico, respectfully say:

That during the war between the United States and Mexico the officers of the United States, as commandants of the land and sea forces, on several occasions offered and promised in the most solemn manner to the inhabitants of California, protection and security of their persons and their property and the annexation of the said state of California to the American Union, impressing upon them the great advantages to be derived from their being citizens of the United States, as was promised them.

That, in consequence of such promises and representations, very few of the inhabitants of California opposed the invasion; some of them welcomed the invaders with open arms; a great number of them acclaimed the new order with joy, giving a warm reception to their guests, for those inhabitants had maintained very feeble relations with the government of Mexico and had looked with envy upon the development, greatness, prosperity, and glory of the great northern republic, to which they were bound for reasons of commercial and personal interests, and also because its principles of freedom had won their friendliness.

When peace was established between the two nations by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, they joined in the general rejoicing with their new American fellow countrymen, even though some - a very few indeed – decided to remain in California as Mexican citizens, in conformity with the literal interpretation of that solemn instrument; they immediately assumed the position of American citizens that was offered them, and since then have conducted themselves with zeal and faithfulness and with no less loyalty than those whose great fortune it was to be born under the flag of the North American Republic – believing, thus, that all their rights were insured in the treaty, which declares that their property shall be inviolably protected and insured; seeing the realization of the promises made to them by the United States officials; trusting and hoping to participate in the prosperity and happiness of the great nation which they now had come to be an integral part, and in which, if it was true that they now found the value of their possessions increased, that was also to be considered compensation for their sufferings and privations…

They hear with dismay of the appointment, by Act of Congress, of a Commission with the right to examine all titles and confirm or disapprove
them, as their judgment considered equitable. Though this honorable body had doubtless had that best interests of the state at heart, still it has brought about the most disastrous effects upon those who have the honor to subscribe their names to this petition, for, even though all landholders possessing titles under Spanish or Mexican governments were forced by the letter of the law to present them before the Commission for confirmation, nevertheless all of those titles were at once considered doubtful, their origin questionable, and, as a result, worthless for confirmation by the Commission; all landholders were thus compelled de facto to submit their titles to the Commission for confirmation, under the alternative that, if they were not submitted, the lands would be considered public property.

The undersigned, ignorant, then, of the forms and proceedings of an American court of justice, were obliged to engage the services of American lawyers to present their claims, paying them enormous fees. Not having other means with which to meet those expenses but their lands, they were compelled to give up part of their property, in many cases as a fourth of it, and in other cases even more.

The discovery of gold attracted an immense number of immigrants to this country, and when they perceived that the titles of the old inhabitants were considered doubtful and their validity questionable, they spread themselves over the land as though it were public property taking possession of the improvements made by the inhabitants, many times seizing even their houses (where they had lived for many years with their families), taking and killing the cattle and destroying their crops; so that those who before had owned great numbers of cattle that could have been counted by thousands, now found themselves without any, and the men who were owners of many leagues of land now were deprived of the peaceful possession of even one acre.

The expenses of the new state government were great, and the money to pay for these was only to be derived from the tax on property, and there was little property in this new state but the above-mentioned lands, from which they had now no lucrative returns, the owners were compelled to mortgage them in order to assume the payment of taxes already due and constantly increasing…

The petitioners, finding themselves unable to face such payments because of the rates of interest, taxes, and litigation expenses, as well as having to maintain their families, were compelled to sell, little by little, the greater part of their old possessions. Some, who at one time had been the richest landholders, today find themselves without foot of ground, living as objects of charity – and even in sight of the many leagues of land which, with many a thousand cattle, they once had called their own; and those of us who, by means of strict economy and immense sacrifices, have been able to preserve a small portion of our property, have heard to our great dismay that new legal projects are being planned to keep us still longer in suspense,
consuming, to the last iota, the property left us by our ancestors. Moreover, we see with deep pain that efforts are being made to induce those honorable bodies to pass laws authorizing bills of review, and other illegal proceedings, with a view to prolonging still further the litigation of our claims.

Petition of Antonio Maria Pico et. al. to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Manuscript HM 514, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul -- the self-evident dictates of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man. Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence, that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government. . . .

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defense of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.
We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands, that "the gates of hell" -- the powers of aristocracy and monarchy -- "shall not prevail against it."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High -- the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere -- its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood -- of "peace and good will amongst men." . . .

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfillment of our mission -- to the entire development of the principle of our organization -- freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?

Excerpted from "The Great Nation of Futurity," The United States Democratic Review, Volume 6, Issue 23, pp. 426-430. The complete article can be found in The Making of America Series at Cornell University.

Source: https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/osulliva.htm (accessed June 8, 2012)
Document 1.F: California Voting Literacy Test and Grandfather Clause Amendment of 1894

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<td>California Voting Literacy Test and Grandfather Clause Amendment of 1894</td>
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Every native male citizen of the United States, every male person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro [Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo] and every male naturalized citizen thereof, who shall have become such ninety days prior to any election, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been resident of the state one year next preceding the election, and of the county in which he claims his vote ninety days, and in the election precinct thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law; provided, no native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime, no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the constitution in the English language and write his name, shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this state; provided, that the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person who shall be sixty years of age and upwards at the time this amendment shall take effect.

(bold section indicates what was amended)

Source: http://web.me.com/joelarkin/MontereyDemographicHistory/1894_Lit_Test.html (accessed June 10, 2012)

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This town is a striking example of Western pluck and enterprise. Where a few years ago there was a village, whose population was mainly composed of dark-eyes, indolent Mexicans, and whose narrow, dirty streets and rudely built houses seemed almost incapable of improvement, there stands to-day a large city with imposing buildings and handsome residences, a city in which every modern invention has been utilized, while over all is an atmosphere of activity, a healthy, working business spirit which cannot fail to impress itself upon one. From everything but an artistic standpoint the city within the last decade has improved beyond recognition. There is nothing progressive about narrow, dirty streets and adobe houses, but dirt is occasionally picturesque and adobe houses are invariably so. But the true American spirit has entered and pulled down quaint little buildings with their tiny windows and curious red-tiled roofs, and these, with all the other lazy Spanish characteristics of Los Angeles, are fast disappearing and becoming a part of the past, the past of only half a dozen years ago.

The real estate craze, which has been such a feature in the business life of Southern California, is here at its height. For miles around Los Angeles the land is laid out in lots, and so great has been the speculative fever that comparatively few of the many tourists who have been in Los Angeles within the last year or two have gone away without making some investment in real estate. All sorts of devices are resorted to to sell the land, some of them very ingenious and certainly very different from our Eastern methods.

**Document H**

**California Anti-Vagrancy Act of 1855**

An Act to punish Vagrants, Vagabonds, and Dangerous and Suspicious Persons [Approved April 30, 1855]

*The People of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

Section 1: All persons…who have no visible means of living, who in ten days do not seek employment, not labor when employment is offered to them…all persons who roam about from place to place without lawful business…all common prostitutes, and common drunkards may be committed to jail and sentenced to hard labor for such time as the Court, before whom they are convicted shall think proper, not exceeding ninety days.

Section 2: All persons who are commonly known as “Greasers” or the issues of Spanish and Indian blood, who may come within the provisions of the first section of this Act, and who go armed and are not to be peaceable and quiet persons, and who can give no good account of themselves, may be disarmed by any lawful officer, and punished otherwise as provided in the foregoing section…

Section 5: When the Board of Supervisors of the country shall be of opinion that any person, who may have been committed under the provisions of this Act, has so conducted himself or herself, whilst so confined or employed, that he or she should be no longer held, said Board of Supervisors may discharge such person from confinement, including his support whilst so confined…

APPENDIX C: Lesson Plan #2

Lesson Plan Title: The Chicano Movement: The Quest for Social Justice

Grade Level: 11

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<tr>
<th>Historical Overview for Lesson</th>
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<td>The Chicano Movement grew during a period of tumultuous social change. Chicanos as a group have historically been discriminated against in the United States. Often times Chicanos were not considered by mainstream Americans to be truly “American” despite their patriotism and military contributions in time of war. Although many Chicanos had been in the United States for generations they were often seen as foreigners. In the seemingly prosperous decade of the 1950s Chicanos in large part lacked social mobility. The Chicano Movement was caused by the frustration that existed in the Chicano community over social injustices experienced by them which relegated them to live, work, and go to school in inferior conditions. Many Chicano historians cited internal colonialism as the cause for injustice in the Chicano community.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What economic, social, and political conditions caused the Chicano movement and how did Chicanos seek social justice?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Follow-up Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What changes did Chicanos advocate for?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What concerns did Chicanos have regarding their plight in the U.S?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What cultural divisions existed among Chicanos?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What connections to historical events did Chicanos identify with? Why was this important to the Chicano Movement?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives and Assessment Criteria:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students will:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Geographically locate key Chicano Movement events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Analyze primary source documents from the Chicano Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Pinpoint the economic, social, and political conditions of Chicanos during the Chicano Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Take Focused-Notes on two primary sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Select a primary source document and provide rationale for their selection of the document</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Learning Experiences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Learning Activity</th>
<th>Activity Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mapping the Chicano Movement and 50 Word Response</td>
<td>spatial thinking, writing, and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNL Chart</td>
<td>analyzing a prompt, reading, discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st-Order Document Selective and Purpose Driven Reading</td>
<td>reading, marking the text, discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd-Order Document Focused Note-Taking and Document Jigsaw</td>
<td>reading, discussion, note-taking, collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Presentations</td>
<td>collaboration, communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd-Order Document Selection</td>
<td>writing, discussion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bradley Commission’s Vital Theme(s)

**Values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions**
The origins and spread of influential religions and ideologies. The evolution of political and social institutions, at various stages of industrial and commercial development. The interplay among ideas, material conditions, moral values, and leadership, especially in the evolution of democratic societies. The tensions between the aspirations for freedom and security, for liberty and equality, for distinction and commonality, in human affairs.

**Patterns of social and political interaction**
The changing patterns of class, ethnic, racial, and gender structures and relations. Immigration, migration, and social mobility. The effects of schooling. The new prominence of women, minorities, and the common people in the study of history, and their relation to political power and influential elites. The characteristics of multicultural societies; forces for unity and disunity.

Bradley Commission’s Habits of Mind

3. perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness.
4. acquire at one and the same time a comprehension of diverse cultures and of shared humanity.
5. understand how things happen and how things change, how human intentions matter, but also how their consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purpose and process.
6. comprehend the interplay of change and continuity, and avoid assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more to be expected, than the other.
8. grasp the complexity of historical causation, respect particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations.
12. understand the relationship between geography and history as a matrix of time and place, and as context for events.
### California State Standards: Historical Thinking Skills

#### Chronological and Spatial Thinking
1. Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.
2. Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.
3. Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

#### Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View
2. Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.
4. Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

#### Historical Interpretation
1. Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
2. Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.
3. Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.
4. Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

### Common Core Standards

#### College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Reading

**Key Ideas and Details**
1. Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
2. Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
3. Analyze how and why individuals, events, or ideas develop and interact over the course of a text.

**Craft and Structure**
4. Interpret words and phrases as they are used in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative
5. Analyze the structure of texts, including how specific sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text (e.g., a section, chapter, scene, or stanza) relate to each other and the whole.
6. Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas
6. Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.
8. Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence.
9. Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches authors take.

Standards Correlation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>California State Standards: U.S. History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.8.2 Describe the significance of Mexican immigration and its relationship to the agricultural economy, especially in California.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10 Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materials Needed</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student handouts, documents, white board, white board pen, Chicanos Fight for Rights PowerPoint, CTX projector, projector screen and computer</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Source(s):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First-Order Document</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. El Plan de Aztlán</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Second-Order Documents** |
| B. Who is a Chicano? And What Is It Chicanos Want? |
| C. Yo Soy Joaquin |
| D. Yo Soy Chicano (song lyrics) |
| E. We Want a Share |
| F. Garfield High School Student Demands |

| **Third-Order Document Options** |
| G. Mexican Session Map |
| H. UFW/Dolores Huerta Photograph (1976) |
| I. El Plan de Santa Barbara |
| J. Puzzled by Youth |
| K. Chicano Moratorium Photograph |

**Activity 2.1: Introduction: Mapping the Chicano Movement**
Copy and distribute the student handouts from Student Handout 2.1A and 2.1B, titled Mapping the Chicano Movement. Students are to geographically locate each of the events listed on the chart and label them on the map. Once students have finished placing these events they will gain a better understanding of where, geographically the movement was taking place. Students are then to respond to the prompt presented on the sheet regarding the geographic location of the Chicano Movement in a brief 50 word response. Once students have completed their response you may either hold a class discussion or have students share their responses in small groups or in pairs.

**Activity Modification:** Instead of providing the locations for students, provide them only with the event and have students research the locations and dates of the events.

**Activity 2.2: Direct Teaching: PowerPoint: Chicanos Fight for Rights Lecture**
Lecture will explain Chicano history from 1960-1970s. This lecture will help to provide background information to students in order to allow them to better understand the basis of the Chicano Movement. (See Teacher Resource 2.3)
Activity 2.3: KNL Chart Guiding Historical Question: What economic, social, and political conditions caused the Chicano movement and in what ways did Chicanos seek to accomplish social justice?

Copy the student handout, Student Handout 2.2 and distribute to students. Explain to students that they will be using this chart to pinpoint what they know about the economic, social, and political conditions of Chicanos based on any prior knowledge they may have (remind students of the guiding historical question they are seeking to answer). Allow students time to individually fill in the K section of their chart. Once students have had time to record their responses, call on students to share out an item from their list with the class. Assure students that their responses do not have to be correct so that they feel comfortable sharing. Compile a list with the responses of students.

Once all responses from the K section have been shared out, instruct students to pinpoint what they need to know in order to be able to answer the prompt, they are to do this in the N section. Once students have individually done this, have them share out with the class as you record their response(s) on the board.

Explain to students that for now they will leave the L section blank as they cannot fill it out until they have read documents from the Chicano Movement.

Activity 2.4: Selective Purpose Driven Reading- Chicano Movement Documents
Copy and distribute copies of the Selective and Purpose Driven Reading student handout, Student Handout 2.3 Before reading any documents, go over the directions for this assignment with the class, you will find the directions for the activity on the student handout, as well as an example of what they are expected to do.

1st Order Document (essential document)
Distribute copies of El Plan de Aztlán (Document 2.A) to students. Direct all students to read the first document (1st-order document). Since it is the first document you will be reading for this lesson and because it is important to the lesson I recommend reading it together as a class. Stop as necessary to answer or clarify and questions students may have. If you feel this document may pose a challenge for your class, do three reads instead of two. If you chose to do this, during the first read answer any student questions, then follow directions as indicated on the assignment sheet.

Once students have done the reading and marked up their paper discuss student findings as a class.
Activity 2.5: Focused Note-Taking and Document Jigsaw (2nd Order Document, supporting or contrasting documents)
Copy and distribute the Focused Note-Taking, Student Handout 2.4. Based on students’ findings from the Selective and Purpose Driven Reading assignment on El Plan de Aztlán have students fill out the first section of the chart with the economic, social, and political conditions of Chicanos.
Explain to students that they will be practicing the skills from the Selective and Purpose Driven Reading which they have already done, in the next part of the activity. However, this time students will be working in small groups. Within each group students will be reading the same document but each group will be reading a different document (2nd-order document) from the other groups. Create mixed ability groups ahead of time. Place students in groups. In their groups students will read over their assigned document, mark the reading based on the economic, social, and political conditions of Chicanos as stated in their documents, and record their findings on the Focused Note-Taking Sheet. Monitor groups during this activity, clarify any questions students may have as you monitor, and check to make sure the groups are on the right track. (See Document 2.B-2.F)

Activity 2.6: Group Presentations
Once all students have completed the reading of their assignment and the Focused Note-Taking they will share their findings with the class. Based on your teaching style and your class you can either have class presentations or you can rearrange the groups and have students share out in small groups. As presentations are made students are to take notes on their Focused Note-Taking sheet. When all of the presentations are completed all students will have the information from each of the documents.

Activity 2.7: 3rd Order Document Selection
Copy and distribute Student Handout 2.5, the 3rd-Order Document selection student handout. Now that students have read over the 1st-order document (essential document) and read or learned about the 2nd-order documents (supporting and contrasting documents), they will be selecting a 3rd-order document (student selected document). Remind students of the guiding historical question as well as the follow up questions to your class and discuss them to make sure your students understand what the questions are asking. Based on what students know at this point from what they have learned from the other documents, they are to look over a selection of documents and choose only one to add to the collection of documents. (See Document 2.G-2.K)
Activity Modification:
Instead of pre-selecting possible document options for students to choose from
have students research and select Chicano Movement documents on their
own.

Extension(s):
Mapping the Chicano Movement
Have students find events from one of the other social movements of the time
(African American Movement, the Native American Movement, and the
Feminist Movement) and create a timeline on which they include with the
dates provided on Student Handout 2.1A and 2.1B, this way students can
make comparisons between movements.

Teacher Resource 2.1: Further Reading

Alaniz, Yolanda and Cornish, Megan. *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano

Mariscal, George. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano
Movement, 1965-1975*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico


Rochín, Refugio. ed. *Voices of a New Chicana/o History*. East Lansing:

Rosales, F. Arturo. *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican

Teacher Resource 2.2: Related Web Sites

| Topic: Analysis of I Am Joaquín and its significance to the Chicano
Movement |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> I Am Joaquín: Rodolfo ‘Corky’ Gonzales and the Retroactive Construction of Chicanismo&quot;**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> George Hartley, Assistant Professor of English, Ohio University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://epc.buffalo.edu/authors/hartley/pubs/corky.html">http://epc.buffalo.edu/authors/hartley/pubs/corky.html</a> (accessed January 4, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> Assistant Professor of English at Ohio State University, analyzes the poem and its significance to the Chicano movement.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Topic: Chicano Movement in Washington |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Web Address</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Los Angeles Student Walkouts for Educational Reform (East L.A. Blowouts, 1968)</td>
<td>Global Nonviolent Action Database</td>
<td><a href="http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/east-los-angeles-students-walkout-educational-reform-east-la-blowouts-1968">http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/east-los-angeles-students-walkout-educational-reform-east-la-blowouts-1968</a></td>
<td>Background information on the East Los Angeles Student Walkouts, commonly referred to as the East L.A. Blowouts. This site explains the goals of the walkouts, time period, as well as background information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam</td>
<td>Documentaries with a Point of View: Public Broadcasting Service</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pbs.org/pov/soldados/">http://www.pbs.org/pov/soldados/</a> (accessed May 27, 2012)</td>
<td>Based on the 1991 American Book Award winner of the same name, Việt Nam War veteran Charley Trujillo and producer Sonya Rhee's Soldados: Chicanos in Việt Nam is the first documentary to recount the harrowing experience of a generation of Mexican-American boys who fought in Việt Nam. Raised in the San Joaquin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Valley of California, they took their first journey away from their rural hometown was to the war-torn rice paddies of Việt Nam. Profoundly changed by the experience, the soldados returned with a new conception of themselves and their country – and of the particular challenges facing them as Chicanos. A Latino Public Broadcasting (LPB) co-presentation. A Diverse Voices Project Selection.
Teacher Resource 2.3: Chicanos Fight for Rights PowerPoint

Slide 1
Chicanos Fight for Rights

Slide 2
The Lives of Chicanos
- Immigration Act of 1965 impact
- Increase in Latino pop. during 60s
- Low paying jobs
- Discrimination in educ. -> 75% drop out rate
- Lack of political influence

Slide 3
United Farm Workers
- United Farm Workers
- Founded in 1962
- Purpose: to unionize farm workers, better working conditions
- Non-violent means of protest

Slide 4
The Chicano Movement
- Chicano- influence of Black Power movement
- Pride in Mex. Am. culture
- Educational issues: run down schools, high drop out rates, overcrowded
- 1968 East LA Blowouts

Slide 5
La Raza Unida
- Established in 1970
- Worked for better housing, jobs, bilingual ed., supported Latino political candidates
- Increased Chicanos voter reg.
- Run candidates for state offices

Slide 6
Latinos in Politics
- Alliance for rights
- Created for justice: Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales
- Chicano Culture classes, legal aid, bilingual classes
- National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, 1969 goal was to create a unified Chizano community
Slide 7

**Brown Berets**
- One of the most powerful & militant organizations in the Chicano movement
- Issued policy booklet, involved in the East L.A. blowouts - education
- Crew to have 60 chapters
- Still exists today

Slide 10

**Outcome of the Blowouts**
- Several student demands were met
- Mex. Am. Studies & Literature were made part of the curriculum
- Studies were done on the quality of education for Mex. Am. students.

Slide 8

**East Los Angeles Blow Outs**
**March 3, 1968**
- Students protest inferior education
- Activists sit in, walk out, speakers, and picketing
- Five East L.A. schools involved
- Jacoby, Wilson, Garfield, Belaunz & Roosevelt

Slide 11

**MEChA - Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán**
- Student movement established in Santa Barbara, CA in 1969
- College & University founded the organization
- Main purpose - fight for educational rights, promotion of history, culture, and community action

Slide 9

- Student demands:
  1. Mex. & Mex. Am. included in the curriculum
  2. Hiring of Mex. Am. teachers & administrators
  3. Improvement in facilities & instructional material
  4. A challenging education

Slide 12

**Denver Youth Conference**
- March of 1968 - National Youth Liberation Conference
- 1800 teens from throughout the U.S.
- Discussion on common issues
- Philosophy of culture, political and economic
- Call for self-determination
**Slide 13**

**Chicano Park**
- 1967: desire for a park in Barrio Logan
- 1968 Coronado Bay Bridge opened
- Was going to be made into a CHISP department
- April 22, 1970 - park takeover
- April 24, 1971 - Chicano Park creation begins

**Slide 14**

**Chicano Moratorium - August 29, 1970**
- The moratorium was an anti-war demonstration
- Over 25,000 Chicano stood across the country attended
- Demonstrators viciously attacked by the LAPD, three people died in the struggle including Ruben Salazar
**Teacher Resource 2.4: First-Order Document Selection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-Order Document Selection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consider the following question as you select your first order document</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Will the document be of interest to students?</td>
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<td>- Will the documents enable students to draw on their prior knowledge?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Does the document allow the students to relate the concept, idea, or event to knowledge with which they are familiar?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Does the document allow students to examine change over time?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Is the document appropriate cognitively for students?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- In what ways might the document deepen student’s contextual understanding of the past?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How will the document affect student’s preconceived historical narrative?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How will the document contribute to students abilities to deliberate and make informed decisions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- In what ways does the document require students to use one or more of history’s habits of mind?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How does the document relate to one or more of history’s vital themes and narratives?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How does the document relate to state and local standards and performance indicators that call for development of historical thinking?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Student Handout 2.1A: Mapping the Chicano Movement-Map

Mapping the Chicano Movement

### Student Handout 2.1B: Mapping the Chicano Movement - Locations

#### Mapping the Chicano Movement

**Directions:** On the map provided to you locate and label each of the Chicano Movement events in the chart below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Chicano Movement Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Delano, CA</td>
<td>Establishment of the UFW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 5, 1967</td>
<td>Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico</td>
<td>Tijerina conducts armed raid on Rio Arriba County Courthouse over land grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 1968</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Establishment of the Brown Berets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1968</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Los Angeles Blowouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Sacramento, CA</td>
<td>Royal Chicano Art Front Founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 27-31, 1969</td>
<td>Denver, CO</td>
<td>First National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1969</td>
<td>Santa Barbara, CA</td>
<td>Formation of MECha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring 1969</td>
<td>Kingsville, TX</td>
<td>Chicano student walkouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall 1969</td>
<td>Abilene, TX</td>
<td>Chicano student walkouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1969</td>
<td>McAllen, TX</td>
<td>1st Chicano Moratorium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 7, 1969</td>
<td>Denver, CO</td>
<td>Anti-draft Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 20, 1969 – January 5, 1970</td>
<td>Crystal City, TX</td>
<td>Chicano student walkouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1970</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>Establishment of La Raza Unida Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 22, 1970 (takeover)</td>
<td>San Diego, CA</td>
<td>Establishment of Chicano Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 29, 1970</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>National Grape Boycott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 29, 1970</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>3rd Chicano Moratorium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28-30, 1971</td>
<td>Houston, TX</td>
<td>National Chicana Conference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50 Word Response- Mapping the Chicano Movement

Directions: Answer the following prompt on a sheet of binder paper in a 50 word response.

In what region of the United States did the majority of the Chicano Movement events take place? Given your knowledge of history why do you think this was the case?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics/Issues</th>
<th><strong>K</strong> = What I already know</th>
<th><strong>N</strong> = What I need to know to respond to the prompt</th>
<th><strong>L</strong> = What I learned from my reading and/or research</th>
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</thead>
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</tbody>
</table>

KNL Chart is an AVID methodology obtained at the 2012 AVID Summer Institute, Sacramento, CA
Student Handout 2.3: Selective and Purpose Driven Reading: Chicano Movement Documents

Selective and Purpose Driven Reading: Chicano Movement Documents

Directions: In the following exercise you will read over your given document more than once. First Read: When you read your document the first time, read it with the purpose of extrapolating the main idea. What message is the author trying to get across? Second Read: As you read over your given document the second time, read with the purpose of extrapolating the economic, social, and political conditions that caused the Chicano movement. Marking the Text: As you read over your document the second time, indicate the sections that refer to economic, social, or political conditions by highlighting each in a different color. Make a key indicating which color you used for economic, social, and political.

Example:

The Plan of Delano
(Excerpt)
PLAN for the liberation of the Farm Workers associated with the Delano Grape Strike in the State of California, seeking social justice in farm labor with those reforms that they believe necessary for their well-being as workers in these United States.

…We seek the support of all political groups and protection of the government, which is also our government, in our struggle. For too many years we have been treated like the lowest of the low. Our wages and working conditions have been determined from above, because irresponsible legislators, who could have helped us, have supported the ranchers’ argument that the plight of the Farm Worker was a “special case.” They saw the obvious effects of an unjust system, starvation wages, contractors, day hauls, forced migration, sickness, illiteracy, camps and sub-human living conditions, and acted as if they were irremediable causes.

Economic
Social
Political

Selective and Purpose Driven Reading is an AVID methodology obtained at the 2012 AVID Summer Institute, Sacramento, CA. Adapted by B. Anguiano
## Student Handout 2.4: Focused Note-Taking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Title</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Political</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Plan de Santa Barbara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is a Chicano? And What Is It Chicanos Want?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo Soy Joaquin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo Soy Chicano (song lyrics)</td>
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<td>We Want a Share</td>
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<td>Garfield High School Student Demands</td>
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<tr>
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Selective and Purpose Driven Reading is an AVID methodology obtained at the 2012 AVID Summer Institute, Sacramento, CA. Adapted by B. Anguiano
Student Handout 2.5: Third-Order Document Selection

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Third-Order Document Selection</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Directions:</strong> You have five document options to select from for your third-order document (student selected document). Examine each document carefully on your own and make a decision as to which document you would like to select. Once you have selected a document respond to the following questions and be prepared to defend your selection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the options that you had for your third-order document explain your rationale for selecting the document you chose.

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Explain how the document you selected furthers the understanding of the Chicano condition during the Chicano movement.
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EL PLAN DE AZTLÁN

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal "gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows, and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continent.

Brotherhood unites us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nation. We are a bronze people with a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the bronze continent we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlán. Por La Raza todo. Fuera de La Raza nada. (For the race everything, outside of the race nothing.)

Program

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán sets the theme that the Chicanos (La Raza de Bronze) must use their nationalism as the key or common denominator for mass mobilization and organization. Once we are committed to the idea and philosophy of El Plan de Aztlán, we can only conclude that social, economic, cultural, and political independence is the only road to total liberation from oppression, exploitation, and racism. Our struggle then must be for the control of our barrios, campos, pueblos, lands, our economy, our culture, and our political life. El Plan commits all levels of Chicano society-the barrio, the campo, the ranchero, the writer, the teacher, the worker, the professional-to La Causa.

Nationalism

Nationalism as the key to organization transcends all religious, political, class, and economic factions or boundaries. Nationalism is the common denominator that all members of La Raza can agree upon.

Organizational Goals

1. UNITY in the thinking of our people concerning the barrios, the pueblo, the campo, the land, the poor, the middle class, the professional - all committed to the liberation of La Raza.
2. **ECONOMY**: economic control of our lives and our communities can only come about by driving the exploiter out of our communities, our pueblos, and our lands and by controlling and developing our own talents, sweat and resources. Cultural background and values which ignore materialism and embrace humanism will contribute to the act of cooperative buying and the distribution of resources and production to sustain an economic base for healthy growth and development. Lands rightfully ours will be fought for and defended. Land and realty ownership will be acquired by the community for the people's welfare. Economic ties of responsibility must be secured by nationalism and the Chicano defense units.

3. **EDUCATION** must be relative to our people, i.e., history, culture, bilingual education, contributions, etc. Community control of our schools, our teachers, our administrators, our counselors, and our programs.

4. **INSTITUTIONS** shall serve our people by providing the service necessary for a full life and their welfare on the basis of restitution, not handouts or beggar's crumbs. Restitution for past economic slavery, political exploitation, ethnic and cultural psychological destruction and denial of civil and human rights. Institutions in our community which do not serve the people have no place in the community. The institutions belong to the people.

5. **SELF-DEFENSE** of the community must rely on the combined strength of the people. The front line defense will come from the barrios, the campos, the pueblos, and the ranchitos. Their involvement as protectors of their people will be given respect and dignity. They in turn offer their responsibility and their lives for their people. Those who place themselves in the front ranks for their people do so out of love and carnalismo. Those institutions which are fattened by our brothers to provide employment and political pork barrels for the gringo will do so only as acts of liberation and for La Causa. For the very young there will no longer be acts of juvenile delinquency, but revolutionary acts.

6. **CULTURAL** values of our people strengthen our identity and the moral backbone of the movement. Our culture unites and educates the family of La Raza towards liberation with one heart and one mind. We must insure that our writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture. Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as a powerful weapon to defeat the gringo dollar value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood.

7. **POLITICAL LIBERATION** can only come through independent action on our part since the two-party system is the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough. Where we are a majority, we will control; where we are a minority, we will represent a pressure group; nationally, we will represent one party: La Familia de La Raza!
### Action

1. Awareness and distribution of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. Presented at every meeting, demonstration, confrontation, courthouse, institution, administration, church, school, tree, building, car, and every place of human existence.

2. September 16, on the birthdate of Mexican Independence, a national walk-out by all Chicanos of all colleges and schools to be sustained until the complete revision of the educational system: its policy makers, administration, its curriculum, and its personnel to meet the needs of our community.

3. Self-defense against the occupying forces of the oppressors at every school, every available man, woman, and child.


5. Economic program to drive the exploiter out of our community and a welding together of our people's combined resources to control their own production through cooperative effort.

6. Creation of an independent local, regional, and national political party.

   A nation autonomous and free -culturally, socially, economically, and politically- will make its own decisions on the usage of our lands, the taxation of our goods, the utilization of our bodies for war, the determination of justice (reward and punishment), and the profit of our sweat.

   El Plan de Aztlán is the plan of liberation!

Source: http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/00W/chicano101-1/aztlan.htm (accessed April 18, 2012)
Who is a Chicano? And What Is It Chicanos Want?

February 6, 1970
Ruben Salazar
Los Angeles Times

A Chicano is a Mexican-American with a non-Anglo image of himself. He resents being told Columbus “discovered” America when the Chicano’s ancestors, the Mayans and the Aztecs, founded highly sophisticated civilizations centuries before Spain financed the Italian explorer’s trip to the “New World.”

Chicanos resent also Anglo pronouncements that Chicanos are “culturally deprived” or that the fact they speak Spanish is a “problem.” Chicanos will tell you that their culture predates that of the Pilgrims and that Spanish was spoken in America before English and so the “problem” is not theirs but the Anglos’ who don’t speak Spanish.

Having told you that, the Chicano will then contend that Anglos are Spanish-oriented at the expense of Mexicans. They will complain that when the governor dressed up as a Spanish nobleman for the Santa Barbara Fiesta he’s insulting Mexicans because the Spanish conquered and exploited the Mexicans. It’s as if the governor dressed like an English Redcoat for a Fourth of July parade, Chicanos say.

When you think you know what Chicanos are getting at, a Mexican-American will tell you that Chicano is an insulting term and may even quote the Spanish Academy to prove that Chicano derives from chicanery.

A Chicano will scoff at this and say that such Mexican-Americans have been brainwashed by Anglos and that they’re Tio Tacos (Uncle Toms). This type of Mexican-American, Chicanos will argue, don’t like the word Chicano because it’s abrasive to their Anglo-oriented minds. These poor people are brown Anglos Chicanos will smirk.

What then is a Chicano? Chicanos say if you have to ask you’ll never understand, much less become a Chicano.

Actually, the word Chicano is as difficult to define as “soul.” For those who like simplistic answers, Chicano can be defined as short for Mexicano. For those who prefer complicated answers, it has been suggested that Chicano
may have come from the word Chihuahua- the name of a Mexican state bordering on the United States. Getting trickier, this version then contends that Mexicans who migrated to Texas call themselves Chicanos because having crossed into the United States from Chihuahua they adopted the first three letters of that state, Chi, and then added cano, for the latter part of Texano.

Such explanations, however, tend to miss the whole point as to why Mexican-American activists call themselves Chicanos. Mexican-Americans, the second largest minority in the country and the largest in the Southwestern states (California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado), have always had difficulty making up their minds what to call themselves.

In New Mexico, they call themselves Spanish-Americans. In other parts of the Southwest they call themselves Americans of Mexican descent, people with Spanish surnames or Hispanos. Why, ask some Mexican-Americans, can’t we just call ourselves Mexican Americans?

Chicanos are trying to explain why not. Mexican-Americans, though indigenous to the Southwest, are on the lowest rung scholastically, economically, socially, and politically. Chicanos feel cheated. They want to effect change. Now.

Mexican-Americans average eight years of schooling compared to the Negroes’ 10 years. Farm workers, most of whom are Mexican-American in the Southwest, are excluded from the National Labor Relations Act, unlike other workers. Also, Mexican-Americans often have to compete for low-paying jobs with their Mexican brothers from across the border who are willing to work for even less. Mexican-Americans have to live with the stinging fact that the word Mexican is the synonym for inferior in many parts of the Southwest.

That is why Mexican-American activists flaunt the barrio word Chicano-as an act of defiance and a badge of honor. Mexican-Americans, though large in numbers, are so politically impotent that in Los Angeles, where the country’s largest single concentration of Spanish-speaking live, they have no one of their own on the City Council. This, in a city politically sophisticated enough to have three Negro councilmen.

Chicano, then, are merely fighting to become “Americans.” Yes, but with a Chicano outlook.

Yo Soy Joaquín (excerpt, last stanza)
By Rodolfo Corky Gonzalez

I have endured in the rugged mountains
Of our country
I have survived the toils and slavery of the fields.
   I have existed
      In the barrios of the city
      In the suburbs of bigotry
      In the mines of social snobbery
      In the prisons of dejection
      In the muck of exploitation
         And
      In the fierce heat of racial hatred.
And now the trumpet sounds,
And now the trumpet sounds.
The music of the people stirs the Revolution.
Like a sleeping giant it slowly
   Rears its head
      To the sound of
         Tramping feet
         Clamoring voices
         Mariachi strains
      Fiery tequila explosions
      The smell of chile verde and
      Soft brown eyes of expectation for a
      Better life.
And in all the fertile farmlands, the barren plains, the mountain villages,
   smoke-smeared cities,
   we start to MOVE.
      La raza!
      Méjicano!
      Español!
      Latino!
      Chicano!
   Or whatever I call myself,
      I look the same
      I feel the same
      I cry
      And
      Sing the same.
I am the masses of my people and
I refuse to be absorbed.
   I am Joaquín.
The odds are great
   But my spirit is strong,
      My faith unbreakable,
      My blood is pure.
I am Aztec prince and Christian Christ.
   I SHALL ENDURE!
I WILL ENDURE!
I am Chicano, of color,
Pure Chicano, a brother with honor.
When they tell me there is revolution,
I defend my people with great valor.
I have all my people
For the revolution.
I am going to fight alongside the poor
To end this oppression.
I have my pair of pistols
For the revolution.
One is a thirty-thirty,
And the other is a thirty-two.
I have my pair of horses
For the revolution.
One is called The Canary
And the other is called The Sparrow.
I have my pride and my manliness
My culture and my heart.
I have my faith and differences
And I fight with great conviction.
I have all my people
For the revolution.
I am going to fight alongside the poor
To end this oppression.
I have my pride, I have my faith.
I am different, I am of brown color.
I have culture, I have heart,
And no son-of-a-gun will take it away from me.

Growing up, I could see all the injustices and I would think, “If only I could do something about it! If only there was somebody who could do something about it!” That was always in the back of my mind. And after I was married, I cared about what was going on, but I felt I couldn’t do anything. So I went to work, and I came home to clean the house, and I fixed the food for the next day, took care of the children and the next day went back to work. The whole thing over and over again. Politics to me was something foreign, something I didn’t know about. I didn’t even listen to the news. I didn’t read the newspapers hardly at all...

When I became involved in the union, I felt I had to get other women involved. Women have been behind men all the time, always. In my sister-in-law and brother-in-law’s families when women do a lot of shouting and cussing they get slapped around. But that’s not standing up for what you believe in. It’s just trying to boss and now knowing how. I’d hear them scolding their kids and fighting their husbands and I’d say, “Gosh! Why don’t you go after the people that have you living like this? Why don’t you go after the growers that have you tired from working out in the fields at low wages and keep us poor all the time? Let’s go after them! They’re the cause of our misery!” Then I would say we had to take part in the things going on around us. “Women can no longer be taken for granted — that we’re just going to stay home and do the cooking and cleaning. It’s way past the time when our husbands could say, ‘You stay home! You have to take care of the children! You have to do as I say!’”

Wherever I went to speak to them, they listened. I told them about how we were excluded from the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] in 1935, how we had no benefits, no minimum wage, nothing out in the fields-no restrooms, nothing. I’d ask people how they felt about all these many years they had been working out in the fields, how they had been treated. And then we’d all talk about it.

They would say, “I was working for so-and-so, and when I complained about something that happened there, I was fired.” I said, “Well! Do you think we should be putting up with this in this modern age? You know, we’re not back in the ‘20s. We can stand up! We can talk back! It’s not like when I was a little kid and my grandmother used to say, ‘You have to especially respect the Anglos, “Yessir,” “Yes, Ma’am!” That’s over. This country is very rich, we want a share of the money those growers make [off] our sweat and our work by exploiting us and our children!” I’d have my sign
up book and I’d say, “If anyone wants to become a member of the union, I can make you one right now.” And they’d agree!

Source: Jessie Lopez de la Cruz, We Want a Share
http://wadsworth.com/history_d/special_features/ilrn_legacy/waah2c01c/content/amh2/readings/women.html (accessed June 6, 2012)
Garfield HS Student Demands

1. Class size will be reduced so that teachers can be more effective in the classroom and devote more time to each student. Team teaching approach will be used.

2. New high schools in the area be built immediately. The present local schools should be re-named to help establish community identity.

3. Counselor/student ratios should be reduced. All counselors should be able to speak Spanish.

4. Library facilities should be expanded at all East L.A. high schools to meet minimum requirements.

5. The Industrial Arts program must be re-vitalized and modernized.

6. Open-air student eating areas should be made into roofed malls.

7. All buildings already condemned should be razed and new structures erected immediately.

8. All high school campuses will be open. Fences should be removed.

9. Entrances to all buildings and restrooms should be accessible to all students during school hours.

10. School janitorial service should be restricted to employees hired for that purpose.

11. The guidance program should be realistic, with newer and better methods developed. The present I.Q. tests will be abolished and valid student testing techniques developed in their place.

12. Teachers should become more aware of the social and economic problems of the community.

13. Proper emphasis should be given to student violations—just what is the punishment being given for? What is the standard penalty for a standard infraction of rules? Who settles disputes over rules and the punishment assigned?

Document 2.G: Mexican Session Map

3rd-Order Document Option G (Student Selected)

Mexican Session Map

UFW Co founder, Dolores Huerta (West Los Angeles, 1976)
Commitment to the struggle for Chicano liberation is the operative definition of the ideology used here. Chicanismo involves a crucial distinction in political consciousness between a Mexican American and a Chicano mentality. The Mexican American is a person who lacks respect for his cultural and ethnic heritage. Unsure of himself, he seeks assimilation as a way out of his “degraded” social status. Consequently, he remains politically ineffective. In contrast Chicanismo reflects self-respect and pride in one’s ethnic and cultural background, Thus the Chicano acts with confidence and with a range of alternatives in the political world. He is capable of developing an effective ideology through action.

Mexican Americans must be viewed as potential Chicanos, Chicanismo is flexible enough to relate to the varying levels of consciousness within La Raza. Regional variations must always be kept in mind as well as the different levels of development, composition, maturity, achievement, and experience in political action. Cultural nationalism is a means of total Chicano liberation.

There are definite advantages to cultural nationalism but also inherent limitations. A Chicano ideology, especially as it involves cultural nationalism, should be positively phrased in the form of propositions to the Movement. Chicanismo is a concept that integrates self-awareness with cultural identity, a necessary step in developing political consciousness. As such, it serves the possibility of coalitions. The related concept of La Raza provides an internationalist scope to Chicanismo and La Raza Cosmica furnishes a philosophical precedent. Within this framework, the Third World Concept merits consideration.

Source: http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/00W/chicano101-1/SBplan.pdf (June 23, 2012)

<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Puzzled by Youth</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>excerpt from Militants Fight to Retain Spanish and Their Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14, 1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Los Angeles Times</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>by Ruben Salazar</td>
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Mike Gonzales, an attorney and controversial Mexican-American leader in Del Rio, said: “Anglos and older Mexican-Americans just don’t seem to know what is happening. Mexican-American kids are in the throes of self-identification.”

Use of the Spanish language, say other leaders, is one thing that Mexican-Americans have over other students and they tend to exploit it. The controversy centers on two arguments:

Mexican-American students should concentrate on English because speaking Spanish too much hurts their proficiency in the “national language,” English.

Besides, said a school psychologist, children growing up in a bicultural environment are more prone than others to neurosis and mental disorders.

Mexicans are indigenous to the Southwest, and so the Spanish language is part of their culture which should not be tampered with. Having colonized the Southwest, Spanish-speaking people refuse to abandon their traditions because of the advent of Anglo-American culture.

The controversy is not one of whether Spanish, or any other foreign language, should be taught in school. All educators agree that a person is better off speaking two or more languages. But some school officials object to Mexican-American students speaking Spanish in school and on the playground not only on the basis of it being detrimental to their English but because it irks other students who don’t speak Spanish.

In south Texas, a teacher, commenting on the controversial issue, wrote a pamphlet which reads in part:

“They are good people. Their only handicap is the bag full of superstitions and silly notions they inherited from Mexico. When they get rid of these superstitions, they will be good Americans. Their schools help more than anything else.”

### Document 2.K: Chicano Moratorium Photograph, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd –Order Document Option K (Student Selected)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Caption:</strong> Barrio, Not Vietnam—Mexican-Americans protesters carry signs on Chicano march reading, &quot;Our fight is in the barrio, not Vietnam.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Printed in the Los Angeles Times on August 30, 1970</td>
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<td>Source: Calisphere: Chicano Moratorium, cropped by B. Anguiano</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX D: Lesson Plan #3

Lesson Plan Title: Just Another Poster?: Understanding the Chicano Movement Through Chicano Art

Grade Level: 11

Historical Overview for Lesson

The Chicano Movement grew during a period of tumultuous social change. Chicanos as a group had historically been discriminated against in the United States. Often times Chicanos were not considered by mainstream American to be truly “American” despite their patriotism and military contributions in time of war. In the seemingly prosperous decade of the 1950s Chicanos in large part lacked social mobility. The Chicano Movement was caused by social injustice suffered by Chicanos. Many returning veterans of WWII found that although they had defended democracy abroad, they still did not benefit from democracy in the United States. Although there is a history of activism within the Chicano community, earlier organizations such as LULAC, part of what historian Mario T. Garcia has termed the Mexican-American generation, advocated for integration and assimilation into American society. The Chicano Movement gained momentum with the creation of the United Farm Workers in 1962. Many Chicanos were children or grandchildren of farm workers and could identify with their plight because as a group Chicanos had been oppressed. The Chicanos looked to their indigenous roots and Mexican heritage for cultural pride. The Chicano Movement expressed itself through political actions, the celebration of Chicano culture, and a push for economic opportunity and mobility.

The Royal Chicano Air Force, an art collective of Chicano artists formed at the California State University, Sacramento in 1969. The RCAF used their art as a form of protest to draw attention to issues faced by the Chicano community and to promote cultural pride. In his book Chicana and Chicano Art: ProtestArte, Carlos F Jackson said of the RCAF: The collective used humor in oppositional ways to further its goals of serving the Chicano community. It also brought multiple artists, cultural workers, and scholars together under a unified cultural front. Primarily active in the Sacramento Valley, the RCAF became a support organization for the UFW union. Members of the RCAF were regular fixtures at strikes, pickets, and protests for farmworkers’ rights…

Proponents of Chicano nationalism, RCAF members were committed to integrating art and community development. In 1973, members founded El Centro de Artistas Chicanos as a community center and silkscreen workshop. The center provided a space for artists and activists in the Sacramento region to engage in artistic production and dialogue about important community
issues. RCAF members also supported community activism through a prolific production of silkscreen posters and community murals. In addition, Esteban Villa and José Montoya—professors for many years at California State University, Sacramento—created a university-community art program to support area youth. The Barrio Art Program continues to conduct workshops in Sacramento’s working-class communities. Centro de Artistas Chicanos no longer exists, but its successor, La Raza Galería Posada, continues to produce Chicano art exhibitions and cultural programming.


**Guiding Historical question**
What role did art play in promoting the causes of the Chicano Movement?

**Follow-up Questions**
- How were the works of the RCAF an expression of the social and political context in which they worked?
- How was Chicano art influenced by other social movements within the United States?
- In what ways did Chicano art reflect the influence of Mexican art and Cuban political posters and in what ways was Chicano art specific to the Chicano experience?
- Do the images created by the RCAF amount to something more than just another poster? (Question from *Just Another Poster?: Chicano Graphic Arts in California* )
- How did Chicano artists contribute to the Chicano Movement? Why was this important?

**Objectives and Assessment Criteria:**

**Students will:**
- Examine the role of artists within society
- Examine Chicano Art as a cultural and political form of expression
- Gain an understanding of the issues central to the Chicano Movement
- Examine the role of art within the Chicano Movement
- Examine art of the RCAF and place it within the context of the Chicano Movement to gain a better understanding of the goals and concerns of the Movement
- Create a silkscreen print to draw attention to a current day social justice issue
Learning Experiences:

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>RCAF Reading and Focused Note-Taking</td>
<td>reading, and focused note-taking</td>
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<td>discussion, collaboration and analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; - order document selection</td>
<td>writing, discussion, and collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery Exhibit Wall Descriptions</td>
<td>collaboration, writing, image analysis</td>
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Bradley Commission’s Vital Theme(s)

Patterns of social and political interaction
The changing patterns of class, ethnic, racial, and gender structures and relations. Immigration, migration, and social mobility. The effects of schooling. The new prominence of women, minorities, and the common people in the study of history, and their relation to political power and influential elites. The characteristics of multicultural societies; forces for unity and disunity.

Bradley Commission’s Habits of Mind

3. Perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness.
4. Acquire at one and the same time a comprehension of diverse cultures and of shared humanity.
5. Understand how things happen and how things change, how human intentions matter, but also how their consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purpose and process.
6. Comprehend the interplay of change and continuity, and avoid assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more to be expected, than the other.
8. Grasp the complexity of historical causation, respect particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations.
10. Recognize the importance of individuals who have made a difference in history, and the significance of personal character for both good and ill.
12. Understand the relationship between geography and history as a matrix of time and place, and as context for events.
### California State Standards: Historical Thinking Skills

#### Chronological and Spatial Thinking

1. Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.

2. Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

#### Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

2. Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

4. Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

#### Historical Interpretation

1. Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

2. Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.

3. Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

4. Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

### Common Core Standards

#### College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Reading

**Key Ideas and Details**

1. Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.

2. Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.

3. Analyze how and why individuals, events, or ideas develop and interact over the course of a text.

**Craft and Structure**

4. Interpret words and phrases as they are used in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative

5. Analyze the structure of texts, including how specific sentences, paragraphs, and larger
portions of the text (e.g., a section, chapter, scene, or stanza) relate to each other and the whole.

6. Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.

**Integration of Knowledge and Ideas**

6. Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.

8. Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence.

9. Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches authors take.

“In history/social studies, for example, students need to be able to analyze, evaluate, and differentiate primary and secondary sources.” (p. 60)

**Standards Correlation:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>California State Standards: U.S. History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.8 Students analyze the economic boom and social transformation of post-World War II America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.8.2 Describe the significance of Mexican immigration and its relationship to the agricultural economy, especially in California.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10 Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10.4. Examine the roles of civil rights advocates (e.g., A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Thurgood Marshall, James Farmer, Rosa Parks), including the significance of Martin Luther King, Jr./s &quot;Letter from Birmingham Jail&quot; and &quot;I Have a Dream&quot; speech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10.5. Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement of African Americans from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham, and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quests of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materials Needed</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First-Order Document</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2A: ¡Huelga! ¡Strike!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second-Order Documents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2B: 10 y 6 de Septiembre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2C: Bilingual Education Says Twice as Much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2D: Breakfast for Niños</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2E: Free Narciso &amp; Perez!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2F: Mexican-American Political Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third-Order Documents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2G: Cesar Chavez at Sacramento State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2H: Salvadoran People’s Support Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2I: Viva La Huelga- Yes on 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2J: 200 Years of Misery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2K: This is Just Another Poster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2L: Justice for Farm Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2M: Sixteenth of September on the Seventeenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2N: Fiesta de Maiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2O: José Montoya’s Pachuco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2P: Dia de las Madres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2Q: Dia de los Muertos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2R: Chicanos por la Paz!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2S: Just Us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2T: Cinco de Mayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2U: Mercado de las Flores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2V: Benefit for the UFW: Survival Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2W: Primer Conferencia Femenil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster 3.2X: Clinica Tepati</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Activity 3.1: Introduction:**
Show Ernesto Yerena Montejano’s art. These are easy to find on the internet. You can use the art of any artist you like but his work is tied to some of the same concerns as Chicano art from the 1960s and 1970s. I have included a few images that you may want to use. As you show these to your class elicit discussion about the content and message of the works.
Featured Works: Boycott Grapes, Vietnam Aztlan, Sun Mad, We are Human, Honor the Treaties, Somos El 99%, and Stop Juan Crow Now! (Poster 3.1-3.7)
Contrast these images with images of art for art’s sake, art that does not have a political message. Lead your class through a discussion on the purposes of the artists in creating the works that they created. Follow this activity with the warm up question below.

Warm Up: Quick write & discussion
Do artists have a responsibility to create socially conscious art? Why or why not, explain.

Write the prompt for the quick write on the board. Allow students time to respond. Once students have finished writing their responses have them share their responses to generate a class discussion.

Activity Modification: Instead of having a traditional class discussion where students are sitting in their seats you may change the question into a statement and have the students move to one side of the classroom if they agree or the other side of the classroom if they disagree. For example, the statement could be Artists do not have a responsibility to create art with a political message. Agree or Disagree? Depending on your teaching style, amount of time you have for the activity, and your class, you can either have students write their response and then hold the discussion or you could pose the question, give students think time, and then begin the discussion. To start the discussion have a volunteer from either side express their point of view with an explanation (In this activity they have to provide reasoning for their response but there is no right or wrong answer, this gives students an opportunity to take risks, encourages them to think about the question at hand). Then have someone from the opposing side share their point of view. You can ask for a few responses from each side. If you want to make this into a longer activity simply create more statements to guide the discussion.

Direct Teaching:

Activity 3.2: Royal Chicano Air Force Reading and Focused Note-Taking
Make copies of the Student Handout 3.1A, students will use this sheet to take note on the reading. Go over the directions with them and clarify any questions they may have about the directions. Once students understand the directions for the assignment go over the focus question which they are to focus on as they read. Make sure students understand these before they begin the reading so that they know what information they should be looking for as they read. (This works especially well with English Language Learners).
You can have the students read as a class, in small groups, in pairs, or individually depending on your teaching style and your students. The first time you assign focused note-taking you may want to model the activity for the students. Once students have had enough time to read and fill in their note sheet you can discuss a few of the most key points with the class to reinforce those ideas.

**Activity 3.3: PowerPoint: Chicano Art: Cultural and Political Expression of the Chicano Movement**

Lecture will explain influences on Chicano art of the 1960-1970s. This lecture will help to provide background information to students in order to allow them to better understand the basis of the Chicano art and the purpose of the RCAF. This lecture will discuss the influence of Cuban Poster Art, the Art of José Guadalupe Posada, and Mexican mural art on Chicano Art. It will also explore key themes within the Chicano Movement that were expressed through art. The emphasis will be on how art of the Chicano Movement was reflective of the concerns of the Chicano community. The art of the Royal Chicano Air Force will be examined to pinpoint these ideas. (See Teacher Resource 3.4)

**Activity 3.4: RCAF Poster Analysis**

1st –Order Document (Essential Document) and Image Analysis

Copy the Poster Analysis worksheet back to back, Student Handout 3.2. Distribute this sheet to your students and go over the directions. Project the essential document (Poster 3.2A) on your document camera or transparency depending on what you have available to you (1st –order document). As a class guide the students through the analysis of this image. Students should fill out their analysis sheet as they go.

2nd –Order Document (Supporting or Contrasting Document) and Image Analysis

Once you have had students analyze the essential document explain that they will now be working in small groups of 3-5 students to analyze another poster created by the RCAF. Pre-select mixed ability groups and direct students to their groups. Give each group one image to analyze as a group. Once all groups have finished analyzing their poster have students present their findings to the class. While the presentation is taking place project the image so that everyone can reference it. (See Poster 3.2B-3.2F)

Once the presentations are over you may want to discuss the common themes of the RCAF posters and make connections to the Chicano Movement.

3rd –Order Document (Student Selected Document) and Image Analysis

After students have analyzed the 2nd –order documents and presented their findings, distribute a folder with a three to four RCAF poster images to each
group. Explain to the students that they will be selecting within their group only one of the images, so they must come to a consensus. Through discussion within their group and analysis of each of the three documents they are to select the image based on its relevance to the core ideals of the RCAF and the Chicano Movement. Explain to the students that they will be selecting the images to create a small gallery exhibit of the works of the RCAF. (See Poster 3.2G-3.2X)

Activity 3.5: 3rd –Order Document Selection- Gallery Curators
Copy and distribute the 3rd –Order Document Selection sheet, Student Handout 3.3A., one per group. Once students have selected their poster go over the directions with them and have the students respond to the questions on the sheet. Explain to students that the poster that is selected by their group will be one of the posters featured in the gallery exhibit. (You can make color copies and laminate them for the gallery exhibit) You may choose to include one or more of the posters you selected (the essential document and/or the supporting or contrasting documents).

Activity Modification: If you have more time to spend on this lesson and you would like to give your students more autonomy you can have your students search for the documents online. Calisphere has a large collection of RCAF prints available online.

Gallery Exhibit: Wall Descriptions
Share with students an example of a museum wall description. Each group will be creating their own to accompany their selection. Copy and distribute the Gallery Wall Description, Student Handout 3.3.B. Go over the directions with the class and answer any clarifying questions. These descriptions will be on display alongside their selections.

English Language Learners Modification: Scaffold this process by creating a template or sentence frames that students can use as their guide. This will provide students with the language assistance they need and allow them to focus on analyzing the content of the posters.

Extension(s):
Document Selection Reflection
You can have students write a reflection on how images tell us about the past. Possible questions to pose:

- In what ways do images provide us with a picture of the past in ways that textual documents do not?
• In what ways does art contribute to the creation of culture and therefore reflect the sentiment of an era?

• What influence can images have on social movements such as the Chicano Movement?

**Teacher Resource 3.1: Further Reading**


Teacher Resource 3.2: Related Websites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic: Royal Chicano Air Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> Video: Royal Chicano Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> ULAB for Teens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://www4.scoe.net/rfox/cuc/video_rcaf.html">http://www4.scoe.net/rfox/cuc/video_rcaf.html</a> (accessed May 9, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> Brief video clip (4:11 minutes) explaining the history of the RCAF.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic: Royal Chicano Air Force</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> Online Archive of California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> Regents of the University of California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://oac.cdlib.org/items/ark:/13030/kt9d5nd53d&amp;brand=oac">http://oac.cdlib.org/items/ark:/13030/kt9d5nd53d&amp;brand=oac</a> (accessed June 28, 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> Collection of Royal Chicano Air Force posters totaling 1,065 prints on the Online Archive of California.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Topic: Royal Chicano Air Force</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> Calisphere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> University of California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://content.cdlib.org/search?facet=type-tab&amp;relation=calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu&amp;style=cui&amp;keyword=Royal+Chicano+Air+Force">http://content.cdlib.org/search?facet=type-tab&amp;relation=calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu&amp;style=cui&amp;keyword=Royal+Chicano+Air+Force</a> (accessed June 20, 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> Collection of Royal Chicano Air Force poster and photo collection totaling 1,219 items on Calisphere.</td>
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</table>

Teacher Resource 3.3: The Political and Social Contexts of Chicano Art

**The Political and Social Contexts of Chicano Art**
Shifra M. Goldman and Tomas Ybarra-Frausto

The Chicano political movement grew out of an alliance in the 1960s of farmworkers struggling to unionize in California and Texas, the disenfranchised and dispossessed land grant owners of New Mexico, the urban working classes of the Southwest and Midwest, and the growing student movement across the country. All these were essential participants in the Chicano Movement, but not all embraced the term Chicano.

Although great economic struggles, supported by national boycotts, took place in the rural areas and were the unifying symbol of the Chicano Movement, many of the political and cultural activities of the 1960s and 1970s were centered in cities, where the greatest number of Mexican Americans and
Chicanos live today. Urban issues included police brutality, violations of civil rights, low-paid employment, inadequate housing and social services, gang warfare, drug abuse, inadequate and irrelevant education, and lack of political power. The Vietnam War was a crucial issue, and antiwar sentiment was growing. From the mid-1960s on, students were the shock troops of the urban movement.

The Chicano art movement- which in this period was a movement rather than simply a collection of individuals – arose toward the end of the 1960s. The history of the movement can be divided into two periods: from 1968 to 1975 and from 1975 to 1981 and beyond. The first period was marked by the noncommercial community-oriented attitudes and expectations of the art groups, the purposes they served, the audiences they addressed, the facilities established to promote their arts, and the collectives that flourished. The second period witnessed changes in the dynamics of an art movement subject to the fluctuations of the political movement and the imperatives of the dominant society to which that art was opposed. Crucial to this second period was the changing perception of the Chicano role in the United States and in the international arena, a perception that brought an end to separatism for most Chicanos and a closer alignment with the Third World, especially Latin American struggles. Considerations of gender issues contributed to this change. At the same time, some segments of the Chicano community tried to assimilate into the dominant society and its values and to commercialize the content and dissemination of their art.

A high sense of idealism was intrinsic to the 1968-75 period. That idealism emphasized community-oriented and public art forms, such as making posters and painting murals, and the development of artistic collectives. It also insisted on political and ethnic themes. Art was part of a whole movement to recapture, at times romantically, a people’s history and culture and formed part of the struggle for self-determination.

In the early period, the youth and the students of the movement developed a cultural nationalist philosophy that was separatist in nature, The utopian “El plan spiritual de Aztlán” (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán), adopted in March of 1969 at the huge Chicano Youth Conference in Denver, was the most influential expression of that philosophy. It called for reclamation and control of lands stolen from Mexico (the U.S. Southwest), anti-Europeanism, an insistence on the importance and glory of the brown-skinned Indian heritage, and an emphasis on humanistic and nonmaterialistic culture and education. It proclaimed that Aztlán (the Southwest from which, presumably, the Aztecs came) “belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops, and not the foreign Europeans…We are a Bronze People with a Bronze culture.” The plan committed all levels of Chicano society to the cause: “We
must insure that our writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture. Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as a powerful weapon to defeat the gringo dollar value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood.” Thus a few pages of the text established not only the ideals but also the themes of Chicano art and letters: the life, history, and heritage of a working class, Indian, spiritual, and revolutionary people.

ISSUES AND IMAGES

Civil Rights

The turbulent 1960s, which saw the genesis of the Mexican American struggle known as the Chicano Movement, were influenced by the Black civil rights movement that began in 1956 when Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to obey the Montgomery, Alabama, law providing for segregation on city buses. Many Chicano artists now past the age of thirty-five were influenced by the Black civil rights movement, whose images appear in their art. One of the earliest manifestations of that influence is Antonio Bernal’s mural in Del Rey, California, which depicts Martin Luther King, Jr., along with other Black leaders. Other artists used the images of George Jackson and the Soledad (California) case and of Angela Davis in their work. The civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr., generally espoused non-violence; however, some Black resisters preached self-defense against violence and advocated using guns if necessary. Malcolm X and the Black Panthers militantly expressed the anger of their community, as did the Brown Berets and the Comancheros del Norte for their community. Black Panther graphic artist Emory Douglas was widely known and respected in the San Francisco Bay area, while Blacks artists and muralist William Walker was influential in Chicago. In both Chicago and San Francisco, the civil rights and Third World movements of the late 1960s included a spectrum of Black, Latino, Asian, and White artists working in concert.

The Cuban Revolution

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 ushered in the decade of the 1960s and had tremendous repercussions among Latinos throughout Latin America and the United States. It was especially significant for Mexicans, who in 1910 had launched the first revolution of the twentieth century in the Americas. Although it had been truncated over the years, the Mexican Revolution was an important symbol for the Mexican communities of the Southwest.

Almost from the beginning of the revolution, the Cuban government supported culture and the arts, and Cuba generated an outstanding collection
of posters, billboards, and films. By 1970, knowledge of Cuban posters became widespread in the United States through publication of the oversized picture book The Art of Revolution: Castro’s Cuba, 1959-1970. In San Francisco, the Chicano-run Galería de la Raza mounted an exhibit of photographs of Cuba and silkscreen posters by Cuban artist René Mederos. This was in 1970; in 1974 Chicano artist Juan Fuentes organized a Cuban poster exhibit at San Francisco’s Palace of the Legion and Honor. Exposure to Cuban posters was very important for the burgeoning Chicano poster movement of northern California, one of the strongest in the country.

Labor: The Farmworkers Movement

Labor conflict, particularly in the large factory-farms of California, was not unique to the 1960s. Almost without exception every strike in which Mexicans participated in the 1930s and after was broken by vigilantes, official violence, and deportations. The chief difference in the 1960s was that César Chávez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) challenged the so-called green giants and succeeded. In addition, because of its creative organizing methods, the UFW brought the labor struggle to the attention of the nation and the world. In the organizing process, two strong visual symbols became central to Chicano visual artists: the Virgen of Guadalupe and the red, black, and white thunderbird flag appeared in virtually every procession and demonstration. In addition, from 19674 on, the union began publishing the bilingual, biweekly newspaper El Malcriado: The Voice of the Farmworker, which prominently featured graphics and photography. Andy Zermeño, the staff cartoonist for many years, produced effective caricatures of issues affecting the farmworkers, from the boycott of grapes to the activities of Richard Nixon. …The entire Chicano Movement responded energetically to the activities of the farmworkers. In particular, thousands of city dwellers across the nation participated in the grape and lettuce boycotts. The Movement’s first cultural expression was that of the Teatro Campesino, which Luis Valdez created in 1965 in Delano, California, to teach and organize Chicano farmworkers…

Education: The Student and Youth Movements

1968 was a year of international protest. The student movement began four years earlier with the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1964 students challenged the administration to respect their right to use the free speech zone on campus to articulate the political issues of the day. Chicano students, in particular responded to the student demonstrations in Mexico during the 1968 Olympic games, the graphics of that movement, and the Tlatelolco massacre of protesters on October 2 that brought these events to world attention.
Chicanismo evolved from the student movement and radicalized politics. It engaged and promoted the issues of national identity, dignity, self-worth, pride, uniqueness, and cultural rebirth. Primarily a youth movement, it nevertheless cut across class, regional, and occasionally generational lines. The mystiques of nationalism and indigenism contained within the concept of Chicanismo unified the heterogeneous movement; they cemented the national network of students and youth that began to form in the second half of the 1960s.

An early set of events that produced a large cultural expression was the East Los Angeles high school blowouts, in which students went on strike to demand relevant education and protest the behavior of racist teachers. In May 1969 the committee that had organized students around these educational demands put on the Fiesta de los Barrios at Lincoln High School. For four days, the festival entertained about ten thousand people with Chicano music, dance, literature, art, and food.

The Chicano student youth movement was fertile soil for Chicano artists. Despite sympathetic and influential teachers in many schools, institutional disinterest or hostility forced Chicano art students to research their cultural roots and heritage outside the system and to develop an artistic language of protest and self-identification. Perhaps the most important structure for artistic education and dissemination was and continues to be the network of alternative art centers and galleries. Artists functioning as teachers in the local community, as muralists and mural art directors, and as exhibiting artists, gathered in centers and galleries that provided an outlet for their didactic and aesthetic energies. Numerous lectures, conferences, and round tables were sponsored by or held on the temporary and permanent premises of centers such as Casa Aztlán in Chicago or the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center in San Antonio…

Teacher Resource 3.4: Chicano Art: Cultural and Political Expression of the Chicano Movement PowerPoint

Slide 1

CHICANO ART:
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EXRESSION OF THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

Slide 2

- Influenced by Mexican artists
- Jose Guadalupe Posada
- Mexican muralists: Los Tres Grandes
- Imagery: celebration of indigenous roots
- Affirmation of Chicano culture
- International influence
- Mexican art and artists
- Cuban political posters

Slide 3

Cuban Political Posters

Slide 4

Theme: International Struggles

Slide 5

Mural Art

Slide 6

Jose Guadalupe Posada
Slide 13
Worker's Rights
La Lechugueras
Juana Alicia 1983

Slide 16
RIFA
Leonard Castellanos

Slide 14
Southside Park
Sacramento, CA
1977

Slide 17
Royal Chicano Art Front

Slide 15
Poster Art
- Rebel Chicano Art Front/Royal Chicano Art Force
- Support of the UPW & Chicano movement
- Art as a means of social change
- "The Personal is Political"
- UFW & Teens, Videos
Boycott Grapes
Xavier Viramontes

Slide 18
SMUX
Cesar Chavez National Monument
Poster 3.1: Boycott Grapes

Xavier Viramontes

Boycott Grapes, silk screen poster, 1973

Poster 3.2: Vietnam Aztlan

Malaquias Montoya
Vietnam Aztlan, silk screen poster, 1973
Poster 3.3: Sun Mad

Ester Hernandez

Sun Mad, serigraph, 1982

Poster 3.4: We Are Human

Ernesto Yerena Montejano
We Are Human

Poster 3.5: Honor the Treaties

Ernesto Yerena Montejano
Honor the Treaties

Poster 3.6: Somos El 99%

Ernesto Yerena Montejano

Somos El 99%

Poster 3.7: Stop Juan Crow!

Favianna Rodriguez, Roberto Lovato, and Gan Golan

Stop Juan Crow!

# Student Handout 3.1A: Focused Note-Taking: Royal Chicano Air Force

## Focused Note-Taking

**Directions:** As you read the article on the Royal Chicano Air Force take notes about the reading on this sheet. Taking focused notes while you are reading will help you better understand the content presented to you in the reading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Questions</th>
<th>Focused Note-Taking: Royal Chicano Air Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When was the RCAF created and for what reason?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Who were the founding members? What positions did some of them hold? Why was this important?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What was the relationship of the RCAF to the United Farm Workers? How did this relationship represent their values?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What was the purpose of the RCAF?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>What connections to the community did the RCAF have?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What cultural images from Chicano culture were commonly included in the works of the RCAF?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given what you know about the Chicano Movement, in what context was the RCAF created? How did their context influence their work?</td>
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Focused Note-Taking is an AVID methodology obtained at the 2012 AVID Summer Institute, Sacramento, CA
Royal Chicano Air Force

The Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF), founded in 1968, deserves a special place in Chicano art history as one of the first collectives. Founding members José Montoya, Esteban Villa, Juanishi V. Orosco, Ricardo Favela, and Rudy Cuellar shaped the Chicano cultural landscape with their antics and ground-breaking political art. They mobilized Chicano artists and community members to support the Chicano movement and promoted the United Farm Workers (UFW) as Chávez rose to national prominence. RCAF empowered the immediate community to replace a sense of “other” with a sense of “us” through cultural and educational services, thus demonstrating the relationship of art to community. The group’s message of self-determination and Chicano identity in art championed cultural resistance and social change to give Chicanos a distinct voice and presence in their local communities.

Montoya and Villa, art professors at the California State University at Sacramento in the 1960s, founded the group under the name Rebel Chicano Art Front. They soon discovered they shared their acronym (RCAF) with the Royal Canadian Air Force. Tongue in cheek, they took advantage of the coincidence and renamed themselves the Royal Chicano Air Force! To enhance the locura (madness), RCAF dressed in old military uniforms during public demonstrations to resemble pilots. These “pilots of Aztlán” defended the rights of the poor and of workers.

Aesthetically, RCAF stressed the distinction of Chicano art from Mexican art while noting that both expressions shared certain political experiences such as social commentary and its censorship. Born of the working class, group members rejected neocolonialism and assimilation and fought instead to maintain their Mexican American heritage and to reclaim Aztlán, land of their ancient Mexica (Aztec) ancestors. In their brand of social commentary, RCAF members introduced neo-indigenism by highlighting Mexican Indian roots in the community.

Through art and education, RCAF asserted that Chicanos are Americans who are part of U.S. society and proud of their Mexican heritage. RCAF helped bridge the gap between the barrio and higher education with the Barrio Art Program that recruited university students to teach art in the community. RCAF organized printmaking workshops, as well. Using a Chicano pop-art style, RCAF invigorated the printmaking tradition by portraying diverse cultural and political elements found in Chicano culture. In their body of work, RCAF artists featured the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexican revolutionaries, undocumented workers, and pachucos (Mexican and Chicano...
hipsters or rebels of the 1940s and 1950s, also known as “zoot suiters” because of the suits that they helped popularize. RCAF humorously exploited la calavera, or skeleton, following the great Mexican printmaker José Guadalupe Posada in the early twentieth century, to examine social issues and universal truths.

The group’s posters protested inequalities in state politics, such as when former Governor Ronald Reagan attacked the selection process and funding of minority students in California. Impressed by the RCAF, César Chávez personally commissioned its members’ artwork for UFW demonstrations and marches. Based on RCAF’s unflagging support of the United Farm Workers, Montoya was asked to read César Chávez’ words in a special performance by the Camellia Symphony of Sacramento to honor the Chicano civil rights hero’s memory two years after his death in 1992.

RCAF directly contributed to the neighborhood economy. In 1972 the collective opened a nonprofit umbrella organization, Centro de Artistas Chicanos, which facilitated a bookstore, car repair shop, performance group, and graphic design center. RCAF also ran the Breakfast for Niños program to feed needy children. The growth of the RCAF coincided with the displacement of the barrio and its public spaces, such as rundown Southside Park. RCAF transformed the eyesore into a “people’s park” by painting a mural that served as a visual background for community-wide events during the 1970s. This community’s act of reclamation symbolized “people’s power” in the face of the city’s blatant failure to promote desperately needed urban renewal.

The artists of RCAF combined the Chicano ideology with symbolism to create some of the Chicano mural movement’s finest works. In 1969 and 1970 Villa and students painted Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bicultural Society, a mural in the Washington Neighborhood Center in Sacramento, California. In 1975 RCAF helped artists in San Diego paint murals on freeway bridges and pylons that transformed a near-wasteland into the historically famous “Chicano Park.” The project was especially important because RCAF took the bold historic step of inviting Chicana artists like Yolanda López to participate in a field dominated by men.

RCAF humanized art to respond to the needs of the community, ultimately promoting and preserving Chicano cultural identity. Loyal to the greater cause, RCAF steadfastly embraced traditional values of family, church, and school and acted as community advocate and mediator. During its lifetime, RCAF demonstrated the value and need for Chicano art in the community. In doing so, it helped define the emerging Chicano aesthetic at a grassroots level. RCAF artists drew creative inspiration and personal motivation from the
people and took many of their political ideas and artistic images directly from the wellspring of Chicano culture. Although the actual Chicano political movement is now defunct, its ideals continue to flourish. Chicanismo yet prevails, especially as expressed in the Chicano art movement, which is still alive and productive, perhaps in part due to the impetus that RCAF provided to its initial development. RCAF should be recognized in contemporary U.S. popular history because these prolific activist-artists also brought Chicano art to the attention of broader American audiences.

**Student Handout 3.2: Poster Analysis Worksheet**

**Poster Analysis Worksheet**

Title: ___________________  
Artist: ___________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What I Observe</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text/Words</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is explicitly stated on the poster?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Images/Symbols** |              |
| Describe the images or symbols you see. |              |

| **Context** |              |
| What is the context of the image? What connections can be made to the other movements based on this? |              |

| **Knowledge-** |              |
| Prior- What prior knowledge can you relate to this? |              |

Adapted from Calisphere Poster Analysis Sheet
Poster 3.2A: ¡Huelga! / ¡Strike!

Ricardo Favela
¡Huelga! / ¡Strike!, 1976
Special Collection and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2B: 10 y 6 de Septiembre

Rudy Cuellar
10 y 6 de Septiembre, 1977
Special Collection and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2C: Bilingual Education Say Twice as Much

Rudy Cuellar
Bilingual Education Says Twice as Much, 1975
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2D: Breakfast for Niños

Luis Gonzalez
Breakfast for Niños, 1977
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2E: Free Narciso & Perez!!

Luis Gonzalez
Free Narcisco and Perez!!, 1977
Special Collections and University Archives
Poster 3.2F: Mexican-American Political Association

Raul Suarez
Mexican-American Political Association, 1978
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Post 3.2G: Cesar Chavez at Sacramento State

José Montoya
Cesar Chavez at Sacramento State, 1976
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2I: Viva La Huelga- Yes on 14

Luis Gonzalez
Viva La Huelga- Yes on 14, 1976
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2J: 200 Years of Misery

Manuel Diaz
200 Years of Misery, 1976
Special Collections and University Archives
Poster 3.2K: This is Just Another Poster

Luis Gonzalez
This is Just Another Poster, 1976
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2L: Justice for Farm Workers

Esteban Villa
Justice for Farm Workers, mid-1970s
Special Collections and University Archives
Poster 3.2M: Sixteenth of September on the Seventeenth

Rudy Cuellar
Sixteenth of September on the Seventeenth, 1978
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2N: Fiesta de Maiz

Rudy Cuellar
Fiesta de Maiz, 1977
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2O: José Montoya’s Pachuco

Rudy Cuellar, José Montoya, and Luis Gonzalez
José Montoya’s Pachuco, 1978
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2P: Dia de las Madres

Ricardo Favela
Dia de las Madres, 1976
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2Q: Dia de Los Muertos

Ricardo Favela
Dia de Los Muertos, 1977
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2R: Chicanos por la Paz!

José Montoya
Chicanos por la Paz!, 1970
Calisphere, http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7r29p4n0/?query=Chicanos por la paz&brand=calisphere (accessed, July 2, 2012)
José Montoya

*Just Us, no date*

Poster 3.2T: Cinco de Mayo

Armando Cid

Cinco de Mayo, 1976

Poster 3.2U: Mercado de las Flores

Luis Gonzalez
Mercado de las Flores, 1975
Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
Poster 3.2V: Benefit for the UFW: Survival Fair

Rudy Cuellar and Juanishi Orosco
Benefit for the UFW: Survival Fair, no date
Poster 3.2W: Primer Conferencia Femenil

Eva Garcia
Primer Conferencia Femenil, no date
Poster 3.2X: Clinica Tepati

Esteban Villa

Clinica Tepati, early 1970s

Special Collections and University Archives, Sacramento State University
**Student Handout 3.3A: Third-Order Document Selection**

**Third-Order Document Selection- Poster Gallery Exhibit**

**Directions:** Congratulations on your new career! You are a Gallery Curator. It is your responsibility to select the work that will be shown in the RCAF Gallery Exhibit. You have three poster options to select from for your third-order document (student selected document). Examine each document carefully within your group, discuss the content of the posters, and come to a consensus as to which document you would like to select to be viewed in the gallery exhibit. The poster you select should be one that your group believes truly encompasses the essence of the Royal Chicano Air Force. Once you have selected a document respond to the following questions and be prepared to defend your selection.

Given the options that you had for your third-order document explain your rationale for selecting the document you chose.

Explain how the document you selected reflects the core beliefs and purpose of the RCAF.

Given the poster your group selected, what role did art play in the Chicano Movement?
# Student Handout 3.3B: Gallery Wall Description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gallery Wall Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artist Name:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of the Work:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the Work:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the artist communicating?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What connection does it have to the Chicano Movement?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What was the context of the Poster? (Economically, socially, and politically what was happening at the time it was created?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide a title for the gallery exhibit and explain your rationale for selecting this title.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E: Lesson Plan #4

Title: Chicana Feminism: Chicanas and the Chicano Movement

Grade Level: 11

### Historical Overview for Lesson

The Chicano Movement grew during a period of tumultuous social change. Chicanos as a group have historically been discriminated against in the United States. Often times Chicanos were not considered by mainstream American to be truly “American” despite their patriotism and military contributions in time of war. In the seemingly prosperous decade of the 1950s Chicanos in large part lacked social mobility. The Chicano Movement emerged in the 1960s in response to the social injustice suffered by Chicanos. Chicana feminism grew during the Chicano movement as Chicanas began to explore and express their concerns. The Chicano Movement expressed itself in terms of familia (family), carnalismo (brotherhood), and raza (the race). As the Chicano Movement agenda developed Chicanas were involved in community activism as well as student activism. As the movement unfolded Chicanas began to understand their condition as part of an oppressed racial minority, as working class members, and as women within a patriarchal society. Although Chicanas were heavily involved in the movement they felt that their concerns were not being heard out and that the concerns they raised were perceived as secondary goals to be accomplished after their “real issues” were resolved. Yet, despite the setbacks that they faced within the Chicano Movement Chicanas were committed to the movement. They felt that it was necessary for them to get Chicanos to understand their plight, how it was intertwined with that of Chicanos, and for Chicanas and Chicanos to fight together against their oppressive conditions toward social justice for Chicanos as a familia (family).

### Guiding Historical Question

Why did Chicana feminists define and respond to racial, class, and gender oppression?

### Follow-up Questions

- What concerns were central to Chicana Feminists?
- How did the lack of the Chicano Movement and the Women’s Liberation movement to address the concerns of Chicanas influence the rise of Chicana feminism?
- How did Chicana feminists expand the push for civil rights?
Objectives and Assessment Criteria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students will:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Examine a historian’s perspective regarding Chicana feminism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Use pinpoint author’s claims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Analyze Chicana feminist documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Write a historical interpretation based on evidence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Learning Experiences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicana Feminist Thought Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicanismo and Chicana Feminist Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCIM-C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bradley Commission’s Vital Theme(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comparative history of major developments</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The characteristics of revolutionary, reactionary, and reform periods across time and place. Imperialism, ancient and modern. Comparative instances of slavery and emancipation, feudalism and centralization, human successes and failures, of wisdom and folly. Comparative elites and aristocracies; the role of family, wealth, and merit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bradley Commission’s Habits of Mind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Distinguish between the important and the inconsequential, to develop the “discriminating memory” needed for a discerning judgment in public and personal life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Acquire at one and the same time a comprehension of diverse cultures and of shared humanity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Understand how things happen and how things change, how human intentions matter, but also how their consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purpose and process.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Grasp the complexity of historical causation, respect particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations.
11. Appreciate the force of the nonrational, the irrational, the accidental, in history and human affairs.
13. Read widely and critically in order to recognize the difference between fact and conjecture, between evidence and assertion, and thereby to frame useful questions.

**Primary Source(s)**

| A. Resolution to Establish Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional |
| B. Workshop Resolutions: 1st National Chicana Conference |
| C. La Vision Chicana |
| D. Unequal Opportunity and the Chicana |
| E. Chicanas on the Move |
| F. Resolutions from the Chicana Workshop |
| G. El Plan del Barrio |
| H. The Chicana and the Women’s Rights Movement |
| I. Raza Unida Party Platform on Chicanas |

**Standards Correlation:**

**California State Standards: U.S. History**

11.10 Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights.
11.10.5. Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement of African Americans from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham, and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quests of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities.
11.10.7. Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.
11.11.6. Analyze the persistence of poverty and how different analyses of this issue influence welfare reform, health insurance reform, and other social policies.

**Historical Thinking Skills**

**Chronological and Spatial Thinking**

1. Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.
2. Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.

3. Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

4. Students relate current events to the physical and human characteristics of places and regions.

**Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View**

1. Students distinguish valid arguments from fallacious arguments in historical interpretations.

2. Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

3. Students evaluate major debates among historians concerning alternative interpretations of the past, including an analysis of authors' use of evidence and the distinctions between sound generalizations and misleading oversimplifications.

4. Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

**Historical Interpretation**

1. Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

2. Students recognize the complexity of historical causes and effects, including the limitations on determining cause and effect.

3. Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

4. Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

5. Students analyze human modifications of landscapes and examine the resulting environmental policy issues.

6. Students conduct cost-benefit analyses and apply basic economic indicators to analyze the aggregate economic behavior of the U.S. economy.

**Common Core Standards**

**College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Reading**

**Key Ideas and Details**

1. Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
2. Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
3. Analyze how and why individuals, events, or ideas develop and interact over the course of a text. (p.60)

**Craft and Structure**
4. Interpret words and phrases as they are used in a text, including determining technical, connotative, and figurative
5. Analyze the structure of texts, including how specific sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text (e.g., a section, chapter, scene, or stanza) relate to each other and the whole.
6. Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.

**Integration of Knowledge and Ideas**
6. Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.*
8. Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, including the validity of the reasoning as well as the relevance and sufficiency of the evidence.
9. Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches authors take. (p. 60)

“In history/social studies, for example, students need to be able to analyze, evaluate, and differentiate primary and secondary sources.” (p. 60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materials Needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Computer with Internet Access, student handouts, Chicana feminist documents, CTX Projector, Projector Screen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lesson**

**Activity 4.1: Introduction:**

**Direct Teaching: Introduction to Chicana Feminism:**
Provide a brief introduction to the development and rise of Chicana feminism placing it within the context of the Chicano Movement and the other social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guiding Historical Question for this Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How did the ideology of <em>Chicanismo</em> influence Chicana feminism?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Activity 4.2A: Chicana Feminist Thought Reading and Marking the Text

Present the students with the guiding historical question for this section, How did the ideology of Chicanismo influence Chicana feminism? Before introducing this strategy to your students read Marking the Text, Teacher’s Resource 1.7. This will give you an understanding of the methodology and how it works. (See Student Handout 4.2 for the reading)

Copy and distribute Marking the Text, Student Handout 4.1: Marking the Text. Go over the directions with your class. Clarify any questions they may have before beginning the activity. The first time you introduce this activity walk students through numbering the paragraphs to make sure everyone is on the same page, this will facilitate class discussion of the reading. Model Marking the Text for 2-3 paragraphs so that students become comfortable with the activity.

1st Read: During the first read instruct students to read for the purpose of getting a general idea of the information the author is presenting. You may want to do this as a whole class the first time.

2nd Read: The first time you use this strategy during the second read have students work in pre-selected small reading groups to complete the assignment. This way, students will have the help of their peers as they go through the process. Monitor the class as students are working in their reading groups so that you can help clarify any questions they may have. During this second read students will be marking the text as specified in the directions. Students should keep the directions out so that they can reference them as they are working through the reading.

Activity 4.2B: Class Discussion: Chicana Feminist Thought

After students have read the excerpt from the introduction to Chicana Feminist Thought and marked the text have students discuss the reading. Possible questions for discussion of the article are:

- What criticisms did Chicanas have of Chicanos?
- What was the goal of Chicana feminism?
- How did the radical climate of the 60s and 70s influence the Chicano Movement?
- What were some of the key areas of focus of the Chicano Movement?
- What concerns did Chicanos have regarding the Vietnam War? How did these concerns reflect or differ from the concerns of the larger anti-war movement?
- In what way was the Chicano movement a “Chicano Renaissance”?
- What was Chicanismo and what role did it play within the Chicano Movement?
According to Garcia, what marked the beginning of Chicana political activism?

What similarities existed between Chicana feminists and other feminists of color?

According to Garcia, what caused the growth of Chicana Feminist thought?

What claims does the author make about the place of Chicana feminism within the Chicano Movement?

Activity Modification: You could have students generate questions for class discussion instead of using the questions that I have created.

Activity 4.2C: Written Response: Chicanismo and Chicana Feminism

Now that students have completed the reading, marked the text, and discussed the reading as a class, bring the students back to the guiding historical question for this section. How did the ideology of Chicanismo influence Chicana feminism?

Using evidence from the reading, students are to respond to the guiding historical question.

Activity 4.3: SCIM-C Strategy:

Introduction

This is a method of historical inquiry created by a history and social science teacher educator, an educational psychologist/technologist, and an academic historian. You will find a full explanation of the process to be used for this method online at historicalinquiry.com. On the site you will find an introduction to historical inquiry, an explanation of the method, and three demonstration videos. Use the videos as an instructional tool to guide your students through the process. To do this, access the site online and project the videos on your projector. The videos provide easy to follow explanations with visuals to help students understand the method and the connections between the different steps of historical inquiry.

Using Resolution to Establish Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Document 4.A. walk students through the SCIM process following the model in the videos and/or the questions on the student handout for SCIM-C, (See Student Handout 4.3)

Activity Modification: If you have access to a computer lab on campus you can take students to the lab and have them go through the SCIM-C Tutorial individually. As students are going through the presentation, have them write down questions they have about the process so that they can ask you once they
have finished viewing the presentation. This method will allow students who need repetition on any of the sections to go back to it before moving on.

**SCIM-C Document Analysis**
Once you have done this with the first document divide students into pre-selected mixed ability groups. Assign each group 3-5 documents to analyze (you can increase the number of documents if you find it necessary, but when you are still teaching the students the skills for this method of analysis you want to keep the number of documents smaller). (I included a total of nine documents, you can select the documents you find most suitable for your class.) Within the group students will be working through the Summary, Contextualizing, Inferring, and Monitoring Questions first, then once they have looked over a few documents they will be able to work on the Corroborating Questions. As students are working through the analysis of the documents they should keep in mind the Guiding Historical Question: **Why did Chicana feminists define and respond to racial, class, and gender oppression?** Once students have analyzed their document set they should be able to compose their own historical interpretation based on their analysis of the documents. (See Document 4.B-4.1)

**Activity Modification:**
You can have half of the groups work on analyzing four documents and the other half of the class analyzing the other four documents. Once student have analyzed their document sets you can hold a class discussion about their findings given the documents that they had to work with. This can lend itself to a discussion about sources and how sources available influence a historian’s perspective.

**SCIM-C Historical Interpretation**
Have students write their own interpretation to the guiding historical question based on their findings through their analysis of the documents.

**English Language Learners Modification:**
Create a template or sentence frames that can be used by your EL students to write up their historical interpretation.

**Teacher Resource 4.1: Further Reading**


### Teacher Resource 4.2: Related Web Sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Topic:</strong> Chicana Feminists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> Chicana Por Mi Raza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> Maria Cotera PhD, University of Michigan Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://chicanapormiraza.org/">http://chicanapormiraza.org/</a> (accessed July 28, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> This website seeks to provide broad-based public access to oral histories, material culture, correspondence, and rare out-of-print publications for use in both scholarly research and in the classroom. This website is very new and is undergoing construction at this point.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Topic:</strong> Chicana Feminist Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> Chicanas Speak Out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> Special Collections Library, Duke University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/wlm/chicana/">http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/wlm/chicana/</a> (accessed May 2, 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> This website provides Chicana feminists documents that were published in Chicanas Speak Out in 1971.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Topic:</strong> Chicana Feminist Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong> Roots and Resistance: The Emergent Writings of Twenty Years of Chicana Feminist Struggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author:</strong> Teresa Córdova, Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Web Address:</strong> <a href="http://www.latinoteca.com/latcontent/repository/free-content/Sociology/Roots%20and%20Resistance">http://www.latinoteca.com/latcontent/repository/free-content/Sociology/Roots%20and%20Resistance</a> (accessed July 28, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong> In this paper the author provides an overview of the development of writings of Chicana feminists. The focus of the paper is on Chicanas who were politically influenced by the Chicano Movement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Student Handout 4.1: Marking the Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Handout 4.1: Marking the Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number the Paragraphs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before you read, take a moment and number the paragraphs in the section you are planning to read. Start with the number one and continue numbering sequentially until you reach the end of the text or reading assignment. Write the number near the paragraph indentation and circle the number; write it small in the margin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like page numbers, paragraph numbers will act as a reference so you can easily refer to specific sections of the text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Circle Key Terms, Names of People, Names of Places, and or Dates** |
| In order to identify a **key term**, consider if the word or phrase is… |
| • repeated |
| • defined by the author |
| • used to explain or represent an idea |
| • used in an original (unique) way |
| • a central concept or idea |
| • relevant to one’s reading purpose |

| **A claim is an arguable statement or assertion made by the author.** Data, facts, or other backing should support an author’s assertion. Consider the following statements: |
| • A claim may **appear anywhere** in the text (beginning, middle, or end) |
| • A claim may **not appear explicitly** in the argument, so the reader must infer it from the evidence presented in the text |
| • Often, an author will make **several claims** throughout his or her argument |
| • An author may signal his or her claim, letting you know that this is his or her position |

| **Underline Relevant Information** |
| While reading informational texts (i.e., textbooks, reference books, etc.) read carefully to identify information that is relevant to the reading task. Relevant information might include: |
| • A process |
| • Evidence |
| • Definitions |
| • Explanations |
| • Descriptions |
| • Data/Statistics |

Source: AVID Weekly Making the Text, Teacher Reference
During the turbulent years of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, a generation of Chicana feminists raised their voices in opposition to the gender tensions and conflicts that they were experiencing as women within the Chicano social protest movement. Although the Chicano movement – an insurgent uprising among a new political generation of Mexican Americans challenged persistent patterns of societal inequality in the United States, it ignited a political debate between Chicanas and Chicanos based on the internal gender contradictions prevalent within El Movimiento. Chicana feminists produced an ideological critique of the Chicano cultural nationalist movement that struggled against social injustice yet maintained patriarchal structures of domination. Chicana feminist thought reflected a historical struggle by women to overcome sexist oppression but still affirm a militant ethnic consciousness. As they forged a feminist consciousness, Chicana feminists searched for the elusive “room of their own” within the socio-historical and political context of the Chicano movement.

**El Movimiento: The Paradox of Civil Rights and Ethnic Nationalism**

Influenced by the Black nationalist movement and the Mexican-American community’s historical legacy of discrimination and structural inequality in American society, a generation of Mexican-Americans channeled their collective energies into a militant civil rights and ethnic nationalist movement in the late 1960s and 1970s. Surrounded by a radical climate of national political protests and insurgency such as the Black power movement, the anti-Vietnam War Movement and the second wave of the women’s movement, the movimiento focused on social, political, and economic self-determination and autonomy for Mexican-American communities throughout the United States. This focus at the same time manifested a paradoxical agenda of civil rights and equal opportunity demands, on the one hand, and a more separatist ethnic nationalist rebellion, on the other.

This paradox revealed not a monolithic political base, but a Chicano movement that evolved from various struggles with specific leaders, agendas, and organizational strategies and tactics. The New Mexico land grant movement, for example, headed by Reies López Tijerina fought for the rights of the dispossessed Hispanos, as those from New Mexico called themselves, whose lands had been lost as a result of the war between the United States and Mexico (1846-1848). In California, César Chávez and Dolores Huerta organized migrant farm workers into the United Farm Workers union whose strikes, boycotts, and victories against the state’s agribusiness would become
the soul and inspiration of the Chicano movement as well as a national and international symbol of a struggle for social justice and equal rights. The urban-based Colorado Crusade for Justice, spearheaded by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzalez, mobilized Mexican-American communities around the issues of political self-determination and community autonomy. In Texas, José Angél Gutiérrez founded a third political party- the Raza Unida Party- and challenged the state’s political system for its systematic exclusion of the Mexican American community. Gutiérrez and the Raza Unida Party’s electoral revolt and victory in Crystal City, Texas, in 1970, became a political metaphor for the strength and tenacity of El Movimiento. In high schools and universities throughout the Southwest, Mexican-American students organized their collective efforts into radical confrontation with an educational system that they indicted for its patterns of discrimination. Generations of Mexican-American parents had identified the educational system as a barrier to their children’s achievement of the American dream: upward social mobility. After decades of educational neglect, young Chicanos and Chicanas organized school boycotts, known as blowouts, as a sign of militant protest.

Drafted in large numbers into the military and out of proportion to their population in the country, Chicanos organized their own significant anti-war movement. This protest reached its zenith when over 20,000 demonstrators, mostly Chicano, protested the war in the National Chicano Anti-War Moratorium in East Los Angeles on

Culturally, the movement released a new energy of artistic and literary expression in what constituted a “Chicano Renaissance.” Poets, writers, playwrights, and artists mobilized art as a political weapon for “La Causa”- the Chicano movement. The movement was not the first time that Mexican-Americans had protested their second-class status. Indeed, a strong historical legacy protest existed, but the movement was the largest and most widespread expression of Mexican-American discontent.

**Cultural Nationalism: Ideology of a Movement**

In 1967, Corky Gonzales’s epic poem, “I am Joaquín” reverberated “a triumphant vision, a tearful lamentation, and affirmation of… Chicano people. [W]ritten in fire, shouted in song and whispered in pain.” Sharing ideological roots with Black cultural nationalism, Chicano cultural nationalism- Chicanismo- advocated an ideology and spirit of active resistance within Mexican-American communities throughout the United States. Gonzales’s poem, representative of a resurgent Chicano cultural renaissance, echoed a collective social and political lament throughout the movement:

I am Joaquín
Lost in a world of confusion,
Caught up in a whirl of gringo society…
Chicanismo emphasized cultural pride as a source of political unity and strength capable of mobilizing Chicanos and Chicanas into an oppositional political group within the dominant political landscape in the United States. As an ideology, Chicanismo crystallized the essence of a nationalist ideology: collective ethnic consciousness. Chicano cultural nationalism placed the socio-historical experiences of Mexican-Americans within a theoretical model of internal colonialism. Chicano communities represented ethnic “nations” or “internal colonies” under the domination and exploitation of the United States.

As a result, Mexican-Americans in the 1960s still faced fundamental inequalities in comparison to many other ethnic groups especially Euro-Americans. More than one-third of all Mexican-Americans lived in poverty and the average educational attainment for Mexican-Americans was less than eighth grade, the lowest in the country. Job and wage discrimination added to poor housing opportunities only compounded the Mexican-American position in the United States.

Chicanismo served as a dynamically effective tool capable of mobilizing divergent struggles within the Chicano movement. By the late 1960s, cultural nationalism served a dual political purpose. Chicanismo provided a unifying worldview for El Movimiento while, at the same time, it provided the ideological link which cut across such groups as the Raza Unida Party, the United Farm Workers, the Crusade for Justice, and the student movement.

In time, Chicanismo gave rise to a parallel movement of ideological opposition that began to gain momentum. Many Chicanas, active within every sector of the movement, raised their voices in a collective feminist challenge to the sexism and male domination that they were experiencing within the movimiento. Developing first as cultural nationalists, these Chicanas began to see and experience some of the contradictions of Chicanismo, specifically as it applied to women. From their nationalist base, Chicana activists began to evolve also as feminists.

The Struggles of Chicana Feminists
Chicanas participated actively during this entire period of social protest and community mobilization. Their work within each of the strands of the movement undermined long-standing stereotypes of Mexican-American women. Chicanas struggled for social equality during this period as had past generations of Mexican women in the United States.

Chicana feminists inherited a historical tradition of political activism dating back to the immigrant generation of Mexican women, who together with their families crossed the border into the United States at the turn of the century. Mexican immigrant women and their families fled the upheaval produced by the Mexican Revolution of 1910 as well as from economic displacement and poverty. Communities of Mexican immigrant families
settled throughout the Southwest joining pre-existing communities created after the U.S.-Mexico war of 1848. El Paso, San Antonio, San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara— all experienced dramatic societal transformations that would shape the future generations of Mexican-Americans. Throughout contemporary Mexican-American history, women played active roles in their communities in a struggle against persistent patterns of societal inequality. Their political activism shaped the course of major reform movements within communities of Mexicans in the United States. Recent scholarship is recovering this historical legacy by documenting the participation of women at all political levels.

The political struggles of Chicana feminists during the late 1960s and late 1970s reflected a continuation of women’s activism that paralleled the experiences of other women of color in the United States. A Chicana feminist movement, like that of African-American women, originated within the Chicano movement, their ideological debates shifted from a focus on racial oppression to one that would form the basis for an emergent Chicana feminist discourse: gender oppression.

Chicana feminists shared the task of defining their feminist ideology and movement with other feminists, specifically other women of color. Like African-American, Asian-American, and Native-American feminists, Chicana feminists struggled to gain gender equality and racial/ethnic equality. Like other feminist women of color, Chicanas recognized that their feminist movement involved a confrontation with both sexism and racism. As a result, feminism, as articulated by women of color, represented an ideological and political movement to end patriarchal oppression within the structure of a cultural nationalist movement. Chicanas shared a common experience with other women of color whose life histories were shaped by the multiple sources of oppression generated by race, gender, and social class. Thus, a Chicana feminist movement represented a struggle that was both nationalist and feminist. Ultimately, the inherent constraints and cross-pressures facing Chicana feminists within the Chicano movement led to the broader development of Chicana feminist thought.

Student Handout 4.3: SCIM-C Questions

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCIM-C Questions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Summarizing Questions:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. What type of historical document is the source?</td>
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<td>2. What specific information, details and/or perspectives does the source provide?</td>
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<td>3. What are the subject and purpose of the source?</td>
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<td>4. Who were the author and/or audience of the source?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Contextualizing Questions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. When and where was the source produced?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Why was the source produced?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What was happening within the immediate and broader context at the time the source was produced?</td>
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<td>4. What summarizing information can place the source in time and place?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Inferring Questions:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. What is suggested by the source?</td>
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<td>2. What interpretations may be drawn from the source?</td>
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<td>3. What perspectives/point of view are indicated in the source?</td>
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<td>4. What inferences may be drawn from absences or omissions in the source?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Monitoring Questions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. What additional evidence beyond the source is necessary to answer the historical question?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. What ideas, images, or terms need further defining from the source?</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. How useful or significant is the source for its intended purpose in answering the historical question?</td>
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<td>4. What questions from the previous stages need to be revisited in order to analyze the source satisfactorily?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Corroborating Questions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. What similarities and differences between sources exist?</td>
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<td>2. What factors could account for these similarities and differences?</td>
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<td>3. What conclusions can be drawn from the accumulated interpretations?</td>
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<td>4. What additional information or sources are necessary to answer more fully the guiding historical question?</td>
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**Document 4.A: Resolution to Establish Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Inc.**

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| **Resolution To Establish Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Inc.**  
(Adopted 10/17/70 at the National Issues Conference in Sacramento, CA) |

The effort and work of Chicana/Mexican women in the Chicano movement is generally obscured because women are not accepted as community leaders, either by the Chicano movement or by the Anglo establishment.

The existing myopic attitude does not prove that women are not capable or willing to participate. It does not prove that women are not active, indispensable (representing over 50% of the population), experienced and knowledgeable in organizing tactics and strategy of a people's movement.

**THEREFORE,** in order to terminate exclusion of female leadership on the Chicano/Mexican movement and in the community, be it **RESOLVED** that a Chicana/Mexican Women's Commission be established at this conference which will represent women, in all areas Mexicans prevail, and;

That this commission be known as the Comisión Femenil Mexicana, and;
That the Comisión direct its efforts to organizing women to assume leadership positions within the Chicano movement and in community life, and;

That the Comisión disseminate news and information regarding the work and achievement of Mexican/Chicana women, and;

That the Comisión concern itself in promoting programs which specifically lend themselves to help, assist and promote solutions to female type problems and problems concerning the Mexican family, and;

That the Comisión spell out issues to support, and explore ways to establish relationships with other women's organizations and movements.

**VIVA LA CAUSA!**
CFMN proudly pays tribute to our Founding Members-the courageous Chicanas whose vision and dedication have made possible the celebration of a decade of commitment to the advancement of La Mujer Chicana.

**SEX AND THE CHICANA**

We feel that in order to provide an effective measure to correct the many sexual hang-ups facing the Chicano community the following resolutions should be implemented:

I. Sex is good and healthy for both Chicanos and Chicanas and we must develop this attitude.

II. We should destroy the myth that religion and culture control our sexual lives.

III. We recognize that we have been oppressed by religion and that the religious writing was done by men and interpreted by men. Therefore, for those who desire religion, they should interpret their Bible, or Catholic rulings according to their own feelings, what they think is right, without any guilt complexes.

IV. Mothers should teach their sons to respect women as human beings who are equal in every respect. No double standard.

V. Women should go back to the communities and form discussion and action groups concerning sex education.

VI. Free, legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano community, controlled by Chicanas. As Chicanas we have the right to control our own bodies.

VII. Make use of church centers, neighborhood centers and any other place available.

"Liberate your mind and the body will follow...."

"A quitarnos todos nuestros complejos sexuales para tener una vida mejor y feliz" (Let's cast off all our sexual complexes to have a better and happier life).
## MARRIAGE-CHICANA STYLE

Reaffirmation that Chicano marriages are the beginnings of Chicano families which perpetuate our culture and are the foundation of the movement.

Points brought up in the workshop:

1. Chicano Marriages are individual and intimate and solutions to problems must be primarily handled on an individual basis.

2. A woman must educate and acquaint herself with outside issues and personal problems (sexual hang-ups, etc.).

3. It is the responsibility of Chicanas with families to educate their sons and thus change the attitudes of future generations.

4. Chicanas should understand that Chicanos face oppression and discrimination, but this does not mean that the Chicana should be a scapegoat for the man's frustrations.

5. With involvement in the movement, marriages must change. Traditional roles for Chicanas are not acceptable or applicable.

### RESOLUTIONS:

I. We, as mujeres de La Raza, recognize the Catholic Church as an oppressive institution and do hereby resolve to break away and not go to it to bless our unions.

II. Whereas: Unwanted pregnancies are the basis of many social problems, and

Whereas: The role of Mexican-American women has traditionally been limited to the home, and

Whereas: The need for self-determination and the right to govern their own bodies is a necessity for the freedom of all people, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Chicana Conference go on record as supporting free family planning and free and legal abortions for all women who want or need them.
III. Whereas: Due to socio-economic and cultural conditions, Chicanas are often heads of households, i.e., widows, divorcees, unwed mothers, or deserted mothers, or must work to supplement family income, and

Whereas: Chicana motherhood should not preclude educational, political, social, and economic advancement, and

Whereas: There is a critical need for a 24-hour child-care center in Chicano communities, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Chicana Conference go on record as recommending that every Chicano community promote and set up 24-hour day-care facilities, and that it be further resolved that these facilities will reflect the concept of La Raza as the united family, and on the basis of brotherhood (La Raza), so that men, women, young and old assume the responsibility for the love, care, education, and orientation of all the children of Aztlán.

IV. Whereas: Dr. Goldzieher of SWRF has conducted an experiment on Chicana women of westside San Antonio, Texas, using a new birth control drug, and

Whereas: No human being should be used for experimental purposes, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That this Conference send telegrams to the American Medical Association condemning this act. Let it also be resolved that each Chicana woman’s group and each Chicana present at the conference begin a letter writing campaign to:

Dr. Joseph Goldzieher  
c/o SW Foundation for Research & Education  
San Antonio, Texas  
and  
Director  
SW Foundation for Research and Education  
San Antonio, Texas

RELIGION  
I. Recognize the Plan de Aztlán  
II. Take over already existing Church resources for community use, i.e., health, Chicano awareness-public information of its resources, etc.  
III. Oppose any institutionalized religion.
IV. Revolutionary change of Catholic Church or for it to get out of the way.
V. Establish communication with the barrio and implement programs of
awareness to the Chicano movement.

Source information: The first national Chicana conference was attended by
over 600 Chicanas. The major resolutions included here were approved with
the following motion: To take these back to the communities as suggestions
and see if they are accepted; to vote on them at the next conference in 1972.

Documents from the Women's Liberation Movement, An On-line Archival Collection
Special Collections Library, Duke University
Document C

La Vision Chicana
(The Chicana Vision)
By Adelaida Del Castillo

Adelaida Del Castillo is an Associated Editor of Encuentro Femenil and is also a linguistics major at UCLA. The journal Encuentro Femenil is actually the offspring of the Chicana feminist newspaper, Hijas de Cuauhtemoc, which was started in the college campus of Long Beach State by several consciously aware Chicana women. The publication of a journal was preferred to the publication of a newspaper when it became apparent that more in depth specialization of subject matter was needed in order to aptly investigate those problems confronting Chicana women. Encuentro Femenil is distinguished as the first Chicana feminist journal ever to be published.

Question: What is the Chicana Feminist Movement?

Answer: The Chicana Feminist Movement is part of the Chicano Movement. It’s a focused investigation into the problems of ‘LaMujer,’ la mujer Mexicana, because nobody, nobody has done an investigation into her situation. If it weren’t for Alicia Escalante and Welfare Rights Organization which concerns mostly Mexicans, nobody would have done anything. It took a woman to do it, and it takes specialization; like it’s eventually going to take the woman to act on her behalf of her problems and it’s also the responsibility of the Chicano male to support her because it’s all part of the Chicano Movement. This means a unified organization for improving our situation. Chicanas as part of the movement; they have problems, therefore, we deserve the support of all Chicanos and Chicanas. We’re not a separate movement, that would be suicidal. We as Chicanas and Chicanos are oppressed. We’re not going to ally ourselves with white feminists who are part of the oppressors. I mean, that would be a contradiction. It also hurts when Chicano men don’t recognize the need for this specialization which is called “Chicana Feminism.” It is a specialization, an investigation into the situation of la Mexicana. It took women to find out that in Tejas [Texas], Mexicanas are being used as Guinea Pigs. The Mexicana has found it necessary to act on her own behalf and to go out, investigate, and find the statistics. This is why the journal Encuentro Femenil is so important. It is the first Chicana feminist journal ever published. It will have actual data and statistics that are relevant to the problem which will put the problem into perspective. You can’t obtain this kind of information anywhere else because nobody has bothered to organize and publish material dealing with the Chicana. What is unfortunate, is that since it is the first Chicana feminist journal there aren’t any monies to
put out the kinds of quality we would like to have for a Chicana journal. We don’t have the monies so we can’t print certain materials simply because we can’t afford it. It’s important that there be a journal, like it’s important that La Gente exists so that Chicano views can be presented. If you don’t have La Gente, what are people going to read about Chicanos? If we don’t have journals which delineate the problems of Chicana women, how are people going to know that Chicana women have problems?

**Question:** So you are saying that La Gente is only basically written for men because you need another magazine to express the views of women?

**Answer:** No, I’m not. What I’m saying is that La Gente reflects Chicano views in general in terms of the U.C.L.A environment or whatever community activities it gets into. It deals generally with Chicano problems. But what I’m saying is that there is a need to focus on problems of the Chicana because her problems are very big and no one has bothered to focus on them. Women have now taken it upon themselves to say “Hey, you know what, we’re in trouble and we better do something about it because no one else is doing anything about it.”

**Question:** Why don’t you give me examples of the Chicana’s problems and how they differ from those of Anglo women?

**Answer:** First of all, the Chicano and Anglo cultures differ significantly and because we are culturally different, there are racist attitudes practiced against us which limit us politically, economically, and socially. These differences become greater as these attitudes are used against us. So, because we are different from the Anglos, it has tremendous consequences for us both, Chicanos and Chicanas.

**Question:** How does the Chicana feminist differ from the white feminist?

**Answer:** It is obvious that we just differ as a group. Most, we have to consider the popular white feminist movement as portrayed by the media (Ms. Magazine, newsreels, the burning of bras), things like that are popularly exploited. That doesn’t necessarily mean that the white feminist movement is really that. They have issues like education, employment, perhaps on the body, on how many orgasms a woman can have and whether she’s getting enough. The Chicana feminist movement, as I see it is different primarily because we are an oppressed people. Our situation necessarily becomes our responsibility as Chicana feminists to first deal with our poverty and our suppression. This includes welfare, education, child care, birth control, the law – all these issues which the white feminists are also dealing with but are entirely different. They become entirely different because, what child care
means to the white woman, means an entirely different thing to the Chicana women because she has additional considerations. For example, “is it culturally relevant”, “is it bi-lingual”, “is it supplying recognition of la familia.” Perhaps the gringa isn’t interested in the law, her issues are entirely different from ours. Is there in fact justice for us under the law considering the racist attitudes that we have to deal with? Just the other day, there was a case that illustrates my point. A Mexican woman I know is divorcing him and she went to court because he broke into her house and raped her. So, she had him thrown in jail. When they got him into court, they laughed at her. She spoke to the judge in Spanish because she could only speak Spanish (she is learning to speak English, and is going to class). She told the judge what he did to her and showed him the medical statement (which said that he had torn and scratched her insides). They all laughed at her, her lawyer laughed at her, the other lawyer laughed at her, and then the judge admonished her because she wasn’t speaking English. And that is an insult. That’s an insult to me as a Mexican woman and to that woman and to all Chicanos because here is a Mexican woman who is hoping that she can depend on the law, on the judge, to set this matter straight and he laughs at her in addition to which he admonishes her and tells her off for not knowing English. Furthermore, she wanted her to pay him, the husband damages when he has raped her in front of her children! So is there in fact any justice, or does racism impede justice for us? So the white woman can gripe about “Oh, there aren’t enough jobs for us, and I want more advancement,” but we will have to deal with the basic, serious issue of obtaining justice.

**Question:** So then the Anglo Liberation movement is only an advancement and that’s why you don’t recognize it, because it’s an advancement for them but only a starting point for you?

**Answer:** I think the issues are entirely different. They give us the impression of being middle-class women working for advancement. Do we as Chicanos and Chicanas want to advance and work within the system, this capitalistic system? Does capitalism perpetrate our poverty? Does it profit from it? Then because if it does, we have to start considering what alternatives are open to us. I think we’ll have to look into that eventually. We’re going to have to deal with that because I as a welfare mother, as a welfare recipient have to settle for what they give me and it’s not enough to support me, but somebody’s making a profit out of it. Well, Alicia Escalante, the organizer of the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization, wrote an article for our journal, *Encuentro Feminil*, that was a personal account of her experiences with the system. She discusses the fact that if you have welfare, you give jobs to certain people such as administrators, to Murphey, the director, and to social welfare workers. In addition there is all the paper work, the cleaning, the maintenance, and all these executive positions. Somebody’s making money and it sure isn’t
the recipient. The ones who really need it don’t get it. So there’s a
contradiction there. Then the government blames us for using up their money.
Not only the government but the citizen, the average citizen, the working
citizen, looks at the welfare recipient and says, “I’m paying you.” But one has
to consider where most of the money is going to and what can be done to cut
down. When Reagan wants to cut down on the welfare programs it hurts the
recipient who is already down in the dumps. He doesn’t say, “I’m going to
take a couple of executives out,” or “cut down on the paper work.” I mean like
we have to fill out 19 pages of information on both sides even to apply for
welfare. It’s very confusing, 38 pages! And women who don’t speak English
have to go through this! If she’s hungry, she needs food stamps and they
won’t give them to her unless she has a hot plate in her house. This is the
hassle we have to go through! And now every month we have to fill out a
sheet indicating what kind of income we’re receiving. It’s degrading enough
to deal with what we have to deal with.

Question: Do you think that the Chicana and the Black could ever unite
together and work besides women lib, for the movement?

Answer: I can see that Black women or any other third world woman is
justified in having her own movement. It’s necessary. About working
together, well eventually we will have to come to that because we’ve got to
deal with an oppressive force which is so many times bigger than us but if we
can work together as Third World peoples we have a better chance of getting
somewhere. At the moment, I think, there is an emphasis on focus to our
particular problems so that we may learn to understand them. The situation is
this: the white man or the oppressive system, uses divide and conquer tactics.
Like here in school, alone when you apply for money there’s a special fund
for minorities so if you want monies, we have to fight against each other as
minorities to get that allotment of money. So he knows how to control us, he
knows the dynamics of keeping us apart. He has us fighting amongst each
other.

Question: Can the Chicana that is married also relate to these types of
situations, problems, and events? Not every woman, not every Chicana that I
know goes through these problems so do you feel that the Chicana feminist
movement is a movement for unmarried women?

Answer: I don’t mean to give the impression that it is just for single women.
Definitely not, it involves women of all ages. It has to. It involves the female –
the Chicana female. She has occupational problems because she is at a
disadvantage. If her male counterpart can’t even get a job then where does she
stand? Not only must she deal with racism but with sexism! Of course,
Chicanos too deal with sexism in terms of this Macho attitude that people
perceive he has because not only Chicanos amongst themselves have this attitude but also white people. So, they do have sexism in this way. Like white feminists have already coined the term “makismo” for machismo”: “Makismo” according to them is just a chauvinistic pig, but they don’t know what machismo is. So they already have a sexist attitude towards Chicano males. Also, we have to consider that a lot of women have certain attitudes toward Third World males, like Blacks and Chicanos as being incredibly potent and can perform miracles in bed. But this is not only sexist but racist as well because they are messing up the Chicano left and right. Racism and sexism work hand in hand and I think that Chicana feminism is a focus into the investigation of all Chicana problems not just sexism.

**Question:** We have to ask what brought on the whole interest in Chicana feminism. Why did it come about?

**Answer:** I think that a lot of Chicanas were being alienated (do I dare use the word?). A lot of Chicanas were sincerely feeling exploited if not alienated by certain organizations of the Chicano movement in the types of jobs that she was being given or relegated to.

**Question:** Examples?

**Answer:** Like the beast of burden, she does the paperwork and if you want any food, go to her and she will cook it. She knows how to cook well! Exploit her in that sense. A lot of women were finding themselves unfulfilled in just being relegated to this position of a beast of burden or mere workers and not thinkers. So a lot of women were becoming upset because they couldn’t use their abilities and their potentials. Chicana feminism, as I see it, recognizes the worth and potentials of all women. We recognize that all women have potential. The sad thing is that even when she does get to college, she is still seen as one who is there to support the male. If there are term papers to be typed his is first. He is to be looked up to. She is again just acting out a supportive role as in the home. The woman helps her father and serves her brothers and is there to support him. So, when she gets into the university or college she’s utilized in that same way again. She’s not seen as one who should actualize her own ambitions. He comes first, then it is too late because she has already missed several things while helping her boyfriend achieve his own goals and realize him own potential.

**Question:** Do you feel, then, that it should be right for a woman to totally reject her man and go about her own business?

**Answer:** We must come to the realization that we have to work together in order to save ourselves. If the male oppresses the female, perhaps it is because
he has been oppressed. We can’t turn against them, and they can’t turn against us. We have to help each other. Remember, what they system wants is that the movement divide itself into small factions so that eventually it will fall apart into dust. We don’t want this to happen. You are my compañero as a Mexicano and I am your compañera as a Mexicana. We’re together. As Chicanos we have the responsibility to look after each other. We can’t turn to anybody else. They don’t understand our problems. So if we are pointing out our problems, it is so that we can begin to deal with them and achieve an understanding of them. This is why I think it’s important that Chicanos speak up too so that we can increase interaction and communication between Chicanos and Chicanas.

Document D: Unequal Opportunity and the Chicana

By Linda Aguilar

The position of the female in American society poses a particularly difficult struggle for the Mexican American woman.

The traditional role of the Mexican American female, or Chicana, has been that of housewife and mother whose primary purpose in life is to serve and assist her man, the Chicano. This is no longer true. The Chicana has stepped out of the kitchen into the world to become a visible force for change and elimination of discrimination. Therefore, it is understandable when the general public assumes that the Mexican woman who has become very vocal and assertive is part of the current “Women’s Liberation Movement” sweeping the country, or has at least been inspired by its efforts.

Actually, emergence of the Chicana as a strong motivating force within the Spanish-speaking community has been in conjunction with that of the Chicano. For this reason, her struggle cannot be paralleled with the Anglo women’s fight for rights against the Anglo male. Chicanas have fought side by side with their men in the struggle for equal opportunity in all areas of American life. Unfortunately, because the major emphasis has always been on opening doors of opportunity for the Mexican American male, the female in essence… fights the battle, but does not share in the spoils.

Much has been written on the problem of lack of equal opportunity for Chicanos in various areas of employment. Practically no one has ventured to write about employment discrimination directed at Chicanas, not only from Anglo male employers, but potential Chicano employers as well. I say potential because from my experience if she seeks any type of administrative position, a Chicana has a better chance of being employed by an Anglo than by a Chicano.

One can see that part of the reason for this is that the Anglo administrator does not feel that his masculinity is threatened by the Chicana. Rather, he finds it enhanced, if he even vaguely falls for the stereotype of the Mexican American female – Mexican women are said to be for the most part hot blooded, primitives interested only in sexual gratification and grateful for any attention from Anglo males. This image is constantly reinforced by the various media, television, movies and publications. Rare is the film that does not depict the Chicana as a loose, wanton woman.

The Chicano Revolution has brought about great changes in the Mexican American community and family structure. The Mexican American female has taken on some characteristics of what has been described as a *Macho*. She may be very vocal, aggressive, and an effective community
organizer. She may prefer to pursue interests outside the home and reject homemaking as the total fulfillment in her life.

This is the new image for some Mexican American females. The docility and submissiveness are evidently dwindling and although the Chicano views her with interest, this interest is not totally absent of fear, wonder, and suspicion. Fear, because Mexican American women always have been expected totally to be submissive to males. Wonder, because Chicanas are now demonstrating abilities the Chicano thought them incapable of. Lastly, suspicion, because one is always suspicious of something one does not understand. Chicanas who have grouped together for strength and unity of purpose and are at best tolerated, more often ostracized and ridiculed by Chicanos.

Women have stepped out of the background into the spotlight as spokesmen at various public meetings. School boards, commissions, and city councils, to name a few, have felt the sting of the verbal slaps from irate Mexican American women, Chicanas have shown themselves to be alert, forceful, and intelligent and they have proved to be a major catalyst in the Chicano community. The aggression on the part of the Chicana towards Anglos has not only been condoned but encouraged by the Mexican American male. The results have been good. Capable and competent Chicanos have been hired in decent positions of administration by a reluctant Anglo community.

The problem begins. The same forceful Chicana that created the Anglo looks to the Chicano for employment. She has been forced into a leadership role in the community but finds that with the Chicano employer, the outmoded man/woman relationship that existed in the home has not changed. In the book A Forgotten Man, Luis Hernandez writes: “Traditionally all men (Chicanos), are considered to be superior to women (Chicanas), a girl looks forward to the day she will fulfill her role as a woman… where her first duty is to serve her husband.”

As far as the Chicano is concerned, the role of the Chicana has not really changed. It has merely been transferred from the home to the office. If a Chicana seeks employment above clerical help status, her fiercest opposition comes from the Chicano. The reprieve from the kitchen has been temporary, or more realistically, not a reprieve at all, for although a Chicana is encouraged to “stand up” to an Anglo, deference to the Chicano is still mandatory. In his book Pensamientos, Elias Carranza states, “Chicanos have exposed with a little bit of honesty the big lie that we are all free, we are all equal…” Perhaps the time has come for Chicanas to also expose “with a little bit of honesty” the big lie that we are all free, we are all equal. In our own San Jose, California community the number of Spanish surname females employed by the city is 21, out of a work force of 2,575. In a special program, the Emergency Employment Act (EEA), the number employed is 20 out of 288. These numbers do not mean that 41 Chicanas are employed by San Jose
City. Some of these are Anglo females married to Mexican American males. In addition, the majority of these positions are non-supervisory.

Equality in the employment for Chicanas is simply not a reality although the Chicano family organization is certainly changing. Chicanas, through divorce, separation, or other factors, are assuming the role of family breadwinner. In these families headed by women two-thirds of the incomes in the Los Angeles area alone are below the poverty level.

Document 4.E: Chicanas on the Move

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| **Chicanas on the Move**  
By Bernice Rincon |

La Raza!  
Mexicana  
Latina  
Hispana  
Chicana  
or whatever I call myself;  
I look the same  
I feel the same  
I cry and sing the same…

This is the stanza from the epic poem “I am Joaquin” by Chicano poet Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales. It is written in the masculine gender, so I have made an adaptation to make it more relevant to women.

Today I will speak about and to women. Mexican-American women or to the awakened Chicana.

… That was the role of our grandmothers, mothers, sisters, aunts, and friends. But today when a Chicana says “Power to the People” she means all of the people equally, including women.

Mexican women have always been besides their men in the struggle for justice. In the battlefield, in the vineyards, or at home with the children. The only point at issue is that this contribution has rarely been recognized by the men or even by the women themselves.

I recently purchased a book *150 Biographies of Illustrious Mexicans*. Out of 150 persons, three women were selected to represent the contribution of women to three centuries of history in Mexico. All three were relatively well educated for their day and time.

Today some Chicanas are saying “*Ya Basta!*” [“Enough!”] We are 50% or more of the population. Give us a chance. With the proper educational background, unbiased recognition and self-determination we can come up with more than three outstanding citizens in three centuries of history.

We realize that it will take us a while to reach our goal. We need to build up our own self esteem, so that we are not dependent upon men to justify our total existence. Remember La Valentina! We need to talk to our men and help them to see that this means true freedom for them too. Freedom to be themselves and not the lover Don Juan or the comic Super Macho. We propose this point of view because neither of these types male good friends or husbands for women.
We believe that the Chicana’s role in the movement is to free herself and her sisters, brothers, mother and father, and anyone else she comes in contact with; so that they in turn can work to see that “La Causa” is a way to a better life and not just a lost “Causa” or a way to acquire more material goods.

There are many ways to contribute both at home and outside the home. One way is to help in voter registration and getting out the vote at election time. Every Chicano or Chicana candidate needs every vote.

Those women who work and show potential must be encouraged. Those who are leaders must be included in the front line of communication, leadership and organizational responsibility.

“…The issue of equality, freedom and self-determination of the Chicana – like the right of self-determination, equality and liberation of the Mexican community – IS NOT NEGOTIABLE. Anyone opposing the right of women to organize into their own form of organization has no place in the leadership of the movement. FREEDOM IS FOR EVERYONE. Women do not intent to argue or be diverted by engaging in wasteful and useless rhetoric on this subject…” These are the words of Francisca Flores, founder of Comision Femenil Mexicana, and editor of Regeneracion (Chicano Magazine).

We realize that we cannot achieve the changes necessary to make the Chicana a person in her own right without the support and cooperation of at least most of the men in our lives.

We have been to many Chicana conferences and meetings and there are very few Chicanas who want to go along with the Anglo-American woman’s movement “Women’s Liberation.” We want justice in our daily lives and respect for the work we do. Equal pay for equal work if it is a paid job. Equal recognition if the work is volunteered. These are a few of the goals of the Chicana in the movement.

Look around at the Chicanas you know who have had any degree of success outside the home. You know that few of them could have made it without the encouragement, material help, and respect of their families; especially the fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons.

The movement needs every person to be involved. In order to do this the Chicanos will have to change. Change is always painful, but La Raza Cosmica is on the move. And our contribution to the world is bearing fruit. The Chicana must be ready for the challenge of the harvest.

The Chicana must be ready for the challenge of the harvest. She must sit at the table as a person in her own right. She must no longer be relegated to the status of serving maid at the feast that celebrates humanity.

Viva La Causa! And Equality and Liberty for all of the people!

Document 4.F: Resolutions from the Chicana Workshop

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*Editor’s Note: One of the most important and controversial workshops that developed during the Denver conference last March was the Chicana workshop. The following is a statement put out by the workshop and a list of resolutions that grew out of it.*

THE CHICANO WOMEN RESOLVE NOT TO SEPARATE BUT TO STRENGTHEN AZTLÁN THE FAMILY OF LA RAZA!

With the grave responsibility of the re-birth and forming of our Nation of Aztlán the women have come to realize that they must begin to develop and function as complete human beings. We have reached a point in our struggle for the liberation of La Raza where the growth of our women is repressed as a great potential for strength and knowledge. We must through education develop a full consciousness and awareness of the woman to the revolution and of the revolution to the woman. This is the beginning for women to free themselves psychologically of thinking of themselves as inferior beings and to educate themselves so that they too can implement the Plan de Aztlán. In order to implement the Plan, we must understand all of the things that it calls for.

With the preceding things kept in mind, we RESOLVE the following

1. All women must participate according to their capability in all levels of the struggle.

2. We encourage all Chicanas to meet in their own groups for the purpose of education and discussion.

3. Self-determination of the woman in terms of how they will implement their goal of becoming full human beings and of participating.

4. We must change the concept of the alienated family where the woman assumes total responsibility for the care of the home and the raising of the children to the concept of La Raza as the united family. With the basis being brotherhood La Raza, both men and women young and old, must assume the responsibility for the love, care, education, and orientation of all the children of Aztlán. When we speak of community control we are speaking of self-determination of La Raza to decide how it wants to live. The changing concept of the family must run through all our action in the area of community control.

5. All of the preceding ideas must be included in the ideology of the La Raza Independent Political Party so that everyone, men and women will work consciously toward the goals of the total liberation of our people. For the purpose of unity and direction, to women of La Raza have set up communication in the form of a
newsletter to be shared by all women active in the struggle for the liberation of our people.

WE RESOLVE not to separate but to strengthen and free our nation of Aztlán, women, men, and children.

Source: La Verdad, vol. XX No. VIII. June 1970. Obtained from the Special Collections and Archives, Sacramento State University, California Miscellany and California Agriculture Farm Labor
We are basically communal people… in the pattern of our Indian ancestors. Part of our cultural rights and cultural strength is our communal values. We lived together for over a century and never had a fence on our lands. When the gringo came, the first thing he did was to fence land. We opened our houses and our hearts to him and trained him to irrigate farming, ranching, stock raising, and mining. He listened carefully and moved quickly, and when we turned around, he had driven us out and kept us out with violence, trickery, legal and court entanglements. The land for all people, the land of the brave, becomes the land for the few and land of the bully…

Robbed of our land, our people were driven to the migrant labor fields and the cities. Poverty and city living under the colonial system of the Anglo has castrated our people’s culture, consciousness of our heritage, and language. Because our cultural rights, which are guaranteed by treaty, and because the U.S. says in its constitution that all treaties are the law of the land…

Therefore we demand:

Housing: We demand the necessary resources to plan our living accommodations so that it is possible to extend family homes to be situated in a communal style… around plazas or parks with plenty of space for children. We want our living areas to fit the needs of the family and cultural protection, and not the needs of the city pork barrel, the building corporations, or the architects.

Education: We demand that our schools be built in the same communal fashion as our neighborhoods… that they be warm and inviting facilities and not jails. We demand a completely free education from kindergarten to college, with no fees, no lunch charge, no supplies charges, no tuition, no dues.

We demand that all teachers live within walking distance of the schools. We demand that from kindergarten to college, Spanish be the first language and English the second language and the textbooks to be rewritten to emphasize the heritage and the contributions of the Mexican American or Indio-Hispano in the building of the Southwest. We also demand the teaching of the contributions and history of other minorities which have also helped build this country. We also feel that each neighborhood school complex
should have its own school board made up of members who live in the community the school serves.

Job Development: We demand training and placement programs which would develop the vast human resources available in the Southwest. For those of our people who want further choices in employment and professions we wish training programs which would be implemented and administered by our own people.

In job placement, we demand that, first of all, racist placement tests be dropped and, in their place, tests be used which relate to the qualifications necessary for that job. Further, we demand nondiscrimination by all private and public agencies.

We demand seed money to organize the necessary trade, labor, welfare, housing, etc. unions to represent those groups. We further demand that existing labor, trade and white collar unions’ nondiscriminatory membership practices be enforced by a national labor relations act.

Law Enforcement: We demand an immediate investigation of the records of all prisoners to correct the legal errors, or detect the prejudice which operated in those court proceedings, causing their convictions or extra heavy sentencing. As these cases are found, we demand that the federal government reimburse those prisoners for loss of time and money.

We demand immediate suspension of officers suspected of police brutality until a full hearing is held in the neighborhood of the event.

We demand immediate suspension of the citywide juvenile court system and the creation of a neighborhood community court to deal with allegations of crime. In addition, instead of the prowl-car, precinct system, we want to gradually install a neighborhood protection system, where residents are hired to assist and safeguard in matters of community safety or possible crime.

Economic Opportunities: We demand that the businesses serving our community be owned by the community. Seed money is required to start cooperative grocery stores, gas stations, furniture stores, etc. Instead of our people working in big factories across the city, we want training in our own communities. These industries would be co-ops with the profits staying in the community.

Agricultural Reforms: We demand that not only the land, which is our ancestral right, be given back to these pueblos, but also restitution for mineral, natural resources, grazing, and timber used.

We demand compensation for taxes, legal costs, etc., which pueblos and heirs spent trying to save their land. We demand the suspension of taxation by the acre, and institute instead the previous taxation system of our ancestors; that is, the products of the land are taxed, not the land itself.

Redistribution of the Wealth: That all citizens of this country share in the wealth of this nation by institution of economic reforms that would provide for all people, and that welfare in the form of subsidies in taxes and
pay-off to corporate owners be reverted to the people who in reality are the foundation of the economy and the tax base for this society.

Land Reform: A complete reevaluation of the Homestead Act, to provide people ownership of the natural resources that abound in this country. A birthright should not only place responsibility on the individual but grant ownership of the land he dies for.

Like the Adelitas who fought with their men in the Mexican Revolution, Chicanas have joined their brothers to fight for social justice. The Chicana cannot forget the oppression of her people, her raza-male and female alike. She fights to preserve her culture and demands the right to be unique in America. Her vision is one of a multi-cultural society in which one need not surrender to a filtering process and thus melt away to nothingness.

...Because life in the poorer barrios is a struggle for survival, the man cannot always participate in such community activities unless they pay a salary. He must provide the material support for the family. This is the tradition. It is in his heart, his conscience.

Chicanas owe much of their freedom to work for their communities to their men. It is the Chicana who often gains and develops those skills and attitudes which provide the basis for the transition of her culture into that of the modern United States. A transition, and yes, even a transformation- but not at the price of dissolving that culture....

Brothers and Sisters

Chicanos often question the goals of the women’s movement. Some see it as an “Anglo woman’s trip,” divisive to the cause of el movimiento. These men assert the need to respect women, but women’s liberation...? “That deals with trivia, minutiae – we all must concentrate on the battle for social justice.”

Many of our brothers see the women’s movement as another force which will divert support from la causa. On a list of priorities, many Chicanos fail to see how the plight of la mujer can be of major concern within the context of la raza’s problems. They see the women’s movement as a vehicle to entrench and strengthen the majority culture’s dominance. They are concerned that their sister may be deceived and manipulated.

They warn her never to be used as a pawn against her own people.

Yet the Chicana may sometimes ask, “is it your real fear my brother, that I be used against our movement? Or is it that I will assume a position, a stance, that you are neither prepared nor willing to deal with?”
Other Chicanos may be more sensitive and try to help their sisters achieve a higher status, but the fact that they too usually limit the aspirations of their sisters is soon evident. They would open the doors to new roles and new alternatives, but renege when it comes to equality at home.

A good number of Chicanos fear that in embracing the women’s movement their sisters will negate the very heritage they both seek to preserve. The Chicana would ask her brother: “To be a Chicana – proud and strong in my culture – must I be a static being? Does not the role of woman change as life changes?”

Too many Chicanos fall into using rhetoric which reinforces stereotypes damaging to both men and women. For example, some over glorify large families. To father and mother such a family is considered “very Chicano.” Our numbers will increase, goes the story, as the Anglos decrease. This is “good,” because somehow our power as a people will grow as our numbers grow.

It is forgotten that each man and each woman must share the decision to have children. To limit the size of the family is a personal right. To limit the size of the family does not negate a man’s virility or a woman’s worth.

Further, although the term “machismo” is correctly denounced by all because it stereotypes the Latin man, chauvinist behavior based on a double standard persists and is praised as “very macho.” This behavior does a great disservice to both men and women. Chicano and Chicana alike must each be free to seek their own individual fulfillment. Superficial roles and attitudes should be abandoned. Each must support the other in their struggle for identity and fulfillment.

...Chicanos themselves should take an active role in supporting their sisters. Within our own organizations, Chicanos must seek to include women in positions of leadership, not just “decorate” their conferences with them. How often Chicanas have participated in organizations or gone to conferences, only to see their role limited to that of the “behind the scenes” worker of the “lovely lady” introduced at dinner for a round of applause! The Chicana wants more than that. She wants to be among the major speakers at Chicano conferences and to be involved at policy-making levels. She wants to be supported wholeheartedly in bids for public office.

Document 4.I: Party Platform on Chicanas

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*La Raza Unida Party Platform of Northern California, 1971*

In many parts of the country, Chicanos are getting together under the banner of the Raza Unida party— a new, independent party of and for Chicanos. The Raza Unida Party of Northern California adopted a platform this spring with a section on Raza women. Below is the platform and some of the introduction to it.

We feel that the importance of the Raza Unida Party will be determined by the measure to which it takes into account the needs of la Raza as a whole, and by the measure to which it actively works to meet those needs and to eradicate every form of exploitation which burdens us.

For our women…there exists a triple exploitation, a triple degradation; they are exploited as women, as people of la Raza, and they suffer from the poverty that straightjackets all of la Raza. We feel that without the recognition by all of la Raza of this special form of oppression that our women suffer, our movement will greatly suffer.

Bearing this in mind and recognizing that a people as a whole can never be liberated if an entire sector of that people remains in bondage, we of the Raza Unida party state our position as follows:

A. We shall respect the right of self-determination for our women to state what their specific needs and problems are, and how they feel that these needs can be met and these problems can be eliminated, as a basic principle of our party.

B. The part encourages la Raza women to meet in Raza women’s groups wherever the movement is functioning, in order to enable the women to discuss the direction that their participation is taking, and the particular needs that Raza women they feel must be acted upon…

C. The party will include Raza women in all decision-making meetings…

D. Raza men and women both will cooperate fully, in this party and at home, in the very difficult task we have before us of freeing our women and encouraging them in every way we can, at all times, to become involved in every level of the struggle, and in working actively towards the elimination of all attitudes and practices that have relegated our women to the unquestionably bondaged positions they are now in.

**Child Care**

A. Child-care centers controlled by Raza must be made available for Raza in schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods, totally free of charge, wherever our people are found.

B. These child-care centers will be open 24 hours a day and must accommodate children from the age of 45 days to preschool ages.
C. Medical attention will be made available for the children, and facilities will be available for children who may be sick, with the necessary medicine, free of charge.
D. These centers will function as educational centers as well as child-care centers.

Work

A. An end to inequality in pay because of sex or race. Statistics show that for the same job, women do not get paid half the wages earned by men. The poorest suffer from this the most. Raza women as a group are paid even less than their underpaid Raza male counterparts.
B. Fifty percent of Raza women who work, work as domestics. We want job openings in all areas of work for Raza women, specifically in full-time employment with salaries to meet the standard of living no matter what it may be and no matter how much it increases. All Raza women who apply for jobs, no matter what area, must be accepted. If training is needed, it should be given with pay.
C. Maternity and paternity leave with pay and with a guarantee of a job on return.

Birth Control

A. Clinics and agencies within our communities that distribute any birth-control information and/or abortion counseling and information and clinics and agencies that pass out birth-control devices and perform abortions must be community-controlled, and a woman who is counseled must be thoroughly informed about all the dangers and possible side effects of any devices or operations.
B. No forced abortions or sterilizations on our women.
C. The ultimate decision whether to have a child or not should be left up to the woman.

Education

A. Intensive recruitment of Raza women into the schools, with Raza counselors and tutors to help the women stay in school and to encourage them to enter all areas of study.
B. Guaranteed jobs for all Raza women upon graduation in whatever field the women choose.
C. Part of the education of our women will be dedicated to the study of the history of the oppression of women within the framework of our background, and to the study of the role that Raza women have played in the history of our people.

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