UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

The Present Past: Recovering Native American, Mexican-American, and Anglo Narratives of Territorial Arizona 1848-1912

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in

Literature

by

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Chair

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DEDICATION

To Arizona—
Its Past, People, and Possibilities

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

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In this dissertation, I recover and examine Native American, Mexican-American, and Anglo narratives about Arizona's earliest days, its territorial period, in order to confront and challenge the state's controversial contemporary immigration and education reform. I examine these erased or ignored histories from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century in order to expose the long historical roots of Arizona's current discriminatory policies and undermine the exclusionary logic that upholds them. Contrary to the rhetoric bolstering both Senate Bill 1070 and House Bill 2281, each of the

microhistories I study here looks back to the territorial period, when Arizona experienced intense transformation with respect to its economy, infrastructure, and population, and recovers the fundamental contributions Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglos made to the establishment of the state.

Though I focus my study on Arizona, the conclusions I draw about the consequences of historical forgetting as well as the impact of creating, maintaining, and disseminating counter-narratives have significant ramifications beyond the state's borders. Thanks to its recent legislation, Arizona has become the epicenter of national debates about immigration, knowledge production, and cultural belonging. Though some have painted the state as exceptional, I argue that the widespread popularity of its policies demonstrates that Arizona is not exceptional but rather a bellwether for national trends, registering broader anxieties about the malleable physical and cultural borders of the United States. Because of the central role it now plays in the national imagination, in this dissertation I use Arizona as a flashpoint from which to examine the conditions and consequences of U.S. expansion, not only in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but also today.

Introduction:
No Place for Amateurs: The Far-Reaching Historical Roots of SB 1070 and HB 2281

"The legislature finds that there is a compelling interest in the cooperative enforcement of federal immigration laws throughout all of Arizona. The legislature declares that the intent of this act is to make attrition through enforcement the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona. The provisions of this act are intended to work together to discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States."

--Section 1, Arizona Senate Bill 1070

"Well, Arizona's no place for amateurs."

--Owen Wister *The Virginian*

Since Arizona became a territory of the United States at the end of the U.S.-Mexico War, it has been a flashpoint for national debates about defining the physical and cultural borders of the country. On the one hand, as the state's tourist brochures suggest, Arizona has always been a consciously multiethnic space, incorporating and emphasizing its Native American and Mexican-American heritage into its identity. On the other hand, the displacement and dispossession of Native Americans and Mexican-Americans in Arizona has been foundational to the state since its creation; the Arizona territory's bid for statehood was built around the fact that it was more Anglo than neighboring New Mexico and therefore better suited to become a part of the United States. As a result, Native Americans and Mexican-Americans have long been on the borders of legal and cultural citizenship within the state.

Despite this historic tension between inclusion and exclusion, Arizona has only recently garnered national attention for the purportedly exceptional passage of two controversial laws, Senate Bill 1070 and House Bill 2281, which deal with immigration and education reform, respectively. Media outlets on both the right and the left endlessly

reported on the laws, which toughen immigration enforcement and prohibit ethnic studies in the state, either denouncing or championing their exceptional stance. When viewed in the context of Arizona and U.S. history, however, there is little that is exceptional about the logic underpinning both SB 1070 and HB 2281. In order to recover the context that allowed for the passage of these laws, in the following pages I look at how Native American, Mexican-American, and Anglo narratives about Arizona's earliest days, its territorial period, undermine both the exceptionality as well as the legitimacy of Arizona's most recent legislation.

On April 23, 2010, Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed Senate Bill 1070 into law and overnight, Arizona shot into the national spotlight as the new epicenter of the U.S. immigration debate. The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, otherwise known as Senate Bill 1070, was meant to bolster the enforcement of federal immigration law within Arizona by "mak[ing] attrition through enforcement the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona" (SB 1070). According to the Governor and her supporters, the federal government had failed to address the "crisis caused by illegal immigration and Arizona's porous border," forcing the state to take matters into its own hands to secure its border (Brewer qtd. in Evans). The law made it a misdemeanor crime to be in Arizona without proper documentation, required law enforcement officers to inquire about a person's status if there was "reasonable suspicion" that he or she was in the state illegally, and penalized those who prevented in any way the full enforcement of federal immigration law (SB 1070). Arizona's message to undocumented immigrants was clear; they were not welcome in the state.

Immediately, supporters and opponents sprang up across the country, voicing their opinions in newspapers, on television, and in the streets. Supporters applauded Arizona's determination to enforce federal immigration policy and take a stand against the crime of undocumented immigration. National polls showed a majority support for SB 1070 and copycat laws soon appeared throughout the country, especially in the South. Governor Brewer became a hero to many who admired her courage in signing such a controversial law; her newly found celebrity status made her a popular guest on conservative talk shows and a lucrative speaker at Republican fundraisers, even winning her an audience with President Obama at the White House to discuss federal immigration policy and reform.

Opponents, on the other hand, rallied and railed against what they deemed the Show Me Your Papers law, marching in protest and calling for a boycott of the state. Many of the protests and calls for boycotts focused on Section 2B of the law, which required law enforcement officials and agencies within the state to make "a reasonable attempt…when practicable, to determine the immigration status" of any person with whom they had lawful contact when there was "reasonable suspicion that the person [could be] an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States" (SB 1070). Though Governor Brewer and fellow supporters of the law argued that this clause did not authorize racial profiling, opponents contended that race was the law's implicit metric for determining reasonable suspicion of a person's legal status.

Less than a month later, on May 11, 2010 opponents had more to protest as Arizona again received national attention when Governor Brewer signed House Bill 2281. While SB 1070 targeted immigration, HB 2281 targeted education, prohibiting the

teaching of ethnic studies in Arizona's public schools. The law, written by School Superintendent Tom Horne and carried out by his successor John Huppenthal, was meant to target Tucson's Mexican-American Studies program. The program was found to be in violation of HB 2281, which prohibited any courses that "promote the overthrow of the United States government, promote resentment toward a race or class of people, are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group, [and] advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals" (HB 2281). HB 2281 also stipulated that the state would withhold up to ten percent of the monthly funding of any district found to be in violation of the law. Not willing to lose such a significant portion of an already reduced budget, the Tucson Unified School District was left with no other choice but to eliminate the Mexican-American Studies program from its curriculum.

Students and teachers denied that the Tucson Mexican-American Studies program violated HB 2281, maintaining that the program had a positive, not negative impact on students. An audit commissioned by School Superintendent Huppenthal and carried out by the Cambium Learning Group supported their position; the auditors found "no observable evidence…to suggest that any classroom within the Tucson Unified School District is in direct violation of the law" (Gersema). Not only was the program not in violation of the law, it was also a model for improving retention rates. Although the national dropout rate for Mexican-American students is forty-eight percent, of those who enrolled in the Tucson MAS program, ninety-three percent graduated and eighty-five percent went on to attend college ("Precious Knowledge"). The state's continued opposition to the courses despite the mounting evidence that they benefited students

revealed that protecting a xenophobic ideology, not protecting students, was the law's true motivation.

Although people across the country expressed their support or their opposition to SB 1070 and HB 2281, few asked the question, why Arizona? In the aftermath of the controversial passing and implementation of these two laws, Arizona became synonymous with civil rights abuse, discrimination, and racism. Late night comedians made the state the butt of their jokes, and some opponents even suggested Arizona secede from the Union. However, the demonization and dismissal of Arizona also facilitated a denial not only of Arizona's own complex history, but its relationship to the rest of the country. Though few wanted to recognize it, Arizona was not the exception to the rule but the rule itself, providing an important window into national debates about immigration and education reform. If opponents really did want to see an end to the discrimination that SB 1070 and HB 2281 represented, the first step was to examine and understand why these laws were passing in Arizona today.

Putting SB 1070 and HB 2281 in the context of Arizona history reveals that they are not exceptional within the history of the state, nor are they exceptional within the history of the country. During its territorial days, Arizona sought to resolve the tension between celebrating and denying its multiethnic identity and population. For sixty-four years, Arizona struggled to reconcile its Native, Spanish, and Mexican past with what it hoped would be its progressive, modern, Anglo future. The territorial period was as a result a very fluid time, when categories like Native American, Mexican-American, and Anglo were neither well defined nor stable. As Arizona inched closer toward statehood, however, racial and ethnic barriers became increasingly restrictive. As Eric Meeks

writes, "permeable racial lines began to close up" as "Emerging boundaries of race, class, culture, and language" increasingly determined every aspect of social life, including "who would be accepted as first- or second-class citizens, and who would be excluded from citizenship altogether" (17). Long before SB 1070 and HB 2281, Arizona began blocking nonwhite people from full access to citizenship and the rights it accords.

In order to better understand how SB 1070 and HB 2281 fit in to this larger and longer history, in this dissertation I turn to the very beginnings of the state and examine Native American, Mexican-American, and Anglo[1] accounts about Arizona's territorial period. Although the accounts are divided into separate chapters, I by no means intend to imply that they can or should be thought of separately, nor do I want to suggest that because I have included one account from each of Arizona's three main racial and ethnic groups that the texts I examine are representative of that group in either their content or their scope. Nevertheless, because each account makes a rhetorical and physical claim to the state on behalf of a larger group, they are valuable to our understanding of how Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglos comprehended as well as contested their relationship to territorial Arizona and to each other. Despite their limitations, in the way that they contradict, corroborate, and complicate one another, the different accounts come together to form a type of mosaic of who and what constituted Arizona in its earliest days.

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[1] While this study focuses on three ethnic groups, they are by no means the only ethnic groups who were present in territorial Arizona, nor are they the only groups who have had a significant impact on the state. It is my hope that this is just the beginning of many more projects that take up Arizona as a serious case for study and that could examine, for example, the historic African-American community of South Phoenix, the role of Buffalo Soldiers in the hunt for Geronimo, and the role that Japanese immigrants played in the Phoenix agricultural market.

Memory mediates all of the accounts as each one looks back, narrating a particular past in order to make sense of their present moment. Though the first account, Geronimo's autobiography, was written during the territorial period, the remaining two chapters were written after Arizona achieved statehood. All of the accounts, however, describe an event or series of events that took place during the territorial period, returning to this origin point to define the role that Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglos played in the establishment, evolution, and expansion of the state. As a result, each text reflects on not only the territorial period but also its respective historical moment, together recovering Arizona's first one hundred years, from its incorporation into the United States as a territory to its emergence as a Sunbelt metropolis. Just as these texts return to the territorial period to reflect on their own historical moments, so too I turn to their accounts in order to investigate the long historical roots of Arizona's current controversies.

Though perhaps not the most obvious approach to what appears to be a political crisis, I have found literary analysis to be a productive method for uncovering and evaluating the ideological assumptions that embed SB 1070 and HB 2281 within Arizona and U.S. history. Although these laws purportedly deal with immigration and education reform, in reality they have little to do with either field. The recent push to secure the border does not correspond with the actual rate of undocumented immigration into the state, which reached its peak in 2004 and declined steadily for six years prior to the passing of SB 1070 (Díaz McConnell). Likewise, the state's ban on ethnic studies does not correspond with the actual impact of the courses, which an independent audit confirmed improved retention rates and student engagement. Clearly, the impetus for and

intended impact of SB 1070 and HB 2281 cannot be explained with statistics or other objective measures; the problem that both purport to resolve simply does not exist.

Where these other metrics become unintelligible, cultural texts provide an invaluable window into the logic underpinning both laws, a logic grounded not in statistics but in a structure of feeling. The perceived threat that undocumented immigrants and ethnic studies pose is not concrete but ideological; at the root of both laws is a desire to cut out all that is foreign and protect not the physical but the cultural borders of the state. One hundred years after achieving statehood and one hundred fifty years after becoming a territory of the United States, Arizona is still grappling with the questions about citizenship and belonging that defined its territorial period.

It is important to recognize that Arizona is grappling with questions that have been and continue to be just that, questions. The following accounts uncover the long roots not only of Arizona's exclusionary policies but also its dissenting voices, which have been protesting these policies since their first implementation. As long as racial and ethnic discrimination has existed within the state, so too has resistance, as Native American and Mexican-American people have long asserted their own right to cultural and legal citizenship within the state. When faced with cultural erasure, they created counter-narratives that constructed an alternate epistemology of who and what is Arizona, claiming an Arizona identity that is grounded in their own histories. For those working to redefine Arizona today, uncovering this heritage of resistance is as important as uncovering the state's heritage of discrimination.

As Arizona has become a bellwether for national trends, understanding its specific context has become crucial to understanding broader developments about racial and

ethnic discrimination throughout the country. Though I have framed this project around Arizona's recent legislation, as discussed above, this legislation and the logic that it upholds is not unique to Arizona. Nevertheless, in the past three years the state has moved to the center of the national debate over how to define and who to include within the borders of the United States, taking a position at the forefront of the physical and ideological battle to secure our borders and making Arizona and its complex political, economic, and social history a rich site for interdisciplinary study.

Despite its complexity and centrality, Arizona has not typically been considered an important site for academic study. For historians, Arizona is a sparsely populated desert wasteland that is peripheral to both U.S. and Mexican history. For literature scholars, Arizona is an isolated western outpost that produces at most a few amusing cowboy tales but certainly no serious literature. For cultural studies scholars, Arizona is a sprawling suburbia far from key urban centers that lacks any culture worth studying. Until recently, for ethnic studies scholars, Arizona's history of struggle has been marginal to that of more important states like California and Texas. Considering Arizona, however, greatly adds to all of these fields as it presents an opening to study the logic underpinning current racial and ethnic discrimination, as well as cross ethnic resistance to that discrimination.

Because Arizona has been overlooked in academic studies, the archives containing information about its people and places have yet to be fully explored. These underutilized resources are an important tool for challenging and reshaping the current shoring up of the nation's southern border. The contents of these archives make plain the territory's undeniable multiethnic history, a history that contradicts the rhetoric

surrounding SB 1070 and HB 2281. In order to investigate the rhetorical, ideological, and political history behind these two laws, I employ an interdisciplinary approach that considers a variety of documents, legal texts, letters, short stories, autobiographies, films, novels, and visual ephemera[2] that blur the lines between center and periphery, public and private, and literature and history. In the following chapters I put nineteenth and twentieth century archives traditionally divided by linguistic and cultural content into conversation with each other in order to recover the dynamic and mutually constitutive histories of the dominant and marginalized peoples of the U.S. Southwest, histories that continue to impact how these groups interact today.

Though I rely on an archival methodology, in every chapter I also consider the limits of the archive as a complete and impartial record of the past. I am interested not only in the hegemonic delimiting of the Southwest's physical and cultural borders but also how Mexican-American and Native American narratives have disrupted and challenged those borders. For this reason I scrutinize what is excluded, elided, and diminished in the archival texts I study. I also turn to a wide range of archives, from government offices and universities to regional historical societies. The scope of the archival materials I study includes the far-reaching coverage of newspaper articles and official government documents, but also family biographies, personal testimonies, individual photographs, and private letters. To all these texts I bring the skills of someone trained in literary analysis, invested not only in finding out what happened but in

[2] With technological advances more archival resources are constantly becoming available, making Arizona an even richer site for study. The University of Arizona, for example, recently digitized 150 years of Mexican-American periodicals, which adds much possibility to the multilingual study of the Arizona border region.

understanding how people experienced, understood, and contested the shifting power structures of their time.

In recovering this history I am indebted to the pioneering work of Thomas Sheridan, Eric Meeks, and Katherine Benton-Cohen in their studies of nineteenth and twentieth century Arizona. Thomas Sheridan is widely considered to be the foremost expert on Arizona history, writing or coediting eleven books that focus on the state's multiethnic heritage. In the volume most relevant to this study, *Arizona: A History*, Sheridan divides Arizona history into three main phases: incorporation, extraction, and transformation (1). During the incorporation phase, Arizona "was contested ground, a place where no one group—tribe, nation-state, or empire—held uncontested sway" (1). This period encompasses the integration of the Arizona territory into the United States and ends with Geronimo's surrender, which Sheridan identifies as the closing of Arizona's frontier (1). The extractive phase then begins at the end of Arizona's territorial period, as transcontinental railroads connected Arizona and its valuable resources to the rest of the United States, and lasts through World War II (2). The final phase, transformation, comprises Arizona's shift "from extractive colony to urban Sunbelt society" when advances and increased investment in infrastructure and industry radically changed the state (2). Throughout each phase, Sheridan emphasizes that, despite its maverick reputation, "Arizona has never developed in isolation" (1). Its relationship to other people and places has been central to its development, determining the state's "relations of race, class, gender, and ethnic identity" from the territorial days to the present (1).

These relations are the focus of Eric Meeks' *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona.* Despite the title, in his book Meeks explores "the inadequacy of the standard terms of ethno-racial classification, such as Mexican, Indian, and Anglo, to capture the complex reality of people's experiences and identities" in Arizona (3). In his study, he examines both how the acceptance of terms like Mexican, Indian, and Anglo altered the perception of Arizona's history and identity, as well as how various people and communities within Arizona challenged the flattening of their own lived experience into these artificial categories. Meeks centers his analysis on the territorial period, asserting that it was during these years that ethno-racial categories and classifications began to solidify.

Like Sheridan, Meeks grounds his study of Arizona in a broader context, connecting the state's evolving ethno-racial relations to U.S. nation-building in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Southwest. When the U.S. incorporated Arizona into its borders, it also fit the people living in the territory into its imperialist and expansionist ideology. Though the government was eager to absorb the land and its resources, it was less eager to absorb the Native American and Mexican-American people living there into the national community. As Meeks observes, "In the borderlands, race served to reconcile contradictions between a high demand for labor, regardless of ethnicity or national origin, and cultural demands to foster national homogeneity" (242). Though *Border Citizens* was published prior to the passing of SB 1070 and HB 2281, Meeks' analysis of race and ethnicity in the Arizona borderlands provides an important context for understanding the logic underpinning the laws as well as their connection to the rest of the country.

In *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*, Katherine Benton-Cohen focuses in on the history of the physical border and its inhabitants, many of whom lived on the cultural borders of citizenship. Unlike Sheridan, who focuses on all of Arizona, and Meeks, who writes about both southern and central Arizona, Benton-Cohen bases her study in Cochise County, located in the southeastern corner of the state. Cochise County, far from urban centers like Tucson and Phoenix, is a largely rural area whose economy is dependent on ranching and mining. The county touches the U.S. border with Mexico and is, as its name suggests, entrenched in a multiethnic world. Through the lens of Cochise's labor history, Benton-Cohen charts how the racialization of the people she calls "*borderline Americans*" evolved from Arizona's territorial days through the New Deal (7).

Benton-Cohen centers her study on Cochise's mining industry to examine the shifting racialization of Mexican-Americans and eastern, southern, and western Europeans who lived and worked in the mining towns' border communities. As these categories suggest, *Borderline Americans* explores how the boundaries of whiteness changed over the course of fifty years, putting "the question of how southern and eastern Europeans became white, alongside the uniquely southwestern issue of why and how the fluid racial system of Mexico shifted and collapsed at the border" (15). Like Sheridan and Meeks, Benton-Cohen embeds Arizona's racial history within U.S. history, looking at how "the evolution of racial categories imposed largely from without" had "the power…to shape nearly every aspect of life" (7). Benton-Cohen's work recovers Arizona's complex history of inclusion and exclusion, a history that is paramount to contextualizing the legal and intellectual borders created by SB 1070 and HB 2281,

which then appear not as a new attempt at but rather a reaffirmation of creating borderline Americans.

To the historically focused studies of Sheridan, Meeks, and Benton-Cohen, I add the realm of cultural texts, which provide a different terrain on which to examine these shifting relations. If the motivation for and goals of securing the border and banning ethnic studies cannot be explained with concrete data, cultural texts can provide a different genealogy for understanding their emergence and popularity. The following accounts register the trends and transformations that connect territorial Arizona with the present in a different way, exposing the connections that are not grounded in lived reality but in the cultural imaginary.

In addition to providing a context for the logic behind SB 1070 and HB 2281, the following accounts also open up new possibilities for challenging that logic. The ideological battle that SB 1070 and HB 2281 wage must be fought conceptually, and cultural texts have an important role to play in the battle, through both critiquing and countering the ideological assumptions that underpin both laws. Cultural texts expose in a way that facts and figures cannot the ideological boundaries that different entities employ to delimit what sort of people and what kind of information is permissible in Arizona, making possible a critique of the ahistorical assumptions behind exclusionary laws like SB 1070 and HB 2281. Freed from the realm of fact, cultural texts also have the ability to imaginatively redefine Arizona through narrating counter histories and creating alternate realties, imagining the change that opponents of the two laws hope to enact within the state.

Visual culture in particular, especially in the Epilogue to this dissertation, plays an integral role in this redefinition. Images powerfully make concrete the resistance and of those who seek to redefine who and what is Arizona, from the nineteenth century to the present. From photographs of Geronimo to contemporary protest posters, the images I collect here form an alternate canon of Arizona history. They add to the informative studies of Sheridan, Meeks, and Benton-Cohen by creating another genealogy of how Arizona has become what it is today.

Sheridan, Meeks, and Benton-Cohen all published their studies prior to the passage of both laws, which has propelled the questions they posed in their work into the national spotlight. In the chapters that follow, I put their pre-SB 1070 studies in conversation with a post-SB 1070 world. More than ever before, understanding both what it means to live along the border and how the border impacts communities across the U.S. is of national concern. Arizona has even received international attention in the wake of the passage of both laws; after Governor Brewer signed SB 1070, Mexico released a travel advisory to Arizona in response to the law's draconian measures and xenophobic tone. In light of Arizona's new national and international notoriety, the important histories that Sheridan, Meeks, and Benton-Cohen relate become even more central to understanding the border's role in shaping larger political, social, and economic policy.

In discussions involving race and ethnicity, terminology can prove problematic. This study is no exception, presenting heightened complications because of the volatility of Arizona's territorial period. Whenever possible, I try to use the name of tribal nations instead of a more generalizing term; however, when necessary I employ Native American

to refer to the people who inhabited the contiguous United States before the arrival of Europeans and who continue to live within its borders today. I use the term Spanish to refer to those who inhabited the Southwest in service to the Spanish Empire, and Mexican following Mexico's independence in 1821. Because Mexicans were technically granted U.S. citizenship at the end of the U.S.-Mexico War, I use the term Mexican-American to refer to the Mexicans who remained in Arizona after 1848. I use the term Anglo to refer to white settlers who came to Arizona from other parts of the U.S., although the term generally appears in records after the territorial period, in order to distinguish these settlers from the Spanish and Mexican settlers who came before them. As Benton-Cohen notes, "The term 'Anglo' developed as a synonym for 'white' that avoided the problem that Mexicans were legally white. In the Southwest, Mexicans are never 'Anglo'" (15).

Place names can also be challenging in a historical, transnational study such as this one. The physical space that today comprises Arizona has been known by many different names, with the term Arizona describing the land for a relatively small portion of its history. Whenever possible, I try to avoid applying the term Arizona anachronistically, using territorial Arizona, Sonora, and Pimería Alta in discussions of the territorial period, independent Mexico, and the Spanish Empire, respectively. In order to prevent confusion, however, I use Arizona when that is the term the text I examine employs even if it is used anachronistically, as is the case with *Geronimo: His Own Story.*

The term Southwest is likewise anachronistic and obscuring, though I use it throughout the following chapters to refer to the region that comprises what is today

Arizona and its surroundings. The Southwest is, as its directional gaze suggests, a U.S.-centered term that masks the fact that the region was a remote northwestern province for the many Spaniards and Mexicans who lived there prior to U.S. conquest in 1848. Ironically, though the term is grounded in a U.S. perspective, the region is typically distinguished by its Native American, Spanish, and Mexican heritage. The term Southwest therefore encapsulates the tension between the privileging of a hegemonic U.S. perspective and the presence of histories, cultures, and peoples that are marginal to that perspective. Because I see this tension as a productive starting point from which to discuss issues of inclusion and exclusion in the region, and because I consider this project to be in dialogue with the field known as Southwest studies, I use the term provisionally, though always foregrounding a skepticism of its U.S.-centric foundation.

In Chapter 1, I look at Native American challenges to the U.S. conquest of the Southwest in Geronimo's autobiography *Geronimo: His Own Story* and Leslie Marmon Silko's novels *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes.* In their texts, Geronimo and Silko both create counter-histories of the Southwest in order to resist the cultural erasure of Native Americans in Arizona and affirm their own claims to the state. In his autobiography, Geronimo stakes a claim to Arizona on behalf of the Apache people, who were expelled from the state and imprisoned in Florida and Oklahoma. Geronimo addresses his autobiography to U.S. readers, strategically relating the story of his own life in order to convince them to allow the Apaches to return to Arizona. In *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes*, Silko stakes a claim to Arizona by imaginatively creating a counter-history of Arizona's Native history, rewriting the story of Geronimo's pursuit and capture in *Almanac* and inventing the history of an entirely new tribe in

Gardens. For both Geronimo and Silko, storytelling functions as a powerful tool to resist the cultural erasure that U.S. conquest imposed in territorial Arizona.

In Chapter 2, I turn to Marie Zander's short biography of her grandmother, "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer," which recovers the Spanish, Mexican, and Mexican-American history of southern and central Arizona. Like Geronimo and Silko, Zander uses her text to resist cultural erasure, highlighting the contribution of Arizona's non-Anglo population to the state's establishment and evolution. Zander's narrative, however, is not without its own erasures; although Zander foregrounds Arizona's multi-ethnic heritage, in one sense restoring the territory's erased history, she also characterizes the state as a utopia, ignoring the persistent conflicts Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglo settlers had with each other in her own early-twentieth century community. These elisions are instructive, illustrating the complexity and controversy involved in writing a critical multi-ethnic Southwestern history as well as exposing the contradictions that continue to define Arizona today.

In Chapter 3, I close with the bizarre case of the Baron of Arizona, otherwise known as James Addison Reavis, the talented forger who in the 1880s invented a Spanish land grant, planted evidence in archives around the world to validate his grant, and then declared ownership of 18,750 square miles of territory. Whereas Geronimo, Silko, and Zander resisted erasure, Reavis actively participated in it, erasing and writing over the history of the Southwest for his own personal benefit. The physical rewriting of history in the case of James Reavis is the embodiment of a theme that runs throughout the chapters, the hyper mediation and manipulation of history. As the Reavis case illustrates, the way a particular history is told has concrete consequences; the way Arizona history is

currently being told, for example, is what is allowing for laws like SB 1070 and HB 2281 to pass. If these laws are to be overturned, it will require a different telling of Arizona history.

In the Epilogue I look at how visual artists, filmmakers, and political activists are doing just that, telling a different history of Arizona through their work. I begin with the protest art that emerged in the wake of SB 1070, focusing on how the different images affirm the dignity of undocumented workers and redefine the identity of the state in order to reclaim its future for all its inhabitants. I then look at how filmmakers are also turning their attention to Arizona, documenting the real consequences of SB 1070 and HB 2281. These documentaries contest the official talking points given by supporters of the laws by demonstrating that far from improving the safety and quality of life of all Arizonans, the laws actually have a negative and destructive impact on the state and its people. I conclude with the political activism, particularly youth activism, which has crystallized around the state's controversial legislation. These students have mobilized the Mexican-American population of Arizona, organizing the largest voter registration drive in the state's history and leading to record numbers of Mexican-Americans participating in the state's electoral process. The work they are doing now will continue to impact Arizona for generations and has the potential to turn the tide against the xenophobic legislation that has unfortunately become a hallmark of Arizona politics.

In his 1902 classic Western novel *The Virginian*, Owen Wister wrote "Well, Arizona's no place for amateurs" (19). His words still ring true today, as the state has become the beleaguered battleground at the forefront of the national debate about immigration and education reform, as well as broader concerns about the physical and

cultural borders of the United States. Although Arizona may not be for amateurs, it is an important site from which to study not only our own contemporary controversy, but also the history in which that controversy is embedded. The following chapters are a preliminary step in that direction, looking back to Arizona's territorial past to make sense of its twenty-first century present.

Chapter 1:
Counter-Narratives of Conquest: Recovering Arizona's Native American Past, Present, and Future in *Geronimo: His Own Story* and Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes*

"If you had to pick a single person to stand for *Indianness*, you could do worse than Geronimo, the iconic Apache leader who stands in American popular memory for resistant warriors everywhere and the defeated prisoners we imagine they became."
--Philip Deloria *Indians in Unexpected Places*

"Of course the real man they called Geronimo, they never did catch. The real Geronimo got away."
--Leslie Marmon Silko *Almanac of the Dead*

Displacement and relocation have defined the Native American history of Arizona. As Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo settlers came to the Southwest, they displaced tribes throughout the state. These tribes relocated first out of necessity and eventually out of compulsion. This history of displacement and relocation reached its climax during Arizona's territorial period, culminating in the widely publicized pursuit and capture of Geronimo. Narratives of this displacement and relocation told from a Native American perspective are few and far between; their voices are absent from government records, national treaties, school textbooks, and private and public archives as their testimonies have been anywhere from passively ignored to actively erased.

In this chapter I look at how two different Native Americans in the same place but very different times relocate this displaced history in their texts. First, I turn to Geronimo's own account of his pursuit and imprisonment at the hands of the U.S. military in his autobiography *Geronimo: His Own Story.* Moving one hundred years into the future, I then turn to Leslie Marmon Silko's novels *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes*, both of which imaginatively relocate the Native American history and

peoples of Arizona. Although separated by time, place, and genre, both Geronimo's autobiography and Silko's novels respond to the neglect and negation of Native American history by creating in their texts a counter-history of forced displacement and relocation in the Southwest. These counter-histories, whether real or imagined, are an important reminder that what and how we think about Native American people in the Southwest is based on a very partial record, though it has far-reaching consequences.

I. *Geronimo: His Own Story*: An Apache Perspective on U.S. Conquest, Displacement, and Removal in Arizona

There are few widely known and readily available nineteenth-century texts told from a Native American perspective on the history of conquest, displacement, and relocation in the Southwest.[1] Anglo settlement, not Native American displacement, has received much more attention in everything from historical treatises to Hollywood Westerns. One of few texts to give an idea of how nineteenth-century Native American people experienced, evaluated, and resisted their own displacement is *Geronimo: His Own Story*. In *Geronimo*, we see a completely different side to the settlement of the Southwest in general and Arizona in particular. Because of Geronimo's celebrity, an Oklahoma school superintendent named S. M. Barrett took an interest in recording and publishing his story. Though the text is mediated by Barrett's editorial decisions it provides, albeit indirectly, a valuable tool for recovering a Native American perspective on the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. settlement of Arizona.

Of the many things Geronimo is associated with, Arizona is not usually one of them. In the popular imaginary today, the name Geronimo conjures up a wide variety of

[1] There are many oral archives that do tell this history from a Native American perspective.

images, from World War II paratroopers to children jumping off the high dive at a community pool. Most recently, the U.S. military chose Geronimo as the codename for their secret operation to kill Osama Bin Laden. It seems that Geronimo is everywhere, a free-floating signifier for bravery, daring, and danger. It may come as a surprise to some readers, then, that Arizona occupies a central place in *Geronimo: His Own Story.* His connection to his native land and his desire to return to it constitute the main theme of each chapter.

Reading *Geronimo* in this specific historical and geographical context is important for three reasons. First, it records what daily life was like for the Native American population, particularly the Apaches, in Arizona. Second, it provides contemporary readers with a rare nineteenth-century Native American perspective of Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo settlement within the territory. Third, it situates contemporary issues of displacement and immigration in Arizona, the Southwest, and the U.S. within a much longer history. While returning to the physical space of Arizona is of utmost importance to Geronimo and underestimating its geographic importance would be a misreading of the text, the space of Arizona also comes to represent all that was lost, including not only the land but also the cultures and the records of the people who lived there. *Geronimo: His Own Story* is at once a call for the physical return of the Apaches to their homeland, a broader rhetorical reclamation of Arizona's Native American past, and a call to recognize and preserve Arizona's still diverse and vital Native American cultures in the present.

It should be noted that calling *Geronimo: His Own Story* an autobiography is somewhat misleading. In actuality, *Geronimo*, like other late-nineteenth and early-

twentieth century narratives of the lives of Native American people, is a hybrid text somewhere between a biography and an autobiography. In this way these Native American biographies are much like Latin American *testimonios*, which are told to a second party "by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts" (Beverley 31). R.D. Theisz refers to Native American autobiographies as "bi-autobiographies" and defines them as texts that present "segments or all of the life of a Native American man or woman, narrated orally or in writing, which is then recorded by a non-Indian editor, generally from among social scientists or literati" (66). Though not mentioned in Theisz's definition, the recording of these texts also often involved a third party in addition to a Native American narrator and a non-Native American editor—a Native American translator. The end result, then, is not a straightforward telling of one's own life but an opaquely polyvocal narrative.

Scholars of these narratives stress the need to look carefully at the specific workings of this culturally, linguistically, and epistemologically complex collaborative process. Arnold Krupat, in his definitive study of Native American autobiography *For Those Who Come After*, warns that any analysis of these texts "requires consideration of the language, culture, and history both of Native Americans and of Eur-americans [sic]" (Krupat xi). In order to emphasize this inherent cultural duality, he proposes using the term "original bicultural composite composition" in lieu of autobiography (31). Hertha Dawn Wong continues this discussion of cultural duality in her study of Native American autobiographies, *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years*. According to Wong, these texts are especially complex not only because they require a consideration of two

cultures, but also because the texts require of themselves a reconciliation of these two cultures in order to "construct a coherent singular identity" (9).

Exactly how the Native American narrator and non-Native American editor work together to construct this coherent singular identity is a central yet frustrating question for those studying these texts. The terms of this collaboration are and should be of interest to scholars; however, in many cases the specifics are unknowable. One could argue that these inscrutable conditions of production make the texts so unreliable that they cannot or should not be studied. Clearly, the narrator-editor relationship must be acknowledged and evaluated; however, the alternative, completely disregarding the few texts to even partially record a nineteenth-century Native American perspective, is an even less favorable option.

Instead of focusing on what is not knowable about a specific narrator-editor relationship, Krupat shifts the conversation to a broad discussion of what is knowable about the collaboration. Krupat understands this relationship to be "the textual equivalent of a frontier" (33). Of course the Native American narrator and non-Native American editor come from different positions of cultural and political power and this disparity must be foregrounded in the textual analysis. Just as different cultures did not meet on equal footing on the physical frontier, it is necessary to analyze the power dynamics that define and shape the uneven textual frontier. Acknowledging that the textual frontier is uneven does not necessitate disregarding the text itself. On the contrary, because the textual frontier is "a collective as well as an individual encounter," its study opens up a window into the effects of westward expansion in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Southwest (9).

Geronimo is the individual encounter of Geronimo, Oklahoma School Superintendent S.M. Barrett, and Apache translator Asa Daklugie and the collective encounter of the peoples of the Southwestern frontier. Though there is no extant transcription of their recording sessions or original manuscript showing Barrett's edits, in the Preface, Introductory, and footnotes throughout the text Barrett does give some information about the collaborative process by which he, Geronimo, and Daklugie produced *Geronimo: His Own Story*. These comments are of course solely from Barrett's perspective and, following Krupat and Wong, must be set in the context of what is known about each contributor's personal biography as well as the political dynamics that would have influenced their collaboration.

Stephen Melvil Barrett grew up along the frontier. His grandfather moved with his family to Indian territory in the 1830s, and his father worked as a wagon-train boss (Krupat 62). Barrett became an educator, but also took an interest in historical and ethnographic writing, particularly about Native Americans. *Geronimo* was just the beginning of Barrett's foray into writing about different Native American tribes. In addition to editing *Geronimo* in 1906, Barrett also authored *Mocco, an Indian boy* (1911), *Hoistah, an Indian girl* (1913), *Shinkah, the Osage Indian* (1916), *Beaver, the Pawnee Indian* (1918), and *Sociology of the American Indians* (1946).

Barrett saw himself as an authority on Indian affairs; in the prefaces to both *Shinkah* and *Beaver* he emphasizes his role as expert, writing in his Preface to *Shinkah* that being "born among the western Indians" and having "lived for many years in close proximity to various tribes" enables him to accurately "recite some Indian lore…and indicate the nature of the sociology of the Osage Indians" ("Preface"). Whether he is

describing the lore of the Osage or the home life of the Pawnee, his investment in documenting this information is clear: as an educator Barrett wanted to, as he states in his Preface to *Geronimo*, increase "the general store of information regarding vanishing types" ("Introductory" 1).

Barrett was the driving force behind the recording and publishing of *Geronimo.* In 1905 when Geronimo was in his eighties, Barrett approached him about publishing the story of his life.[2] Barrett describes his motivation in soliciting Geronimo's story in his "Preface," writing:

> The initial idea of the compilation of this work was to give the reading public an authentic record of the private life of the Apache Indians, and to extend to Geronimo as a prisoner of war the courtesy due to any captive, *i.e.,* the right to state the causes which impelled him in his opposition to our civilization and laws (1).

Barrett anticipates that Geronimo's story will contest, contradict, and even condemn the official version of his pursuit, capture, and subsequent imprisonment. As an educator, Barrett saw the educational and ethical value in capturing the other side of the story. He made it his goal to properly present the cause and the defense of Geronimo's legendary raiding, and to add to "the general store of information regarding vanishing types" (1). Surely the government records, official correspondence, newspaper articles, and military leaders' accounts of Geronimo's escapades in the U.S. Southwest were well known, and now it was time to hear what the man himself had to say.

Geronimo's investment in writing and publishing his autobiography had more to do with Barrett's second assertion, to state his case before the American people. The

[2] Barrett states in his "Introductory" that he "first met Geronimo in the summer of 1904, when [he] acted for him as interpreter of English into Spanish, and vice versa, in selling a war bonnet" (xi).

autobiography, intended for Anglo readers, provided Geronimo with a rare opportunity to address his captors. As a prisoner of war, Geronimo had few rights or recourse to the courts for the wrongs suffered by his people. His autobiography then became an alternate avenue to justice, allowing him first to inform U.S. readers from an Apache perspective about the injustice of their displacement from Arizona and relocation to Florida and Oklahoma, and second, to ignite U.S. readers and their government to bring justice to the Apaches by allowing them to return to their homes in Arizona.

This intent to inform and ignite is evident from the first pages of the autobiography in Geronimo's "Dedicatory" to President Roosevelt. He begins:

> Because he has given me permission to tell my story; because he has read that story and knows I try to speak the truth; because I believe that he is fair-minded and will cause my people to receive justice in the future; and because he is chief of a great people, I dedicate this story of my life to Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.

Dedicating the story of his life to the man responsible for his imprisonment is surprising to say the least. However, these four lines also establish the strategic tone and structure that define Geronimo's autobiography. As a prisoner of war, Geronimo had few legal options available to him to make his case for justice, so he instead makes his case here, in his autobiography. In this "Dedicatory" Geronimo makes justice the inevitable end of telling and publishing his story. The explicit praise for Roosevelt as a great leader who can discern truth and administer justice, and the implicit praise for the "great people" of the U.S., are meant to help Geronimo achieve his goal of an Apache return to Arizona. Geronimo acknowledges Roosevelt's and his people's positive qualities to strengthen his own position; according to the "Dedicatory," Geronimo's telling of his own story can have only one outcome: to "cause [the Apache] people to receive justice." In other words,

after reading his story, the President and his people would have no other choice but to allow the Apaches to return to their native land in Arizona. Establishing the validity of their claim to that land is the subject, either implicitly or explicitly, of each part of his text.

Unsurprisingly, publishing such a text was the source of much controversy. Not everyone agreed with Barrett's estimation of the educational and ethical value of Geronimo's testimony. Lieutenant Purington, the officer in charge of Fort Sill where Geronimo was being held prisoner, flatly refused Barrett's request. Purington "explained…that the old Apache deserved to be hanged rather than spoiled by so much attention from civilians" (Purington qtd. in Barrett, "Introductory" 40). Barrett would not take no for an answer and instead asked permission to publish from the President himself. President Theodore Roosevelt, who included Geronimo in his own inaugural parade, granted Barrett the permission he desired and the school superintendent turned transcriber quickly got to work.

Even with the appropriate permissions and clearances, Barrett still faced important linguistic and cultural barriers that further complicated his desire to transcribe Geronimo's narrative. Barrett knew he would need a translator and enlisted the help of Asa[3] Daklugie, Geronimo's nephew.[4] Daklugie was sent to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania when the Apaches were deported to Florida and was therefore fluent in

[3] According to Eve Ball, Daklugie was given the name Asa at Carlisle, where the instructors gave Anglo names to students in alphabetical order (13).
[4] According to Angie Debo, Daklugie was actually Geronimo's second cousin (4). The discrepancy seems to be over the relationship between Geronimo and Ishton, Daklugie's mother, who was either Geronimo's sister, half sister, or cousin.

English, but was by no means an assimilationist. He was not raised on the reservation[5] and vividly remembered the pre-imprisonment era when he lived in Southern Arizona and Northern Mexico with Geronimo and the rest of his people. When he returned from Carlisle, Daklugie became an important leader, especially of the more traditional people, eventually leading them to the Mescalero Apache reservation in Southern New Mexico (Ragsdale, Jr. 46). Just as he saw Geronimo dictate his own story to Barrett, at the end of his life Daklugie related his experiences to Eve Ball, who collected his testimony in her book *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey*. Daklugie was a fierce critic of assimilation to the end, telling Ball "I learned much more from my own people than I did during the many long years I spent at Carlisle" (Ball 14). Based on his repeated criticisms of U.S. culture, it seems unlikely that in his translations Daklugie softened Geronimo's indictments of U.S. crimes committed against the Apache.

Barrett in fact assures readers that although both an interpreter and a transcriber mediated Geronimo's autobiography, he still maintained definite control over the final product. Barrett describes their writing and transcribing process in his "Introductory," telling the reader "Geronimo refused to talk when a stenographer was present, or to wait for corrections of questions when telling the story. Each day he had in mind what he would tell and told it in a very clear, brief manner" (41). It is impossible to know the exact nature or extent of the influence Daklugie and Barrett had on Geronimo's narrative, but Barrett's disclaimers in the "Introductory" and in footnotes throughout the text suggest that at least with respect to certain aspects of the content and structure, he tried to

[5] Just as there are discrepancies about the date of Geronimo's birth, it is unclear when Daklugie was born. At Carlisle they estimated 1874, but Daklugie estimated 1869-1870 (Ball 13).

maintain Geronimo's voice despite not agreeing with or understanding his testimony. In terms of content, Barrett did not shy away from including Geronimo's indictments of the U.S. government and military leaders who betrayed the Apaches when they negotiated their surrender.[6] In terms of structure, Barrett clearly would have preferred the autobiography to follow a different logic, apologizing for the narrative's odd arrangement. The only explanation that he gives is that "Geronimo has told the story in his own way" and that "is doubtless the only excuse necessary to offer for the many unconventional features of this work" (46).

Part of what makes *Geronimo* "unconventional" is that the text describes the collective encounter of the Apaches, the Spanish, the Mexicans, and the United States along the Southwestern frontier *from an Apache perspective*. His autobiography is an Apache description of their own daily lives, their contact with Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. settlers, their removal from Arizona to reservations in Florida and then Oklahoma, and in the last section, their resistance to both the reality of removal and the threat of cultural erasure. Each section builds an Apache claim to the territory of Arizona, making the case for Geronimo's ultimate aim: their return to Arizona.

In Part 1, Geronimo establishes the ideological basis for the Apaches' claim to Arizona. At first it may seem odd that he begins his autobiography not with his own birthdate and place, but rather with the creation of the Apache people. This is the first indication that Geronimo's purpose in writing his autobiography is greater than clearing his own name or capitalizing on his own fame, though those also may have been

[6] Barrett does include the official memo from the U.S. War Department disapproving of Geronimo's characterization of the government's treatment of the Apaches and some footnotes recusing himself of weighing in on the government's purported treachery.

motivating factors. Instead, because his ultimate appeal is collective he begins with a collective history: the creation of the world and the Apache people. He starts, "In the beginning the world was covered with darkness. There was no sun, no day. The perpetual night had no moon or stars" (49). These lines resonate with the Biblical creation narrative, immediately establishing a necessary connection to the U.S. Anglo culture he is petitioning.

However, onto this familiar blank canvas, Geronimo paints a different picture. A dragon makes life on earth impossible for mankind and very few humans exist. That is, until a young boy defeats the dragon and paves the way for mankind to increase and progress. "This boy's name was Apache" and Geronimo ends this first chapter of his autobiography declaring:

> Usen [the Creator] taught him [Apache] how to prepare herbs for medicine, how to hunt, and how to fight. He was the first chief of the Indians and wore the eagle's feathers as the sign of justice, wisdom, and power. To him, and to his people, as they were created, Usen gave homes in the land of the West (53).

Here, Geronimo uses the same cultural and legal justifications that U.S. settler colonialists offered for occupying Apache land to bolster his own claim. First, Geronimo establishes the Apaches' divine right to Arizona. Just as the Christian God allegedly gave U.S. settlers the right to the Western United States, Usen gave the Apaches "homes in the land of the West" (53). In addition to giving the Apaches the land, Usen also endowed them with the knowledge, skills, and character necessary to build a thriving community. This divinely ordained community would have a means of support (hunting), security (fighting), a government (chief), laws (justice, wisdom, and power),

and healthcare (medicine). According to this logic, if anyone could claim a Manifest Destiny to live within the Southwest, it would be the Apaches.

In fact, Geronimo's ideological claim to the land is almost identical to the rhetoric surrounding U.S. Manifest Destiny and westward expansion during his time. Purveyors of Manifest Destiny based the United States' right to expand westward on exactly the same principles of divinely appointed community. In his 1900 speech to the U.S. Congress, "The Divine Mission of America," Senator Albert Beveridge directly linked westward expansion with divine providence. Just as Geronimo builds the Apache claim to the land on their divinely ordained ability to establish a successful society, Beveridge states that God "has made [the United States] the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns" and "to overwhelm the forces of reaction through the earth" (705, 711). Geronimo's implied response to Beveridge and his fellow purveyors of a uniquely U.S. Manifest Destiny is that, long before any ancestor of the U.S. settler colonialists set foot within the Southwest, a different god gave a different people the same right to the same land.

In fact, contrary to the image circulated in newspapers, magazines, dime novels, movies, and television shows that depicts nineteenth-century Arizona as unforgiving and uninhabited, many tribal nations survived and even thrived in the Southwest for thousands of years before Europeans arrived. In their book *Daily Life of Native Americans: From Post-Columbian Through Nineteenth-Century America* Alice Nash and Christoph Strobel write, "Despite…droughts and floods, sandstorms and blizzards, Native communities flourished in the Southwest and pursued various ways of life that were well suited to particular ecosystems" (139). The Anasazi built urban centers with

multistory dwellings (141). The Hohokam built and maintained an elaborate irrigation system to raise crops (157). Though the hostile desert climate was a challenge to any community settling in the Southwest, Native American peoples creatively adapted to and developed the land.

The Apache, together with the Navajo, were one of the later tribal nations to settle in the Southwest. Though the exact date of their arrival is unknown, they came to the Southwest sometime before the fifteenth century (Nash and Strobel 147). They probably traveled south from the Pacific Northwest; their languages belong to the same family as those of the Native American peoples of the Northwestern U.S. and Western Canada (147). Before leaving the Northwest, the Apache and Navajo were hunter-gatherers, but after they settled in the Southwest, through contact with the Pueblo they learned how to farm and cultivate corn, beans, and squash in the desert (147). The Navajo and Western Apache in particular adopted the more sedentary and agriculturally based Pueblo lifestyle while the Eastern Apache Nations (including the Chiricahua to which Geronimo belonged) continued to live primarily by hunting, gathering, and raiding (147).

Geronimo was of course most famous for his raids against Mexican and U.S. settlers. The local, regional, national, and international press portrayed him as a dangerous criminal and a threat to civilized society in the Southwest. Today's press might describe these raids as random acts of terror, though the practice of raiding was not random at all but rather highly structured. Nash and Strobel write:

> Both the Apache and the Navajo raided their neighbors as a means of subsistence when necessary. Raiding gave young men a chance to demonstrate bravery and establish their reputations. They took foods…and in the post-contact years, livestock…Sometimes they also took children, who were then adopted (150).

There were moral codes that governed raiding. Raiding allowed the Apaches to establish an ethos of bravery, provide for their families, and, in some cases, add to their community by adopting children into their society. Although "the raiding way of life caused tensions and animosity between raiders and nonraiders," there was a marked difference between how other Native American tribes reacted to Apache raids versus how Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. settlers reacted to these raids. Despite the tension caused by raiding, the Apache still engaged in regular trade with other tribes, actively participating in the intercultural exchange among the communities of the Southwest (150). There was, however, no reciprocity among the Apaches and the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. settlers.

In Part 2 of his autobiography, Geronimo gives his assessment of contact with Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. settlers. Although Spanish conquest of the New World began in 1492 with Columbus's infamous voyage, missionaries did not establish permanent settlements in the Southwestern desert lands they called the Pimería Alta until closer to 1600 (161).[7] They did not actively expand in the area until the 1687 arrival of Padre Eusebio Kino, the Jesuit priest who became the father of Spanish settlement in the area (Stockel, *Salvation* 30, Anderson 10). The Apaches experienced tremendous change as a result of contact with European cultures, which brought new threats as well as new technologies. "The arrival of Spanish missionaries, conquistadors, and horses in the sixteenth century" initiated many centuries of transformation in the Southwest, as well as the making and unmaking of alliances amongst Native American, Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. inhabitants (139).

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[7] See p. 122 of Edward Spicer's *Cycles of Conquest* for a map of the Upper Pima Country, or the Pimería Alta, about 1710. The region encompasses present-day southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico.

The Spanish had two goals in conquering the Southwest: to convert the Native American tribes and to protect their wealthier colonies to the South (Nash and Strobel 161). To that end, in the seventeenth century they established the mission and *encomienda* systems (162). Spain gave land to missionaries to create churches for converting the Native American people. Friars exploited Native American labor to construct, maintain, and stock the missions with necessary provisions (163). The Spanish government also granted land called *encomiendas* to soldiers who had served in the army for five years (162). Along with the land, Spain "gave legal permission for the new landowners to exploit Native American labor for their own benefits, and implicit permission to use violence if needed to ensure compliance" (162).

The people of the Southwest did not automatically accept this system of exploitation. In 1680, angered by both the mission and the *encomienda* system, the Pueblos revolted against Spanish rule in what is now Santa Fe, New Mexico (165). The revolt was extremely successful, driving the Spanish out completely for over a decade and weakening settlement for many more years (165). Although Spanish settlement in what is today Arizona was never as strong as that of New Mexico,[8] in 1751 the Pima also staged a successful revolt against the Spanish that resulted in the construction of the Presidio at Tubac, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 (Officer 4).

Despite the presence of a few presidios like that of Tubac, between 1580 and 1830, while there were anywhere from 50,000 to 200,000 Native American people in Arizona, the Spanish population, including mestizos, numbered well under 10,000

[8] As Edward Spicer writes, the Pimería Alta "mission field was undertaken at a time when financial support of the missionary program was considerably weaker than it had been at the beginning of the 1600's and consequently slow in gaining momentum" (119).

(Anderson 9). The Pimería Alta missionaries, living on the isolated northern edge of New Spain, were hard-pressed to keep their missions well stocked (Stockel, *Salvation* 44). This lack of supplies was doubly disastrous for missionaries who needed to be able not only to conduct religious ceremonies but also to bribe hostile neighbors who would otherwise attack and raid Spanish settlements (Stockel, *Salvation* 44). With Mexico City a three-month to one-year journey away, the Pimería Alta missions and presidios, particularly after 1700, fell into decline (Stockel, *Salvation* 45, Anderson 93).

Apache raids also weakened Spanish settlements. The Apaches resisted the mission system from the beginning (Dilworth 11). They never retracted their claims to the land; their divine right and connection to the territory is a central part of their religious system and a main theme in Geronimo's autobiography. Though newspapers, government reports, and even many scholarly texts have employed the same rhetoric that the Spanish used to describe the Apaches as cruel and violent, from their own point of view, they were protecting what they believed to be rightfully theirs (Anderson 106).

The Apaches' claims to territorial sovereignty were further ignored when Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821. In his autobiography, Geronimo harbors a special hatred for Mexicans. His description of the massacre at Kas-ki-yeh where Mexicans murdered his wife, mother, and three children is devastating. Yet, this devastating description serves an important rhetorical function, giving a moral explanation for his raids that would be understandable to U.S. readers.

According to his own chronology, he was not a criminal nor an aggressor, but rather an avenger. Contrary to the press' characterization of him as a coldblooded killer, Geronimo portrays himself as provoked into action; the murder of his family was the only

motivating factor that led him to raid. This recasts Geronimo not as an outlaw or savage but rather as a family man pursuing justice for himself and his people. In this light, he is no different from the many Anglo men who in countless captivity narratives employ extreme violence in order to avenge the death or disappearance of loved ones.

Geronimo also strategically dedicates more pages of his autobiography to his raids against Mexican as opposed to U.S. settlers. He never apologizes for his hatred of the Mexicans, ending this section by saying, "It has been a long time…but I still have no love for the Mexicans…I am old now and shall never go on the warpath again, but if I were young, and followed the warpath, it would lead into Old Mexico" (110). At first it may seem difficult to reconcile why Geronimo's hatred for Mexicans was so extreme while his relationship to the U.S. remained much more ambivalent. He offers the murder of his family at the hands of Mexicans as an explanation, emphasizing that the magnitude of his loss explains why the ensuing battle at Kas-ki-yeh did not provide him with acceptable retribution. He writes, "other Indians…had lost in the massacre, but none had lost as I had, for I had lost all" (78).

Though it is possible that something was lost or altered in the chain of translation and transcription, it seems most likely that Geronimo strategically displaced his anger for all the injustices he and his people suffered (at the hands of Mexico *and* the United States) onto Mexico in order to more effectively make his appeal to the U.S. people and their President. Whether or not Geronimo could have harbored the same anger toward the U.S. is unknowable, but one thing is for certain: no matter what his true feelings were, Geronimo's ultimate objective of returning to Arizona made revealing a complete hatred

for the U.S. impossible. By 1905, the state and national borders were fixed and the land Geronimo desired directed his attention, and his argument, to the north.

Though Geronimo does not speak against it as directly or with the same passion, the drawing and shoring up of these borders eventually led to an even greater battle than avenging the massacre at Kas-ki-yeh. Part 3, "The White Men," tellingly begins with different instruments of war: surveying tools. Geronimo begins "About the time of 'Kaskiyeh' (1858) we heard that some white men were measuring land to the south of us" (113). While the massacre at Kas-ki-yeh led to Geronimo's greatest personal tragedy, the measuring of the land led to an even greater collective tragedy for the Apaches. Although Geronimo's description of the surveyors is fairly innocuous, for "They were good men…They were not soldiers," their arrival portends the eventual expulsion, division, and betrayal of the Apaches (113).

The Apaches at first thought the U.S. would be their ally against Mexico (Dilworth 12). That hope was dispelled at the end of the U.S.-Mexico War with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. In 1848, the U.S.-Mexico War ended with Mexico ceding nearly half of its territory, including the Pimería Alta, to the United States. Far from assuring the Apache of a new ally in the region, the treaty that ended the war guaranteed just the opposite (12). Part of the terms of Mexico's surrender included a promise of protection on the part of the United States to curtail Native American, particularly Apache, raiding on Mexico's northern frontier. Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo stated that "incursions" by "savage tribes" upon Mexican people would "be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States whensoever this may be necessary…and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were

meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens" ("Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo"). The U.S. did not have any more success keeping Native peoples at bay than the Spanish or the Mexicans. Unable to protect its own people, much less Mexicans, from Apache attacks, in 1854 the United States repealed Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in the Gadsden Treaty.

Geronimo describes the hostility that resulted from U.S. military occupation of the border. Despite the fact that "The Indians always tried to live peaceably with the white soldiers and settlers," neither soldiers nor settlers were interested in living peaceably with the Apaches (116). U.S.-Apache relations steadily deteriorated as Apache land in the Southwest became increasingly valuable to the U.S. government. Although "Initially, most Americans who came into the area were just passing through on their way to California or the Oregon Territory," the discovery of mineral wealth as well as investments in infrastructure increased the value of Arizona's territory, causing settlers to become more "interested in colonizing the lands of the Southwest" and "increasing pressure on Indian lands" (Nash and Strobel 166). As mines, ranches, railroads, and mail routes increased, so did military action against the Apaches. By 1871, anxiety about the Apache threat to U.S. interests in the Southwest provoked Congress to appropriate money to remove the Apaches to reservations (Debo 80). The government established reservations in southwestern New Mexico and central Arizona and placed General Crook in charge of removing the Apaches to these reservations (Dilworth 12, Debo 81).

From the beginning of the text, Geronimo stresses that the Apaches thrived as an organized, self-sufficient, productive, and spiritual people; that is, until U.S. settlers removed them from their native land. Part of the work of the autobiography is to offer an

explanation for why at the time the Apaches on the reservations were declining. Geronimo says "For each tribe Usen created He also made a home. In the land created for any particular tribe He placed whatever would be best for the welfare of that tribe" (57). The Southwest possessed a natural order; the Apaches and their homes were "each created for the other by Usen himself" (57). When the United States removed the Apaches from their homes, they sentenced them to total annihilation. In a foreboding passage, Geronimo asks, "When they are taken from these homes they sicken and die. How long will it be until it is said, there are no Apaches?" (57).

Geronimo describes his own realization of and resistance to the reality that the reservations were in fact deadly prisons. Geronimo at first did not view the reservations as prisons, affirming his own agency in deciding to go to Fort Bowie, saying, "When I went to Apache Pass…" (124). As easily as he came, he went, "deem[ing] it impossible to keep the different bands together in peace" and therefore leaving to rejoin Victoria,[9] another Apache leader, in Hot Springs, New Mexico (125). In the most recent edition of *Geronimo*, writer Frederick Turner clarifies in a footnote, "This is Geronimo's laconic description of his break from the Fort Bowie Reservation in June 1876" (125).

For Geronimo, however, this was not a break because he was not in prison. When asked to meet with officials in New Mexico, he goes and is surprised when he finds himself under arrest. He writes:

> Scouts conducted me to the guardhouse and put me in chains. When I asked them why they did this they said it was because I had left Apache Pass. I do not think that I ever belonged to those soldiers at Apache Pass, or that I should have asked them where I might go (126).

[9] The name of this Apache leader appears as both Victorio and Victoria in various accounts. Because Geronimo in his autobiography uses Victoria, that is the spelling I use here.

This passage unequivocally exposes the real intent and reality of removal. Though Geronimo understood his decision to go to Apache Pass as a choice, here the U.S. soldiers confront him with a different reality, that of complete captivity. He now belonged to them and they controlled his every movement.

The Apaches did not submit to this complete control without a fight. For nearly twenty years, just as they had previously resisted the Spanish mission system, they resisted the U.S. reservation system. In 1876 the U.S. removed the Apaches to the San Carlos reservation in Arizona (Ragsdale, Jr. 54). The people quickly discovered that the reservation was nothing more than a prison and a concentration camp. According to John W. Ragsdale, Jr., "San Carlos…was a barren, treeless, low-lying, torrid site, loathed by the mountain-dwelling Apaches" (54). Asa Daklugie, the translator of Geronimo's autobiography, described San Carlos as "the worst place in all the great territory stolen from the Apaches. If anybody had ever lived there permanently, no Apache knew of it" (Ball 37).

San Carlos was just the first in a series of disease-ridden, destitute reservations assigned to the Apaches. In 1886 the U.S. deported the last group of resistors, including Geronimo, to Fort Marion, Florida (Sheridan 71). At Fort Marion malaria, dysentery bacteria, bronchitis, and tuberculosis plagued the Apache prisoners who lacked food, clothing, and sanitation (Turcheneske, Jr. 15). 119 Apaches died at Fort Marion before the U.S. removed the Apaches yet again, this time to Fort Sill, Oklahoma (Sheridan 71). Four years later, in 1913 the U.S. allowed a group of Apaches from the Fort Sill

reservation to return not to Arizona but to the Southwest, relocating to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico (71).

Although it would seem natural for Geronimo to end his autobiography here with a critique of removal to reservations and a final appeal to the U.S. President and people to return the Apaches to Arizona, *Geronimo* continues with what at first seems to be an inexplicable conclusion. In the final section entitled "The Old and the New" Geronimo juxtaposes the Apaches' "Unwritten Laws" with his apparent admiration for U.S. culture, embodied by his positive characterization of his experience at the St. Louis World's Fair. This sudden esteem for U.S. culture makes this section the most elusive in terms of interpretation. He writes, "I am glad I went to the Fair. I saw many interesting things and learned much of the white people. They are a very kind and peaceful people" (161-162). This passage seems to directly contradict Geronimo's critique of unwarranted Apache removal and imprisonment. In these lines, it appears as if the Fair, with all its modern advancements and celebrations of imperial achievements, changed his estimation of the United States.

This interpretation, however, seems too simplistic and out of character. Even Turner acknowledges the dubiousness of taking Geronimo's comments at face value, cautioning the reader with a footnote to this passage that says "The reader should recall here that Geronimo was not without guile. His statements about white culture often have the appearance of cutting several ways" (162). Barrett, in his own footnote to the same passage, offers a different explanation, writing:

> Geronimo was also taken to both the Omaha and the Buffalo Expositions, but during that period of his life he was sullen and took no interest in things. The St. Louis Exposition was held after he had adopted the

> Christian religion and had begun to try to understand our civilization (162).

In a way it seems that both Turner and Barrett are correct. At age eighty Geronimo, ever the pragmatist, most likely did acknowledge the necessity of understanding the civilization that controlled whether or not the Apaches would ever return to their homeland. However, this understanding was probably less about acceptance or ideological shift and more about strategy. As Turner implies, Geronimo was adept at navigating U.S. culture, a skill that underpins his entire narrative and defined his participation in the fair.

This final section builds his case for returning to Arizona by strategically relating his experience at the fair to his U.S. readers. From the Dedicatory, it is obvious that Geronimo is well aware of his audience. On the one hand, an outright rejection of the fair and the U.S. imperial exploits it celebrated would only alienate readers and would not help further his cause. On the other hand, Geronimo's purpose in telling his story was to resist the Apache removal and imprisonment that resulted from that imperialism. Geronimo needed to strike some sort of careful balance between offending his readers and compromising his message to finally stir them to action and allow the Apaches to return to Arizona.

Geronimo's description of his experience at the World's Fair strategically strikes this balance by challenging one of the underlying justifications for Indian removal: the myth of the vanishing Indian. According to the myth, Indian culture was already on the inevitable path to extinction, an extinction that was completely independent of their displacement from and relocation to different lands. In fact, the reservations offered

them a welcome opportunity to abandon their dying culture and be incorporated into the vibrant, expanding mainstream U.S. society. Geronimo's captors brought him to the fair as an interesting relic from one of these dying cultures, displayed alongside trinkets to be sold to curious tourists who sought a memento by which to remember not only the fair, but also one of the last remnants of a disappearing tribe.

Geronimo, however, did not act like a relic; in fact his descriptions of his active participation at the World's Fair seem to prove just the opposite. Though he was supposed to be passively on display with other vestiges of a primitive past, he soon began to actively profit off of the fairgoers, selling his clothing, his photographs, and even his autograph to eager customers. Conquered captives and vanished Indians were by definition not supposed to capitalize on their own celebrity; they were artifacts, not agents. Yet, Geronimo asserted his own agency, underlining that the shift of his iconic status "in American popular memory" from "resistant warrior" to "defeated prisoner" was indeed more imaginary than real (Deloria 136). Though the fair meant to celebrate and reinforce an ultimate defeat, in Geronimo's autobiography, his description of his experience at the fair highlights a continued resistance.

The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair celebrated and connected one hundred years of U.S. continental expansion to current and future U.S. imperial projects overseas. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the first large territorial acquisition west of the original thirteen colonies, marked the beginning of fifty years of continental expansion that would culminate in the 1848 U.S.-Mexico War. By 1854, the Gadsden Purchase resolved the persistent border dispute between the U.S. and Mexico and established the borders of the contiguous United States as we know them today. Another fifty years passed and the war

between Spain and the U.S. made long held overseas expansionist desires a reality, as the victorious U.S. suddenly became the caretaker of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

With all these territories came new subjects in the ever-expanding U.S. Empire, subjects brought together at the St. Louis World's Fair. In his seminal work on U.S. Expositions, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Robert Rydell writes, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition featured the most extensive Anthropology Department of any world's fair" (160). Anthropologists and eugenicists gathered together thousands of Native peoples from across the globe and put them on display, Geronimo being one of the most notable attractions. These anthropological displays, in addition to their scientific and educational value, also served a particular cultural purpose. According to Rydell, the fair assuaged the social upheaval and class warfare caused by industrialization and depressions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries by "offer[ing] millions of fairgoers an opportunity to reaffirm their collective national identity in an updated synthesis of progress and white supremacy that suffused the blueprints of future perfection" (4). The domestic unification and progress that the expositions championed was "predicated on the subordination of nonwhite people" like Geronimo who represented a savage and primitive past that the U.S. as an emerging imperial power had surpassed (4).

In his book *A World on Display: Photographs from the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904*, Eric Breitbart talks more specifically about how photographs of Native peoples at the fair reproduce the imperial relationship of conqueror to conquered.[10] He argues that

[10] For more discussion on Geronimo in photographs, see Jimmie Durham's "Geronimo!" in *Partial Recall: With Essays on Photographs of Native North Americans*, ed. Lucy Lippard.

in the images "Props such as bows and arrows…not only provided visual interest in a photograph, they also defined the Native Americans, Eskimos, and Filipinos using them as representatives of primitive, hunting cultures, as inhabitants of an early stage of civilization" (15). These Natives of the past made U.S. cultural, economic, and scientific progress that much more apparent and impressive.



Figure 1.1: "Geronimo in business at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, St. Louis, 1904." From *Geronimo: His Own Story*.

Breitbart makes a distinction, however, when it comes to Geronimo. For Breitbart, the photographs of Geronimo are more "complex" because his "bows and arrows were miniatures, made not as weapons for hunting but as souvenirs, to be sold to fair visitors" (15). He looks specifically at an image of Geronimo (figure 1.1) dressed in

a suit, holding a miniature bow and arrow with others scattered on the ground around him. At the fair, organizers sought to transform Geronimo's celebrity image into a commodity; his Western dress and toy weapons made him, in Breitbart's estimation, "both a symbol of the conquered, domesticated savage and an example of the value of money" (15). The domesticated Geronimo, distanced from the warrior who once terrorized Southwestern settlers on both sides of the border, was now safe and available for private consumption. Like other Native peoples at the fair, he represented not only "a 'vanishing race'" but also "a model for how future 'native peoples' would be treated" (71).

What Geronimo himself has to say about his own participation in the fair, however, adds another layer of meaning to the analysis of both Rydell and Breitbart. Certainly U.S. nationalism, not global diversity, was what was actually on display at the St. Louis World's Fair and other expositions like it. Still, Geronimo was as much spectator as spectacle. He quickly realized the economic opportunity available to him and began to capitalize on his own celebrity. He writes:

> I sold my photographs for twenty-five cents, and was allowed to keep ten cents of this for myself. I also wrote my name for ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, as the case might be, and kept all of that money. I often made as much as two dollars a day, and when I returned I had plenty of money—more than I had ever owned before (155).

This description causes the viewer to see the photograph above in a very different light. Breitbart asserts that "By selling autographed photographs and souvenir bows and arrows, Geronimo brought home one of the fair's important lessons—that everything had a price" (15). His observation is certainly correct, but in light of Geronimo's own account of his participation in the fair, it takes on a different meaning. Geronimo, the

conquered warrior reduced to touting souvenirs, was also a shrewd businessman at the helm of a profitable enterprise. While the colleting, buying, and selling of Indian goods was not new (people had been taking battlefield trophies for years), an Indian making a successful living for himself by controlling this commodity flow was.

Unlike a relic of a vanishing race, there is nothing passive about the defiant glare Geronimo gives in this photograph. His gaze is directed not back at the camera but to the side, perhaps indicating that he is observing the fair. If he is indeed observing the fair, he does not look impressed or intimidated; if anything, his pursed lips and wrinkled brow suggest that he is skeptical of his surroundings, considering himself to be superior to them. He does not look like a prisoner of war, and as Geronimo's economic success at the fair demonstrated, he also did not act like one. Despite his status, he was able to survive, adapt, and even economically thrive in his captors' culture.

Perhaps Geronimo's captors were the ones who needed to learn the value of the fair's important lesson—that everything, including conquest, had a price. Acquiring land and resources also meant acquiring people like Geronimo who despite wars, relocations, and removals refused to disappear. Although the United States hunted them down in deserts, cordoned them off on reservations, and vanished them rhetorically in the national imagination, Native Americans were diminished but not decimated. Those like Geronimo that survived became a part, albeit unrecognized, of the U.S. future that was so prominently on display at the World's fairs.

In his autobiography, Geronimo asserts his and his people's sustained participation in the "New" of "The Old and the New." Whether the U.S. was willing to acknowledge it or not, in the "New" world order following westward expansion the

future of the country would forever be bound up with that of Native peoples. As Philip Deloria argues in his book *Indians in Unexpected Places*, "some Indian people—more than we've been led to believe—leapt quickly into modernity…because it became painfully clear that they were not distinct from the history that was even then being made" (231). Geronimo's sustained celebrity even *after* his capture and imprisonment and his *active* participation in celebrations of U.S. nationalism reveal that the effects of conquest and continental expansion ripple out in both directions, always changing not only the lives of the conquered but also the conquerors.

Geronimo's resistance, however, was limited. Though he made repeated pleas to the President and people of the United States to allow him to return to Arizona, Geronimo died a prisoner of war at Fort Sill in 1909 (Dilworth 13). Though he was adept at navigating the culture that imprisoned him, he was nevertheless a prisoner whose only surviving words are still mediated, giving an incomplete picture not just of his own story, but also the story of other Apaches and Native Americans displaced across the United States. While *Geronimo* is without a doubt an important text for scholars in search of a rare Native perspective on U.S. conquest, the archive is still uncomfortably small and unnervingly limited when it comes to counter-hegemonic histories of the settling of the Southwest.

II. *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes*: Leslie Marmon Silko's Imaginative Restoration of the Southwest

In response to the U.S. disenfranchisement of Native people, displacement of Native communities, and denial of Native narratives, in *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes* Leslie Marmon Silko picks up where Geronimo left off,

imaginatively expanding the boundaries of his resistance. In *Almanac of the Dead*, she narrates a counter-history of the Americas in order to foretell the eventual destruction of settler colonial conquest within the continent and the ushering in of a new era grounded in a Native epistemology. *Gardens in the Dunes* similarly looks back, imagining the entirely invented history of a tribal nation living along the Colorado River, the Sand Lizards, in order to symbolically recover the history of the many tribal nations that were decimated in the process of U.S. conquest. In both cases, Silko addresses the gaps in the historical record, imaginatively giving a voice to what is silent in the archive.

In *Almanac of the Dead* Silko rewrites, or writes for the first time, the Native American history of the Americas through fiction. The scope of the novel is ambitious, stretching across the globe and depicting a large cast of characters that cuts across divisions of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and nationality. In the end, *Almanac* culminates with the world on a collision course to an apocalyptic showdown between a coalitional, Native American-led resistance force and the capitalist, Eurocentric powers that have subjugated Native American people for 500 years.

Though the scope of Silko's *Almanac* is global, my interest here is in the local, in her repeated emphasis on Arizona. Despite its marginalized status in the eyes of many, Arizona figures centrally within the text, acting as the main axis for the novel's interlocking plots. The map at the very beginning of the text, the "Almanac of the Dead Five Hundred Year Map" places Tucson, Arizona, at the center of the Almanac, which "foretells the future of all the Americas." Radiating arrows from all directions point to Tucson, visually underscoring its centrality within a sprawling geography.

This centrality, however, is not necessarily flattering. On the map, Silko

identifies Tucson as the "Home to an assortment of speculators, confidence men, embezzlers, lawyers, judges, police and other criminals, as well as addicts and pushers, since the 1880s and the Apache Wars." Tucson is populated with the lowliest of people, the dregs of society, and her description seems almost prescient as Arizona has today earned a reputation for being the most backwards of states. Nevertheless, the radiating arrows clearly demonstrate that Arizona is not exceptional, but rather definitional for the rest of the United States. Its corruption serves to implicate further the rest of the country in a sprawling cesspool of legalized and authorized criminal activity.

With Arizona at the center of the narrative, it is unsurprising that one of the early faces of resistance to appear is that of Geronimo. The period of Arizona that Geronimo serves to recall, the time period covered by this dissertation, is one of the flash points in the Native American struggle for control of the Americas. Like the European invasion of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth century, U.S. westward expansion in the nineteenth century sent Native American cultures and traditions into chaos yet again. In the text, Geronimo becomes the quintessential Arizona figure – epitomizing not only the absurdity of the logic that criminalizes some and celebrates others but also the superficiality inherent within national border drawing and politics.

In *Almanac,* however, Silko does not recover the same Geronimo who appears in *Geronimo: His Own Story*. As one of the most famous faces of Native American resistance Geronimo appears throughout *Almanac*, though each appearance serves to complicate his familiar fame, image, and resistance through Silko's imaginative retelling. First, the novel questions Geronimo's status as one of the most famous *criminals* in U.S. history, reassessing the logic that criminalized his actions. Second, the text recasts

Geronimo's well-documented image, de-familiarizing readers with the face captured in so many readily consumable photographs. Finally, the text undermines Geronimo's ultimate capture and imprisonment, maintaining that, contrary to the officially recorded history, "the real man they called Geronimo, they never did catch. The real Geronimo got away" (Silko 224).

Geronimo's infamous criminal exploits initially introduce him to the main character, Sterling. Sterling, whose "hobby [it is] to learn and keep up with the history of outlaws and famous criminals" encounters Geronimo in one of his favorite magazines, the *Police Gazette* (26). In the *Gazette*, Geronimo appears alongside "John Dillinger and Pretty Boy Floyd and Billy the Kid" as an equally famous, intriguing, and dangerous criminal (39). Silko complicates this familiar narrative of Geronimo as outlaw, the very same narrative used by the U.S. government to justify his pursuit and capture, by changing the audience.

As a Laguna, Sterling reads Geronimo's story differently from the stories of the other public enemies. Sterling sees that in order to be an outlaw one first has to be within the law; the law has to accord certain rights and protections. This was certainly not the case for Geronimo who, though his family was brutally murdered, had no recourse to the law on either side of the border. For Sterling, it seems unreasonable to put Geronimo "in the same class with Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow" because he "had turned to crime only as a last resort," only after he "had been forced to seek justice on his own" (39). Just as Geronimo strategically narrates *Geronimo: His Own Story* for a U.S. readership, Sterling strategically reinterprets the *Police Gazette* special, noting that, while "there was no excuse for crime" in the case of "Geronimo it had been war in defense of the

homelands" (40). The defense that Geronimo could only hint at in his autobiography Sterling explicitly states. The U.S. settlers who invaded Apache territory were the real criminals, not Geronimo.

In addition to revising Geronimo's reputation, *Almanac* also recasts his image. After his capture Geronimo was extensively photographed; in his essay "Aliens and Indians: Science Fiction, Prophetic Photography and Near-Future Visions" Curtis Márez notes that "Geronimo is perhaps the most photographically reproduced Indian in the world" (339). Part of why Geronimo was one of the most famous faces of Native American resistance was because his face was everywhere. Even today photographs of Geronimo are still plentiful. The most well known image of Geronimo kneeling holding a rifle in front of a painted Arizona backdrop (figure 1.2) is used and reused on everything from souvenir shirts to protest art. Though the very ubiquity of his image may make it seem innocuous, its prevalence serves a very important symbolic function. The taking, buying, and selling of photographs of Native Americans was an important tool of colonization that visually displaced Native American people onto a vanishing past and dispossessed them of their land, consequently undercutting their claims to territorial sovereignty.



Figure 1.2: "Geronimo (1829-1909). From a photograph by A. Frank Randall, 1886." From *Geronimo: His Own Story.*

For these reasons, capturing Geronimo's image in a photograph was almost as symbolically important as capturing the man himself. As Jane Alison writes in her introduction to the collection *Native Nations: Journeys in American Photography*:

> The tale of the taking of Native subjects in photography is undoubtedly one of possession and dispossession – the invasion of privacy and of space, the literal 'taking' of the photograph – without any permission to do so, the 'exposure' of the subject to the camera, the profit and entertainment from the sale of 'exotica' and 'primitivism'; in short, the colonization of a people through images (14).

Because of its presumed transparency and objectivity, the photograph was an incredible tool of colonization. The colonization that Alison describes here involves more than just territorial dispossession; the invasion, taking, exposure, and sale of photographs amounted to a complete decimation of Native culture and identity.

In "An Indian Americas: NMAI Photographic Archive Documents Indian Peoples of the Western Hemisphere" Natasha Bonilla Martinez locates the first known photograph of a Native American in 1845, not in the United States but in Great Britain (29). By mid-century, photographers were regularly taking pictures of Native American leaders who traveled to Washington, D.C. to settle disputes with the U.S. government (29). Ten years later, after the Civil War ended, the federal government began to send photographers "on government-sponsored expeditions…to create a visual record of the American Indian in the West" (29).

Technological advancements in photography during the nineteenth century facilitated this proliferation of photographs of Native Americans. The era of modern photography began in 1839 with Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's presentation to the French Academy of Sciences. Prior to the invention of the daguerreotype, producing photographic images with a camera obscura or a camera lucida (the forerunners of the daguerreotype) required a person, typically an artist, to trace the light-reflected image onto a surface (Davenport 4, 8). With the daguerreotype, Daguerre opened up a new world of possibility; for the first time, light rays alone fixed stable images onto a surface. The daguerreotype, however, was not without its own limitations. Daguerreotypes were extremely delicate, exorbitantly expensive, required long exposure times, and were not reproducible (17).

Almost immediately, scientists and inventors around the world began to improve upon Daguerre's original process. Within ten years, great strides were made with respect to the durability, cost, facility, and replication of photographic images. In the 1850s, as tribal representatives converged in Washington, D.C., mass production of photographs became possible (Russell 123). The culmination of these technological advancements occurred in 1888 when George Eastman introduced the hand held camera. The camera came preloaded with film that could then be developed by Eastman's company, Eastman Kodak. The simplicity of the Kodak system, encapsulated in their slogan "You press the button, we do the rest," made photography accessible to an eager and enthusiastic mass market (123). By the end of the nineteenth century, the suddenly accessible taking, buying, and selling of photographs of Native Americans was a lucrative business.

The value of photographs of Native Americans, however, was more than economic. In *On Photography,* Susan Sontag considers the consequences of photography's ubiquity in modern society. Ever since the daguerreotype eliminated the need for a human hand to trace a reflected image, making the actual etching of an image onto a surface a completely mechanized process, photography has occupied an uneasy space somewhere between science and art. Photographs have a uniquely different relationship to the source of the image they portray; they constitute, in effect, a residue of the original. For this reason, photographs, in comparison to paintings and drawings, have a different effect on the viewer. As Sontag writes, "a photograph—any photograph—seems to have a more innocent, and therefore more accurate, relation to visible reality than do other mimetic objects" (6). A photograph's presumed accuracy narrows the gap between representation and reality so considerably that it can very easily become

impossible to separate the image from the reality. Despite this apparent veracity, Sontag warns, "the work that photographers do is no generic exception to the usually shady commerce between art and truth" (6).

Because photographs make claims on the truth, photography is linked to power. Here, Sontag considers not just the process but also the people involved. When a photographer takes a picture of another person, he or she establishes a particular power dynamic of viewer and viewed, spectator and spectacle. For Sontag, "To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge—and therefore, like power" (4). This knowledge-power is one directional; the photographer knows the subject and therefore is more powerful than the subject. For this reason:

> […] there is something predatory in the act of taking a picture. To photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed (14).

To be photographed, as evidenced by the passive construction of the phrase, is a powerless position. The person becomes the object of the image and, once objectified, something to be possessed. For the photographer, knowledge produces power, and power ultimately enables possession.

Photography's relationship to knowledge, power, and possession makes it a valuable tool for ideology, including the ideology that underpinned nineteenth-century U.S. westward expansion. Although Sontag maintains, "Photographs cannot create a moral position," she does assert, "they can reinforce one—and can help build a nascent one" (17). In "The Occupation of Native American Space as 'Photograph,'" Jolene

Rickard describes how photography both built and reinforced the *terra nullius* and vanishing Indian mythologies. According to Rickard, at the heart of "the manipulation of representation of Indian people" was "The American desire to occupy all of the land 'from sea to shining sea'" (58). Photographs of the West substantiated U.S. physical, political, and cultural hegemony in the region.

Seemingly neutral photographs of Western landscapes served an important ideological function; an 'empty' landscape implied that the land lacked an owner and was available for the taking. Even when the photographs showed the purported owners of the land, they striped Native peoples of their right to that ownership. The posed pictures depicted the 'antiquated' customs of a 'savage' people, undermining the validity of Native cultures and justifying their subsequent demise and disappearance. As "a tool of the apparatus of the 'State,'" nineteenth-century photographs of Native Americans were "intricately tied to the desire of the US government to undermine Native authority and autonomy." (58).

In addition to undermining Native authority and autonomy, the proliferation of photographs of Native Americans also ironically obscured cultural specificity and contributed to a proliferation of Native stereotypes. As Richard W. Hill, Sr. discusses in "Developed Identities: Seeing the Stereotypes and Beyond":

> The invention of photography in the mid-nineteenth century introduced a new dimension to Native stereotyping. Indians became collaborators, captured for eternity in strange poses that were not always of their own making. Staged poses for the camera resulted in photographs that lacked cultural depth. They were unreal (141).

These unreal photographs had a very real impact on both Native Americans and U.S. settler colonialists. Culturally, the photographs collapsed all Native Americans together

into one monolithic category. This collapsing erased differences with regard to economic, political, and social structure, belief systems, and relationship to the U.S. government. By erasing these differences, U.S. settler colonialists could feel confident about their own superiority and subsequent right to claim Native land for a more sophisticated culture. Ultimately, as Márez writes "The mass mediation of Indians supports a white settler colonial fantasy of virtual intimacy with Indian peoples and their cultures," an intimacy that "reproduces presumptions of a privileged access to, and knowledge of, Indian realities" (341).

In *Almanac*, the photographs of Geronimo serve to resist these presumptions of privileged access and knowledge by masking instead of revealing Geronimo's true identity. Silko contests the photographing of Native American's long colonizing history by defying its intimate power, literalizing Sontag's observation that "the camera's rendering of reality must always hide more than it discloses" (23). In *Almanac* the reality is that the actual "Apache warrior called Geronimo had been three, even four different men" (Silko 225). Despite the existence of as many as four different Geronimos, the same face appears in all images. The photographs of the different Geronimos create more mystery than understanding, as the challenge becomes "account[ing] for the Apache warrior whose broad, dark face, penetrating eyes, and powerful barrel-chested body had appeared in every photograph" (228). This mysterious face conceals the identities of the different Geronimos, protecting them from the U.S. soldiers that pursue them.

The photographs empower the Apache warriors, ultimately allowing the real Geronimos to evade capture. Instead of bringing in the most wanted man in the United States, the U.S. soldiers capture Old Pancakes, "an old man" who "had no warriors with

him" and "spent most of his time dozing under shady trees" (230). When they photograph Old Pancakes, the reporters and soldiers know so little about and care so little for Native people that they do not even realize that there is no resemblance between the captured image and its subject, the captured prisoner. The characteristic lack of cultural depth in photographs of Native Americans here is turned on its head, protecting the subject while exposing the viewer. If the photograph captures anyone it is the viewer, who blindly believes the story of Geronimo's capture because of the purportedly undeniable photographic proof. These photographs of Geronimo defy the intimacy generated by photographs of Native Americans, concealing the truth from the viewer and breeding ignorance instead of understanding.

By changing the narrative of Geronimo's pursuit and capture, Silko challenges the reader to reconsider what Geronimo did, who he was, and the meaning of his surrender. Far from a tale of amusement, *Almanac* serves as a blueprint for resistance through storytelling. Though her reimagining is fictitious, its import is concrete, challenging the dominant narrative of Native American history, culture, and incorporation into the United States. In an interview with Ellen Arnold, Silko said:

> The stories that I have and work with are the stories that were told to me by Aunt Alice, who was my grand-aunt, my Grandpa, people within my family and clan, and people that I knew. That was given to me. My sense of that, the hearing and the giving, especially with *Almanac*, was that there was a real purpose for that. I had to take seriously what I was told. There was some kind of responsibility to make sure it wasn't just put away or put aside. It was supposed to be active in my life (16).

It is no coincidence that in *Almanac* it is the tribal elders who know and reveal the truth about Geronimo's identity and fate. Throughout the novel Silko celebrates the oral archive and the undocumented histories it contains. Regardless of the veracity of their narration of Geronimo's story, their retelling captures important truths about U.S. disregard for Native American sovereignty and ignorance of Native American cultures. Storytelling becomes an individual as well as a collective form of resistance and survival. Though Geronimo's struggle may have ended in defeat, as he died a prisoner of war, Silko resists not only Geronimo's but all Native American displacement and relocation in her rewriting of his story. Through storytelling, she does what history could not do. She returns Geronimo to Arizona.

Like *Almanac,* in *Gardens in the Dunes* Silko depicts a Native American Arizona that is not represented in the official archive. In both texts storytelling figures heavily as a tool to resist cultural erasure and preserve a counter archive of Native American life in Arizona through oral tradition. The story each text tells, however, is very different. In *Almanac*, the elders' storytelling, emblemized in their reinterpretation of the pursuit and (failed) capture of Geronimo, challenges the logic of inclusion and criminalization that made Geronimo, and other Native Americans like him, an outsider and an outlaw in his own land. In *Gardens in the Dunes* Silko takes it one step farther, not revamping the story of a familiar person but inventing an entirely new people. *Gardens* imagines a fictitious people, the Sand Lizards, in order to cultivate an alternate canon of what Arizona has been, is, and will be from a Native American perspective.

Just as part of understanding Arizona's Native American past, present, and future requires a deconstruction of the state's hegemonic historical narrative, something Silko

does in *Almanac*, it also requires constructing, often with very little to no information, a counter-hegemonic history. The archive, as discussed throughout this chapter and dissertation, often has few complete narratives to offer from the perspective of people of color. Instead of being silenced by the lack of information, in *Gardens in the Dunes* Silko speaks from the silences. Using what information is available about disappeared groups in the Southwest, she fills in the gaps in the historical record with a fictionalized account of an imagined people. Through fiction, she is able to recover what would otherwise be unrecoverable.

In the interview with Ellen Arnold, Silko described why she decided to write about an invented people. She said:

> I didn't really feel like I knew any of the Colorado River people that are left. I know a little bit, and I've met people from the different Colorado River tribes, but I hadn't lived that experience of being a Yuma or a Mojave. I also wanted them to be gone. Lots of people were wiped out and gone forever, and lots of people had to be the last ones. That's where a lot of the bitterness and negative attitudes against white people come from, from the terrible crimes that were committed. I didn't want to mitigate or lessen. I wanted them to be from a group that was completely obliterated. But also I wanted the artistic and ethical freedom to imagine them any way I wanted (11).

What Silko describes at the beginning of this passage is a familiar predicament for many scholars studying the histories of people of color. Lacking both lived experience and a reliable archive, however, does not stop her from pursuing the past. Without mitigating or lessening the actual experience of people who "were wiped out and gone forever," she invents a people to honor their memory (11). In this invention the imaginary gives context to the real; Silko contextualizes the very real feelings of "bitterness and negative attitudes against white people" based on the actual "terrible crimes that were committed,"

such as the surviving accounts of "gold miners and ranchers" who "slaughtered all these tribes of people that are just gone forever" (11,3). By utilizing her "artistic and ethical freedom" to create an imaginative archive, in *Gardens in the Dunes* Silko invents the Sand Lizard people, who become a stand in for all those who "were completely wiped out," without so much as a footnote to recognize their destruction (11, 3).

In addition to acknowledging those who were wiped out, writing *Gardens* also allows Silko the artistic and ethical freedom to focus on one of the most glaring absences in the archives: women. If even infamous people like Geronimo barely warrant a footnote in many official archives, then a reliable record of the experiences of women of color is doubly obscured and almost necessarily the realm of fiction. The Native American Arizona that Geronimo remembers in his autobiography is markedly masculine. As a warrior, his focus is more on battles against Mexicans and U.S. soldiers than the day-to-day tasks that were equally imperative to maintaining Apache life. Although he does discuss Apache customs and traditions, including the female coming of age ceremony, at the end of the autobiography the reader does not have a clear sense of what life was like for Apache *women*, or how *they* experienced removal and captivity far from their homeland.

Gardens in the Dunes provides a window into what life would have been like for Native American women in Arizona. The novel focuses on two women, the main character Indigo and her sister Salt, who are the last surviving members of the Sand Lizard people. For these two women, the Arizona desert they live in is very different from the guerrilla warfare-laden expanse that Geronimo describes in his autobiography, or even the near-apocalyptic and corruption-filled wasteland that Silko depicts in

Almanac. For Indigo and Sister Salt, the desert is not just their homeland; it's their home.

In contrast to both *Geronimo* and *Almanac*, *Gardens* is hyper-focused on the domestic sphere. The novel takes care to describe in great detail the day-to-day reality of Sand Lizard domestic life, celebrating the gardening, cooking, and cleaning that define the everyday. Far from menial or mundane, the knowledge and practice of these tasks is both essential and intricate. As the ones who both perform these daily duties and pass along this important knowledge, women occupy a central place within the novel and within the invented Sand Lizard culture.

Here again, imparting knowledge through storytelling becomes an important tool to maintain cultural identity. However, in contrast to *Geronimo* and *Almanac*, in *Gardens* the Sand Lizard identity that the girls' mother and grandmother pass down is rooted in the domestic sphere and is markedly matrilineal. As Stephanie Li writes in "Domestic Resistance: Gardening, Mothering, and Storytelling in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes*," "Women are at the center of this matrilineal culture, which strongly values the role mothers play in passing down cultural knowledge to future generations" (22). This depiction of women as the lynchpin of cultural identity creates an even stronger critique of the dearth of available archival information about women of color. If, as Li continues, "women as a collective entity can be understood as critical guardians and sources of cultural narratives," and their narratives lie largely outside the official archive, then the official archive must always be read as fundamentally fragmented (24). That fragmentation, however, is not the end of the story. Silko imagines Indigo, Sister Salt, and the Sand Lizard community in order not only to contest the fragmentation of their existence but more importantly to bring together these

fragments and give them new meaning.

That is not to say that everything *Gardens* relates is based solely on Silko's imagination. Quite the opposite, her emphasis on gardening, as the title suggests, gives the invented Sand Lizard people and their lone survivors Indigo and Sister Salt strong roots in Arizona territory. The specificity of the botanical information Silko includes serves to graft her imagined people onto a very real place. More than *Geronimo* or *Almanac*, the Arizona desert truly becomes another character, perhaps the least fictitious character of all, in *Gardens.* As one of the main characters, the desert serves an important role in reshaping the reader's perception of Arizona. Unlike the familiar desolate panorama of the Western, in the novel the desert is oxymoronically home to beautiful and fruitful gardens. Far from a rough and tumble wild west frontier post, the desert here is an idyllic paradise reminiscent of the Garden of Eden.

Reshaping the reader's perception of the desert is key to Silko's project of recovering the communities that called the desert home for millennia. One of the key tenets of Anglo westward expansion was that the vast desert was home to no one. The body of written and visual material that portrayed the Arizona desert as a wilderness helped shore up the *terra nullius* hypothesis; surely no one could live in such an inhospitable place. Though there might have been isolated groups of Native American people living scattered throughout the territory, these texts suggested that the desert made forming and sustaining advanced societies impossible. Even the Anglo settlers that came found forming community in the desert difficult; law and order was absent in Arizona's most famous towns such as Tombstone, "the city that wouldn't die." Only after the

introduction of modern technology, namely irrigation,[11] fundamentally changed the desert landscape, could the Anglo settlers build and expand communities throughout the territory.

According to this teleology, the inhospitable desert, first barren, becomes fecund thanks to the technological advances that the Anglo settlers bring. In *Gardens*, Silko disrupts this teleology by contesting its very foundation; in the novel she shows that the land was neither inhospitable nor barren prior to the arrival of the Anglo settlers. Under the Sand Lizards' loving care the desert is fecund, verdant, and home to a thriving culture. In fact, it is only after the Anglo settlers arrive in the Sand Lizards' home that both the land and the community it supported begin to decline.

The fight is familiar; in both *Geronimo* and *Almanac* the Anglo settlers threaten both the Native American people and their environment, disrupting and destroying thriving communities and ecosystems. The difference is that in *Gardens* the fight is not only about the home, it's in the home. Thus, the domestic sphere and the typically female-dominated tasks that regulate it become politicized in a way that they do not in the other texts. The seemingly innocuous descriptions of gardening and other domestic acts that the girls perform in order to sustain their desert home become powerful challenges to the logic underpinning westward expansion, a logic that erases the possibility of making a home in the desert without the introduction of modern (Anglo) technology. As Li argues, "the interrelated activities of gardening, mothering, and

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[11] That is not to say that the introduction of irrigation was a new phenomenon unique to the Anglo settlers. Quite the opposite, the Hohokam introduced irrigation thousands of years before Anglo settlement. However, it was not until the Anglo settlers rediscovered and began to use the Hohokam canals that they were able to build lasting settlements in the territory. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of the Hohokams and their irrigation system.

storytelling combine to achieve a powerful means of resistance against oppression and cultural erasure" (20). At the end of the novel after the girls' lives in the gardens are disrupted and (nearly) destroyed, they return, remembering their Sand Lizard heritage and (re)membering their life in the desert, thereby resisting cultural erasure.

In addition to these *acts* of resistance, the characterization of the desert makes the gardens themselves a powerful *place* of resistance. The logic of the desert is completely contrary to the forces that seek to erase the Sand Lizard culture. The plants that the Sand Lizards base their life on grow without any regard for the nation-state, treaties, or border patrol, causing the Sand Lizards to have no regard for the U.S.-Mexico border, or U.S. expansion. The fact that Silko never specifies exactly where the gardens are located serves to underscore their alternate geographic epistemology, making the gardens the ultimate contestation of the displacement of Arizona's Native American cultures. This contestation culminates in the novel's conclusion that ends as it began, with Sister Salt and Indigo returned to their home.

Although *Geronimo* calls for and *Almanac* insinuates a return to a Native American way of life in Arizona, *Gardens* is the only text that actually concludes with the fulfillment of this aspiration. *Gardens* begins and ends in the garden, with the girls returned to and reestablished in their home. The forces that sought to disrupt and destroy Sand Lizard culture are countered by Indigo and Sister Salt's ability to (re)member important cultural narratives, thereby resisting erasure. In the novel, the ability to make and remember meaningful social narratives has real consequences, helping the girls return to and rebuild their lives in their desert homeland.

The importance of remembering cultural narratives is a theme that runs

throughout *Geronimo*, *Almanac*, and *Gardens*. In all three texts, maintaining a counter-archive of Southwestern history becomes a key strategy for resisting both physical and cultural erasure. Though my discussion here has been grounded in the nineteenth century, the physical and cultural erasure these texts recover and resist is not limited to the past. In her 1998 interview with Arnold, Silko affirmed "*Gardens in the Dunes* really is about now" (21). Her words ring even truer today, as Arizona yet again seeks to displace and relocate certain communities that reside within its borders. In the face of this sustained displacement and relocation, remembering cultural narratives and maintaining counter-archives remains central to redefining who and what is Arizona.

Chapter 2:
Partial Pioneers: Recognizing Arizona's Mexican-American Heritage in Marie Zander's "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer"

"In large part, then, the quest for statehood led to the development of a clearer definition of the ideal Arizona citizen in cultural, historical, and racial terms. Racial inequality was not simply an unfortunate corollary to full statehood; it was built into the very identity of Arizona from its inception."
--Eric Meeks *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona*

"In that time stage coaches, wagon trains, buck boards buggies, and bicycles have come and gone. Transcontinental railways and great highways have come. The land under irrigation has spread into an empire. Modern cities and towns have sprung into being as if by magic. Wealth that now totals over one hundred and fifty million dollars in value has all grown from the small beginnings a half a century ago. *All of which she saw, part of which she was.*"
--Marie Zander "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" (emphasis added)

The year 2012 marked Arizona's centennial, but one hundred years after achieving statehood, exactly who gets included in the label "Arizonan" seems more controversial than ever. However, as Geronimo and Silko's narratives demonstrate, the passage of anti-immigrant law SB 1070 and the banning of ethnic studies classes within the state are just the most recent incarnations in a long history of racial tension. Arizona was never a homogeneous place, populated first by different tribal nations, then joined by the Spanish and later Mexicans, and finally occupied by U.S. settlers. These multiple cultural foundations were fundamental to the state's character, yet, even before Arizona achieved statehood, those in power had already begun to erase the territory's multi-ethnic and multi-layered history.

In this chapter, I look at one response to this erasure, Marie Zander's 1920 essay "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer." In this short biography about her grandmother, a Mexican woman named María Sotelo, Zander retraces Arizona history. Written for an

essay contest sponsored by the Harvard Club of Arizona to celebrate the state's achievements, "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" champions Arizona's multi-ethnic past by incorporating (select) Native American, Spanish, and Mexican pioneers as key figures within Arizona history. By placing her grandmother at the center of this history, Zander challenges the traditional pioneer narrative in the U.S., insisting that the role that certain Native American, Spanish, and Mexican people played in settling and developing the land was just as integral as that of the Anglo settlers, making María Sotelo just as Arizonan and American as any other pioneer who came to the territory.

While we have much to learn from what Zander does recover, in one sense restoring Arizona's erased history, we also have much to learn from what she chooses not to mention, as she does not discuss the persistent conflicts Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglo settlers had with each other in her own early-twentieth century community. She characterizes the state as a multi-ethnic utopia, sidestepping the complexity and controversy at the heart of Arizona's history. Although not explicit, within Zander's history of incorporation is another history: that of conquest, displacement, and dispossession. The story of U.S. invasion is strangely absent from this short biographical sketch about a woman who was born in 1853, the same year the Gadsden Purchase completed U.S. acquisition of nearly half of Mexico's territory.

Because Zander's biography places her grandmother firmly within the narrative of U.S. expansion, her text cannot explicitly accommodate a critique of that very expansion. By the end of the biography the Sotelos appear to be model settlers, homesteading a land claim in Tempe, becoming prominent community members, and playing an integral role in the development of Tempe's education system. Nevertheless, the contentious history

Zander alludes to, that is, the war between the U.S. and Mexico, makes them at least partial outsiders in the new settlement. María Sotelo's parents, unlike the other pioneers, were born within the state's borders when the territory was part of Mexico and only came to Tempe because they were displaced from and dispossessed of their land. Although Zander must downplay this difference, this transnational history ultimately determines María Sotelo's ambivalent relationship to the new Tempe community, "All of which she saw, part of which she was" (Zander 13).

I. Writing the Southwest: Mexican-American and Anglo Visions of U.S. Expansion

Because it foregrounds the Hispanic[1] heritage of the Arizona territory, "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" in part belongs among the growing canon of recovered texts by and about Mexicans in the Southwest. After the U.S.-Mexico War, Mexicans living within the Southwest witnessed incredible shifts in the ethnic, economic, and political makeup of their communities. Their reactions to these shifts, as Tey Diana Rebolledo notes, varied from "resistance" to "accommodation" (xviii). The accommodation is familiar; Rebolledo writes that it "appears as efforts to get along, to learn English, to trade, to do business, to intermarry" (xviii). "The resistance," on the other hand, was in many cases much "harder to see" (xviii).

Although it may have been impossible for most Mexicans, outnumbered and outmaneuvered by U.S. settlers who possessed a political and increasingly numerical advantage, to resist getting along in their day-to-day lives, that did not mean that they did not resist the changing social order in other ways. Literary expression, whether in the

[1] In this chapter I use the term "Hispanic" because that is precisely the heritage Zander attempts to recover in "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer." She blurs the line between the Spanish and Mexican history of the territory, and downplays or denies any *mestizo* or indigenous identity.

form of novels, short stories, or newspapers, became an important vehicle for contesting the Southwest's changing power dynamics. María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*, Jovita González's *Caballero*, and Fabiola Cabeza de Baca's *We Fed Them Cactus* are just a few examples of these texts that both celebrated the region's Hispanic heritage and critiqued U.S. suppression of that heritage.

Mexican writers' reactions to and critiques of the U.S.' increasing dominance in the Southwest unsurprisingly did not become part of the core canon of U.S. literature. Many of the texts were not published, or did not remain in print. As a result, the Mexican perspective on the tumultuous redrawing of national borders in the nineteenth-century was absent from critical studies as these voices of dissent languished in archives throughout the country.

That, however, is changing thanks to the efforts of scholars who through archival research are recovering, publishing, and studying these texts. In his introduction to one such recovered novel, *Caballero*, José E. Limón affirms "the recovery of a Mexican-American literary heritage has become an important project for literary critics and historians" (xii). The Recovering the U.S. Literary Heritage Project is a prime example of these efforts, working to "locate, identify, preserve and make accessible the literary contributions of U.S. Hispanics from colonial times through 1960 in what today comprises the fifty states of the Union" (*Latinoteca*). Each of these texts, as they have been made available, has expanded what we know about who was living in states like California, New Mexico, and Texas before, during, and after U.S. settlers came to the region.

"The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" likewise contributes to our understanding of the Southwest's Hispanic heritage. Like *The Squatter and the Don*, *Caballero,* and *We Fed Them Cactus,* "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" presents the history of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and shares a similar publication history, remaining unpublished in the archives of Arizona State University. Unlike these other recovered texts that focus on *tejano, californio,* and *nuevomexicano* culture, Zander's essay focuses on the much less studied Hispanic heritage of Arizona.

Scholars have historically overlooked Arizona in studies of the Southwest, citing the state's smaller Mexican-American population. Although the harsh desert climate combined with pronounced indigenous resistance did limit Spanish settlement in what would become Arizona, Spaniards, Mexicans, and Mexican-Americans still played an integral role in shaping the state. The lack of scholarly attention to the recovery of this role has serious consequences for contemporary debates about immigration and education reform, debates that are not so coincidentally centered in Arizona. The state has become a flashpoint for nativist discourse, which has recently gained credence partially because there is no widely known counter-narrative to challenge this limited vision of Arizona history. Though not without its own cultural biases, "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" offers an important contribution to this history, joining the canon of texts that acknowledge the sustained involvement of Hispanics in Southwestern history.

Many women writers contributed to this canon, recognizing the Hispanic heritage of the Southwest in their literary expression. In fact, "the first published narrative written in English from the perspective of the conquered Mexican population" post-1848 came from Ruiz de Burton, who published *The Squatter and the Don* in 1885 (Sánchez and Pita

7). The novel describes Mexican *hacendados* in California and presents a fierce critique of U.S. disenfranchisement of the politically and economically weakened Mexican population after the U.S.-Mexico War. Four decades later, women writers in New Mexico and Texas would describe nineteenth-century Mexican communities in their own states and make similar critiques of U.S. settlement. Rebolledo writes that "By the 1930s New Mexican women writers were beginning to figure prominently in the flourishing of the Northern New Mexican writing scene," focusing on creating texts that "were conscious of their heritage and cultural identity" (xviii-xix).

In addition to capturing the political and economic reality of Mexicans in the Southwest, Mexican-American women writers also focused on the role women played in the settling of the Southwest. Rebolledo notes that New Mexican women writers "portray strong women who use their intelligence and ingenuity to survive in a harsh land—and who do so with laughter, tenderness, and a strong sense of self" (xxix). Likewise, María Cotera argues that in *Caballero* Texas author Jovita González, in addition to depicting the *tejanos'* struggle to maintain their autonomy, also "deconstructs the myth of the warrior-hero while politicizing the domestic sphere" (339). Zander also centers her critique of Arizona's myopic Anglo history on a woman, recognizing not only the Hispanic heritage of the state, but also the important contributions Mexican-American women in particular made to the development of Arizona.

"The Life of an Arizona Pioneer," however, also departs from this canon of texts in significant ways. Rebolledo writes that *nuevomexicana* writers "wrote, in part, because they wanted to communicate their fear that their culture was somehow slipping away, that it was being assimilated through social and cultural domination" (xix).

Though Zander's essay adamantly demands appreciation on the part of the reader for Arizona's Hispanic heritage, it does not resist assimilation or critique U.S. social and cultural domination because it does not recognize either occurring in the state. For Zander, Mexicans like her grandmother contributed to an amalgamated, not an assimilated society. Though unacknowledged, Zander does not see Arizona's Hispanic heritage as threatened or erased. Instead, it contributed greatly to the character and makeup of the state. Other recovered texts tend to look back with nostalgic passion upon happier times for all people, when "Native Americans and Hispanics and animals lived in harmony with nature" (xxii). Zander, in contrast, looks not backward but forward, emphasizing that all Arizonans are moving toward a promising future filled with new infrastructure that will support growing industries and prosper all (non-Native American) people. In her estimation, the Mexicans who struggled alongside U.S. settlers to tame the desert are equally part of the past, present, and future of the state's success.

In this sense Zander's essay has more in common with U.S. pioneer narratives that document the taming of the wild western frontier. She uses the term pioneer in her title to emphasize that the focus of her text is on an emerging, not a declining culture, including the Sotelo family in the rise of Tempe and, more broadly, Arizona. Like the Anglo settlers, the Sotelos are also pioneers along the U.S. frontier, becoming protagonists in a shared myth of U.S. expansion. They share in the heroic exploits that define frontier settlement, "embod[ying] or defend[ing]" as Richard Slotkin writes, "the values of [their] culture in a struggle against the forces which threaten to destroy the people and lay waste [to] the land" (*Regeneration* 269). For Zander, there is only one Arizona culture to defend, a culture of which the Sotelos are a part. As she traces the

family's history in the territory, she appeals to the same tropes that appear in other pioneer texts. The Sotelos face the same challenges and share in the same glory as other settlers along the frontier, taming a land "whose hidden magic was to be tapped only by self-reliant individualists, capable of enduring the lonesome reach" (Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment* 11). In the text the Sotelos live in isolated locations and survive only by their own ingenuity and courage.

Like other pioneers, part of their survival requires facing hostile Native Americans who stand in the way of their success. In Zander's text, the Sotelos join fellow Anglo and Mexican settlers in their fight against Native Americans, particularly the Apaches, who threaten all attempts at civilization in Arizona. Throughout the text the Sotelos struggle to wrest control of the land from this "dark and savage enemy with whom white [and in this case, not so white] Americans must fight a war to the knife, with the future of civilization itself as the stake" (11-12). In the end, as is the case in other triumphant pioneer narratives, the Sotelos overcome the dangers they face and enjoy great prosperity in their new environment.

"The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" is therefore a difficult text to classify, sharing many commonalities with both Mexican-American and Anglo writing about the Southwest. On the one hand, the explicit purpose of Zander's essay is to celebrate Arizona's Hispanic heritage. Through writing María Sotelo's biography, Zander is able to capture the important contributions Spanish, Mexican, and Mexican-American people made to communities in Southern and Central Arizona. On the other hand, "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" also celebrates the conquest that dispossessed and displaced Native

Americans and shies away from critiquing U.S. disenfranchisement of Mexicans in the post-1848 Southwest.

Though Zander alludes to circumstances of possible contention, including when the Sotelos lose their land in Tubac, a direct denunciation of Native American and Mexican-American dispossession does not register within her text. She turns the Sotelos' forced abandonment of their former homes into a homecoming, transforming their displacement from southern Arizona into a pioneering journey that eventually leads them to Tempe. In Zander's telling, María Sotelo, although she is not white and was born in Mexico, is just as much a pioneer as her husband Winchester Miller, equally "help[ing] to make possible the social and material development of this great state of ours" (13). Because this contribution remained unrecognized in Zander's own day, she wrote "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer" in order to recover and restore the less-contentious aspects of the state's Hispanic heritage. Though her recovery is limited, Zander's essay nevertheless is an important addition to the canon of recovered Mexican-American texts, in its own way challenging the reader to reassess the boundaries that delimit what constitutes and who gets included within Arizona history.

II. Recovering Southern and Central Arizona's Hispanic Heritage

In "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer," Zander tells the story of her grandmother, María Sotelo, in order to retell the history of Arizona in a way that celebrates the state's Hispanic heritage and establishes its multi-ethnic character. Her history covers both Southern Arizona, the area with the longest tradition of Hispanic settlement, and Central Arizona, an area that in Zander's time was relatively recently settled by Anglo and Mexican-American pioneers. Through recovering María Sotelo's story, Zander traces a

long history of the Arizona territory, beginning, as she claimed, with the Aztec[2] civilization and continuing through Spanish colonialism, Mexican independence, and finally Anglo settlement. By using María Sotelo and her family history as her narrative thread, Zander frames these transitions as seamless; María Sotelo becomes the link between each pioneering culture as the daughter of a pioneer (who was Mexican), the wife of a pioneer (who was an ex-Confederate soldier) and the mother of pioneers (who were Mexican-American).

In this way Zander departs from other texts about settlement along the frontier by figuring the Arizona territory not as a *terra nullius* but rather as a palimpsest, with the newest settlement rising like a phoenix "out of the ashes of the past" (1). By reframing these other histories as precursors to Anglo settlement, Zander rewrites the pioneer narrative genealogically, rejecting the arrival of the Anglo settlers as its origin and instead foregrounding the territory's layered past. Through her reconstruction of Spanish and Mexican settlement in Southern and Central Arizona, she restores an ignored or undervalued aspect of the state's history that was silenced in the process of U.S. nation-building after 1848.

Though her essay contests Arizonans' ignorance of their Hispanic heritage, it does not reject U.S. expansion in the territory. For Zander, the two are not mutually exclusive; she sees her family and herself as wholly part of this expansion. In Zander's version of Arizona history, just as the canal streams flow together to bring water and consequently progress to the state, each civilization flows together to create a rich past and an

[2] Although Zander identifies the indigenous population as Aztecs, as previously noted the actual canal builders were the Hohokam. In this paper, when discussing Zander's text I also use Aztec in order to follow her argument, but my intention is not to suggest that the Aztecs were at all involved with the canal system in the Salt River Valley.

accordingly bright future. Within this placid picture, Zander never describes the growing hostility between Anglo settlers and the Mexican-Americans that their settlements displaced; she either does not see or does not wish to acknowledge this persistent tension between the newly arrived Anglo settlers and the formerly Mexican people. In her essay, Anglos and Mexican-Americans join hands to create and participate equally in Arizona's multi-ethnic future.

This multi-ethnic future, however, does not include Native Americans. Though Zander's celebration of the state's Hispanic heritage distinguishes her essay from other texts about westward expansion, her rejection of Native Americans within the territory resonates with the familiar "cowboys and Indians" dichotomy that has become so associated with Southwestern literature, the only difference being that Zander's cowboys include a more diverse array of faces. She thus replaces the white/non-white binary that defines the Southwestern frontier in other texts with a civilized/uncivilized dichotomy. In so doing, she is able to write the Sotelos into the national imagination through a sort of off-white settler colonialism.

In her book *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*, Laura Gómez uses the term "off-white" to mark "the ambiguity of Mexicans' racial status" in the United States" (59). Gómez argues that while Mexicans were legally considered white, socially their position was more uncertain, somewhere "between whites and non-white groups like blacks and Indians" (83, 59). Zander resolves this uncertainty by distancing the civilized Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo pioneers from the uncivilized Native Americans like the Apaches who, as discussed in Chapter 1, were the most notorious opponents of both Anglo and Mexican settlement in the Southwest. Because

they are not civilized, in Zander's essay the Apaches do not figure in to her reimagining of the history of Arizona civilization.

The displacement of Arizona's Native American tribal nations gives Zander's essay its settler colonial tone. In "Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism within Queer Modernities" Scott Morgensen identifies "settler colonialism as the social processes and narratives that displace Native people while granting settlers" the rights "to Native land" (117). The physical and rhetorical displacement and subsequent disappearance of Native Americans is central to Zander's essay and paves the way for new settlement. In Zander's text, the Native presence has indeed been erased. The only Native people she praises are the Aztecs, an ancient civilization that no longer poses a threat to Anglo and Mexican settlement. Meanwhile, she presents living Native Americans like the Apaches as savages lacking any culture, becoming only a nameless, faceless threat to the Sotelos in particular and Anglo-Mexican settlement in general. By dehumanizing the current Native presence, Zander displaces them from the (civilized) Arizona landscape.

Erasing the dangerous Apaches by distancing them from the Spanish and Mexican pioneers helps Zander shore up the Sotelos' position within Arizona history; to write María Sotelo in, she must write people like the Apaches out. As Gómez notes, claiming the privileges of whiteness led Mexican-Americans "into a perverse trap. To solidify their classification as white, they had to act like whites, especially with respect to non-white groups" (115). While Zander never uses the word white within her text, her use of

pioneer clearly invokes the same standing and rights that whiteness guaranteed.[3] Zander uses the term pioneer to revise Arizona history, incorporating Mexicans like the Sotelos in but "at the expense of every non-white group below them in the racial hierarchy" (115).

In her text, Zander thus creates a uniquely Southwestern pioneer. This Southwestern pioneer is civilized, which distances him from people like the Apaches, but not necessarily white. Using the term pioneer, then, conveniently allows Zander to sidestep the national and cultural differences that would exclude the Sotelos from the history of "those who settled and developed" Arizona while also challenging the idea that Arizona was a *terra nullius* at the time of Anglo conquest (1). She can then reorganize who gets included within and who remains excluded from Arizona history, expanding the term "pioneer" to accommodate Arizona's Hispanic heritage.

Zander begins her recovery of the Sotelos' history and Arizona's Hispanic heritage in Southern Arizona, the region with the oldest and most extensive Hispanic communities. She emphasizes the grit of the Spanish settlers who fought against harsh terrain and hostile neighbors and identifies the Apaches as the biggest obstacle to maintaining sustained and successful Hispanic communities in Arizona. Any suggestion of *mestizaje* is absent from her account of Hispanic settlements in the Southwest, making her portrayal of the Spanish and later Mexican relationship to the Apaches at once

[3] Zander's nuanced depiction of the Sotelos' position within Arizona society also alludes to the racial and ethnic hierarchy that defined Arizona pre-1848. The Spanish Empire and Mexico had well-defined racial and ethnic categories that had concrete legal and social consequences. Because we know Ignacio Sotelo came to Arizona as a Lieutenant, we know that the Sotelos would have been at the top of that hierarchy and used to claiming the privileges of whiteness in their community. The fact that Zander needs to justify this position in her 1920 biography demonstrates how much Arizona's racial and ethnic categories, particularly with regard to ethnic Mexicans, has changed.

illuminating and obscuring. On the one hand, the Spanish and Mexicans were constantly at odds with the Apaches who posed a dire threat to their settlements, a history that fits perfectly within Zander's narrative of off-white settler colonialism. On the other hand, *mestizaje* was a reality, albeit a reality that undermines her eventual goal of joining Arizona's Hispanic heritage with its Anglo history. Ultimately, this tension serves to underscore the fluidity of racial and ethnic categories in territorial Arizona, a fluidity that simultaneously allows Zander to write the Sotelos in as pioneers in Arizona history while preventing her from fully fusing them with that history.

Apache resistance to Spanish settlement halted the conquistadors in the southernmost part of Arizona, influencing the ethnic makeup of the state by concentrating the most established Hispanic communities in the south with few to none in central and northern Arizona. The first Spanish visitors to Arizona, according to historian Thomas Sheridan, "may have been Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, including a North African named Esteban de Dorantes," who wandered across the Southwest after being shipwrecked along the gulf coast of Texas (*Arizona* 36). Esteban later accompanied Fray Marcos de Niza on the first official Spanish expedition into Arizona (36). Marcos de Niza's descriptions of glorious riches to the north inspired Franciso Vázquez de Coronado to follow with his own exploration of the Southwest in 1540 (37). Exactly where Coronado and his men went in Arizona is unclear, but they showed little interest in the area, which "did not fire their imaginations" as much as California (37).

The Spanish again entered Arizona in the 1580s, this time by way of New Mexico, but made no lasting settlements until Father Eusebio Kino arrived in the late

1600s (38, 40). Though the Spanish had every intention of proceeding farther north, the Apaches formed an impenetrable barrier that halted Spanish settlement in the very southernmost part of the territory, where Father Kino established various missions (41). The missions were under constant attack, and the Spanish repeatedly had to abandon their remote Arizona outposts.

In "The Life of An Arizona Pioneer," Zander ties her ancestors to the oldest permanent Spanish settlement in Arizona, the presidio at Tubac. Tubac was an important Spanish military post in what is today southern Arizona. Compared with New Mexico, Arizona for many years contained only sparse Spanish settlements, but that changed in 1736 when a Yaqui Indian discovered silver south of Tucson and the Spanish began to rush into the territory (Sheridan, *Arizona* 31, Officer 4). The influx of Spanish prospectors and colonists, however, fomented tensions with the Tohono O'odham who lived in the area of the silver discovery. In 1751 the O'odham revolted, killing two priests and over one hundred settlers and prompting the Spanish to fortify the area by establishing the Tubac presidio in 1752 (Officer 4, Sheridan, *Arizona* 43). The presidio provided some protection for the Spanish colonists, but life on the Northern frontier in the Pimería Alta was still difficult and dangerous for Spanish settlers (Officer 4).

The Sotelo family's connection to the Tubac presidio reinforces their pioneer credentials and places them at the very beginning of the 'civilized' timeline of Arizona history. In her essay, Zander writes "about the year 1820" Ignacio Sotelo "was ordered from Chihuahua by his government to take command of the military department" in Tubac (3). Historian James E. Officer places Ignacio Sotelo's arrival closer to 1812 or 1813, when records indicate the Spanish crown sent the Lieutenant from Chihuahua to

Tubac to replace Elías González as commander of the presidio (91). In Tubac, Ignacio Sotelo was at the forefront and on the frontlines of civilizing Arizona. Zander emphasizes that his "forebears came from Spain," making him particularly well qualified to bring order to the remote presidio, located roughly forty miles south of present day Tucson, and the surrounding Native communities (3).

Though Zander emphasizes Ignacio's Spanish heritage, Tubac itself, "Like most frontier communities…was an ethnic melting pot" (Sheridan, *Arizona* 43). The town was made up of "Spaniards but also *mestizos* (Spanish-Indian offspring), *coyotes* (mestizo-Indian), mulattos (Spanish-black), *moriscos* (Spanish-mulatto), and Indians from various tribal groups" (43). Despite Zander's neat separation of the Spanish Sotelos from their primarily O'odham neighbors, in Tubac, as these many categories demonstrate, isolation and inevitability blurred the line between Spanish and O'odham inhabitants. The establishment of the presidio, a direct result of the O'odham uprising, alludes to both the clashes but also the closeness of the Spanish and the surrounding tribal nations.

Zander's refashioning of the Southwestern pioneer, however, cannot accommodate the complexity of Tubac's ethnic melting pot. Instead, her essay simplifies the makeup of the town, dividing the people into Spanish settlers or Apache raiders, allowing her to more easily paint one side as wholly civilized and the other as wholly savage. In an anachronistic twist, in her essay Tubac becomes home to the Spanish settlers who are constantly threatened by Apache invaders intruding upon Spanish territory. The Spanish settlers then become helpless victims, left to defend themselves as best they can in a nearly impossible situation.

This is precisely the situation in which the Sotelos find themselves. Zander writes that in Tubac, Ignacio and his family lived under constant fear of the Apaches, who killed the first wife of his son, María Sotelo's father Tiburcio, as well as the first husband of María Sotelo's mother (3). Indeed, just as the Apaches were responsible for the scarcity of Spanish settlement in Arizona generally, they eventually cause María Sotelo's parents to abandon their Tubac home, which "they never would have left…but for the depredations of the Apaches" (3). Though Tubac may have been an isolated and treacherous frontier post, with this phrase Zander affirms that the Sotelo's connection to the territory was strong; Tubac was, after all, "their home" (3). Ignacio Sotelo raised his son Tiburcio in the town and it was there that Tiburcio met and married Manuela Sánchez, María Sotelo's mother (*The Sotelo Family*, Solliday 161). Thus, María Sotelo, the subject of Zander's biography, becomes a fundamental pioneer, tracing her roots back to this the first Spanish settlement in Arizona.

Mexican independence from Spain only aggravated the dire situation of struggling settlers at Tubac like the Sotelos. Though independence was not immediately felt in the northernmost reaches of the new nation, in time conditions in post-independence Tubac worsened. Before independence, the Spanish government had addressed its problems with the Apaches by paying them a regular sum in order to purchase peace in the area. After independence, "the fledgling Mexican nation could not afford to continue this practice" and the fighting between the now-Mexican nationals and the Apaches resumed (Officer 4).

Because of their organizational structure, the Apaches were the tribal nation with which it was most difficult to maintain peace. Sheridan writes that because the Apaches

traveled with their clans and were governed by local chiefs, the Spanish would make treaties and peace agreements with one chief only to soon find themselves battling another (*Arizona* 34). This localized structure eventually led to the Apaches' downfall, preventing them from "forg[ing] a common identity strong enough to drive the Spaniards, Mexicans, or Anglo Americans out of the Southwest" (34-35). Although ultimately the Apaches were unable to drive these groups out, they did manage to make settling in Arizona a very difficult project for anyone who dared to try.

In 1830, Tubac was losing population and by 1850 most people had left for nearby Tucson (4). Ignacio Sotelo died in 1816,[4] before Mexican independence and before conditions at the presidio began to deteriorate, but his family remained in Tubac (91). María Sotelo's parents stayed in Tubac after they married until increased hostilities with the Apaches forced them to flee the presidio in 1849 (Zander 4). When they fled, they had to choose between seeking refuge in Tucson, farther to the north and closer to the newly drawn U.S.-Mexico border, or resettling in Pitiquito, the closest settlement to the south in the Mexican state of Sonora. Zander records that they chose to go deeper into Mexico, to "the rich valley of the Altar" in Sonora (4).

Throughout this description of the Sotelos' displacement from their home at the hands of the Apaches, Zander never mentions another cause for the displacement of many Mexicans, the U.S.-Mexico War. The Sotelos fled Tubac in 1849, only one year after the end of the war that forced Mexico to cede nearly half its territory. The war did not have an immediate direct impact on the Sotelos; Tubac and Tucson remained part of Mexico

[4] This is the date the historian James Officer gives, though it does contradict Zander's claim that he arrived at Tubac in 1820.

for five more years until the United States bought the rest of southern Arizona and New Mexico in the 1853 Gadsden Purchase (Acuña 110). Nevertheless, as María Sotelo's parents were journeying farther into Sonora to escape "the depredations of the Apaches," borders were being drawn that would separate them from "the scenes of their childhood," making them foreigners when they returned to their native Tubac seventeen years later (Zander 3, 4).

Because her parents were forced to leave their home in Tubac, María Sotelo, the titular "Arizona Pioneer," was in fact born in Mexico. In 1853, as the United States was completing the Gadsden Purchase and acquiring the land where her parents were raised, María Sotelo was born to Tiburcio and Manuela in Pitiquito, Sonora (Solliday 161). Zander writes that María Sotelo "passed a happy childhood with her brothers and sisters" in Mexico (2). She was the oldest daughter and "attended a private school because there were no others, except a government school for boys" (2).

Although María's childhood was happy, her family was still not out of the reach of danger. Zander records that even in Pitiquito, the Sotelos faced the threat of potential Apache attacks. She also mentions a new concern, what she refers to as "rival revolutionists" who came into the area and began to draft young men to fight with them (2). While she does not clarify who these revolutionists were[5], she does state that María Sotelo's father and oldest brothers left the area some time before 1866. They likely fled after the 1865 French invasion of Sonora that "prompted 25,000 refugees to flee north into Arizona and California" (Solliday 25). Zander, who was raised and educated in the United States, was probably largely unfamiliar with Mexican history and her description

[5] William Walker, for example, was also filibustering in Sonora around this same time.

of these rival revolutionists may have been more influenced by her current moment, the early 1920s, as many Mexicans were coming into Arizona fleeing the Revolution that began in 1910.

The upset these revolutionaries caused in Pitiquito is what eventually brought María to the United States. María Sotelo's father and brothers never returned to Sonora, instead sending for the rest of the family to leave Pitiquito and join them in what was now Arizona in 1866. Because of "an epidemic[6] which was prevailing" at the time in their native Tubac, the family continued north and settled in nearby Tucson (Zander 4). By 1870, when María Sotelo was sixteen years old, Tiburcio, Manuela, and their ten children appear on the Tucson census (*Sotelo-Miller*). After spending her childhood in Mexico, María Sotelo had returned to her parents' homeland to spend the rest of her life in the United States.

Life in Southern Arizona was difficult for the Sotelos. They were, according to Zander, "reduced to the plainest circumstances owing to the forced abandonment of their former homes" in Mexico (5). In addition, they "were soon to feel the loss of their land at Tubac because of the destruction of records" (5). While Zander does not explain how the records were destroyed, relying on the passive voice to avoid identifying an agent, one can assume that the United States and the influx of Anglo settlers had something to do with it. After the U.S.-Mexico War, many Mexicans lost their land to squatters who moved into the territory.

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[6] This may be yet another strategy to avoid directly engaging with U.S. imperialism and land-grabbing, or Zander may be referring to a cholera epidemic in the 1850s that killed over a thousand people in the Altar Valley. However, this cholera epidemic also spread to Tucson and wiped out nearly one fourth of its population, which does not explain why the Sotelos were safe settling there (see James Officer's *Hispanic Arizona*). Zander is perhaps here avoiding a critique of U.S. expansion as the actual motivator for the Sotelos' displacement from their native Tubac.

Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo supposedly protected Mexicans and their land claims in the U.S. Southwest, as we will see in Chapter 3, in reality it was difficult to get Mexican titles validated by the U.S. government. U.S. laws made it easy for squatters to settle and eventually take over Mexican land, especially if the land was unoccupied at the time (Acuña 115). Again, Zander's text cannot explicitly accommodate a critique of U.S. imperialism in the Southwest, but that does not prevent what Fredric Jameson calls the political unconscious of her text from emerging. Her oblique references to the hardships the Sotelos face in Southern Arizona alludes to another history implicit within the one that she explicitly narrates, a history of Mexican dispossession at the hands of U.S. settlers in the post-1848 Southwest.

As the Sotelos were losing their land in Tubac, they were also finding it difficult to make a living in Tucson. According to Sheridan, Tucson's 1860 census showed that the Anglo residents, only twenty percent of the total population, possessed eighty-seven percent of the town's "real and personal property" (*Los Tucsonenses* 37). The bleak situation in Tucson made the news of better economic prospects to the north all the more enticing to the Sotelos, especially to Tiburcio and his oldest sons. They heard that settlers to the north were employing people to help dig irrigation canals in a new community called Tempe. Looking to secure a better future, in 1870, while María and her family remained in Tucson, her father and two brothers travelled north to find work (Yantis 2). In Tempe, the Sotelos hoped to establish a new life with better economic security.

At this point in her recovery of Arizona's Hispanic heritage, Zander moves from the southern to the central part of the state, focusing in on Tempe. In comparison to

southern Arizona, central Arizona did not have a long history of Hispanic settlement. Unlike towns like Tucson and Tubac, in Tempe Anglo and Mexican settlers arrived at more or less the same time, motivated by the same reason; advances in irrigation technology made Tempe an enticing choice for enterprising pioneers looking to improve their economic situation. In Tempe's early days, as people were just beginning to hear about the town's growing economy, the non-Native population was very small. As a result, racial and ethnic divisions between Anglos and Mexicans were almost non-existent, as people did business and intermarried across ethnic lines.

However, as the town's infrastructure grew and the railroad connected Tempe to other parts of the state and the region, more Anglo settlers moved in and ethnic dividing lines began to solidify. A growing gap began to separate Tempe's Mexican families from its Anglo families, culminating in the segregation of the town's elementary school. Zander organizes her recovery of Tempe history around irrigation, intermarriage, and education in order to recover Tempe's Hispanic residents' important contributions to all three, and undermine the division between Anglo and Mexican-American residents that was crystallizing in her own day.

Tempe's ancient Hohokam history formed the foundation for its nineteenth-century Anglo and Mexican settlement. In 1867, John W. Swilling started construction on an irrigation canal that would bring many farmers and homesteaders to the area (Solliday 36, 51). However, the canals were not Swilling's invention; as Zander explains in her text, the Tempe settlers were rebuilding the remnants of canals that had been in ruins for thousands of years. Although Zander attributes these canals to the Aztecs, they were actually built by the Hohokam, the most important pre-Hispanic culture in the Salt

River Valley (Sheridan, *Arizona* 12). The Hohokam adapted to the desert climate by creating an extensive canal system that would eventually irrigate between 65,000 and 250,000 acres of land in the Tempe area alone (12). The Hohokam's canals comprised the most sophisticated irrigation system in all of North America and, as Zander suggests, did in fact serve as the model for the canals that the Anglo and Mexican settlers built in nineteenth-century Tempe[7] (12).

Although the Hohokam provided the foundation for modern Tempe, nothing is known about why they disappeared from the territory sometime around the fifteenth or sixteenth century when their cities fell into ruin and they stopped using their canal system (19). For whatever reason, "The irrigation societies that had endured for a millennium dried up and disappeared" (19). Yet, their legacy endured in the form of the canal system they left behind. Building on the remnants of the Hohokam canals, the early Tempe settlers launched a large-scale irrigation project that would bring together many different pioneers from across the United States and other countries, including the Sotelos.

Zander then uses the image of the canals as a metaphor for Tempe's multi-ethnic community. Just as it is not possible to divide drops of water from each other, in Zander's essay it is not possible to divide Tempe's Anglo pioneers from their Mexican counterparts. For Zander, the irrigation canals seamlessly (and selectively) connect the current pioneers with those that came before them. Her narrative of off-white settler colonialism takes physical form as the waters of civilization flow down through time from the lost Aztecs to the Spanish to the Anglo and Mexican Tempe pioneers. She uses

[7] The Salt River Project (SRP) to this day still provides water to Tempe residents using the same canal paths dug by the Hohokam.

the irrigation canals, "the oldest civilizer of man," to frame the Arizona territory as a palimpsest already possessing a rich and civilized history (1). Here, irrigation is an art form, a sign that the Aztecs, unlike the Apaches, were a highly civilized people. Because she classifies irrigation as an art, the canals serve not only to join together the various pioneers, but also to separate this list of civilized peoples from those who do not belong.

The canals then reinforce her narrative of off-white settler colonialism, positioning Native Americans as central (in the past) and peripheral (in the present) to Arizona history. She writes:

> Of still far greater difference Arizona presented to the early pioneers the remnants of a civilization that had been dead for a thousand years but whose traces were left in its irrigation canals, and whose works were found in its ruined cities and decaying buildings. A civilization that rested on irrigation, a record enough of which was left to pave the way for a new race that was to erect, out of the ashes of the past, one of the most remarkable states in the union (Zander 1).

Here, she more explicitly relegates "the remnants of a civilization that had been dead for a thousand years" to the past (1). By positioning Native Americans as belonging to the past she neutralizes the threat of incorporating them into her history of Arizona, emphasizing that it is not who they were but rather what they built that makes them relevant to the contemporary Arizona pioneers. Their "traces" are not threatening bodies but rather "irrigation canals…ruined cities and decaying buildings" (1). Not only does her emphasis on ruin and decay underscore that the Native American role in the history of the state is nonthreatening; it also encourages a new group to come in and "erect, out of the ashes of the past, one of the most remarkable states in the union" (1).

Her allusion to a phoenix, an unmistakable reference to the closest major city, serves as a convenient metaphor to include the Hohokam product, the canals, while

excluding the people, their descendants. Zander uses what Patrick Wolfe calls the "negative and positive dimensions of settler colonialism" as a double-edged sword for her own off-white settler colonialism (388). "Negatively" Zander portrays "the dissolution of native societies" as they disintegrate into ashes but "positively" she "erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base," out of the ashes of this past (388). As she traces the reconstitution of the phoenix that will become Arizona, she represents Arizonans as "a new race," an ambiguous term that, like pioneer, allows for the Sotelos to rise along with them.

Zander then localizes her critique by linking the pioneer, the iconic American figure, to the irrigation canal, a uniquely Arizonan image, in order to highlight Arizona as comparable to but also fundamentally different from the other states. This serves a dual purpose for Zander. On the one hand, highlighting the canals helps her fulfill the essay contest's requirement to celebrate the unique achievements of the state. On the other hand, using canal building as a metaphor for community building enables her to introduce the Sotelos into the social landscape of Arizona. She writes:

> While its early condition was similar to other parts of the continent in that the Indian was to be contended with and every one had to rely upon himself in all emergencies, and while it was similar to other western states on account of its early mining activity and the cattle industry, yet it differed from other sections…because its vast waterless wastes, superheated and death inviting, had to be penetrated…through irrigation, an art which…had never been practiced by the people of this nation (1).

Both Arizona's past and present make it "more unusual" than the other states (1). In the Sotelos' present, while the Arizona pioneer faces some of the same challenges as pioneers in other states, namely contending with the Native American population, depending on their self-reliant character, and making their living through mining and

cattle ranching, the most important obstacle they encounter is different. Unlike other territories, Arizona's "vast waterless wastes, superheated and death inviting, had to be penetrated…through irrigation" (1). In addition to contending with the Apaches, the Arizona pioneer also had to contend with the desert. They had to find a way to turn these "wastes" that threatened "death" into "permanent communities" (1). Through rebuilding the irrigation canals, the Sotelos literally and figuratively join the new pioneer community.

Zander's canal metaphor culminates in her description of María Sotelo, the ultimate multi-ethnic Arizona pioneer. Born in Mexico, reared in Southern Arizona, and coming into adulthood in Central Arizona, María embodies the different threads of Arizona history that Zander seeks to combine. To reinforce her connection to the Arizona territory and the pioneer community in Tempe, Zander uses the image of the canals to describe María Sotelo's life. Her story becomes:

> the story of a life that has come from the dim past on the tide of the never ending flood of years and which, mingled with the life streams coming from other wheres and other pasts down to this good day, has helped to make possible the social and material development of this wonderful state of ours (13).

The irrigation canals that previously connected the Anglo settlers to the Aztec, Spanish, and Mexican pioneers now connect María Sotelo to the history of the state and her fellow pioneers. Whereas before, irrigation marked traces of a distant past, now "the never ending flood of years" stresses movement toward the present (13). Through this movement, the disparate cultures that Zander describes "from other wheres and other pasts" come together and "mingle," converging in the life story of María Sotelo and consequently the story of "this wonderful state of ours" (13). Zander presents an image

of these disparate cultures organically flowing together and becoming one, joining María Sotelo in forming the foundation for this new state.

While the image of the canals metaphorically brings Tempe's disparate cultures together, the actual physical rebuilding of the canals is what draws them to Tempe in the first place. Zander writes:

> During that year 1871 Tempe began to be heard of with the digging of an irrigation canal which would open up much land. María's father and brother went to learn about it and remained to assist in the work of this canal. C.T. Hayden came that same year from Tucson with supplies for the purpose of establishing a trading post. That same year, also, Winchester Miller and Captain Sharp came from Los Angeles with two heavily loaded wagons drawn by eight horses. The former was soon appointed secretary of the canal organization (7).

Here, the meaning of the irrigation canals changes. They are no longer a metaphor for Arizona's palimpsestic history. What before represented a vertical layering of distinct cultures now creates horizontal cross-ethnic alliances. Rebuilding the Tempe canals brings together Anglo settlers and Mexican-Americans from other parts of Arizona and other Southwestern states. What is most surprising about Zander's description of early Tempe is that she portrays all these pioneers as coming to the Salt River Valley at the same time. Even today, all the men credited with founding Tempe are Anglo, but Zander describes María Sotelo's father and brother arriving in the "same year" as C.T. Hayden, the supposed founder of Tempe (7). The Sotelo men then join the list of Anglo pioneers and become part of the first group arriving in Tempe in 1871 to work on the canals. They worked with and lived among the Anglo settlers and, under the Homestead Act of 1862, eventually located a claim near one of the most prominent men in Tempe, Winchester Miller.

Mexicans and Anglos in Tempe did not only join together in business partnerships. They also united their families through intermarriage. Building alliances with the Anglo settlers became increasingly important for the Sotelos as the United States' hold on the territory became stronger. As a young woman, María Sotelo was uniquely suited to help the family secure a position in the new nation by marrying an Anglo settler. Rhetorical ambiguities could only go so far for the Sotelos; they needed to make real, and more importantly, legal connections to the new nation-state.

According to Erik Meeks, in nineteenth-century Arizona "marriages between ethnic Mexicans and Anglo-Americans" were not only "legal…they were common" (82). Both Anglo settlers and Mexican women had political, social, and economic motivations for pursuing these inter-ethnic marriages:

> Such marriages allowed these men to gain access to land owned by ethnic Mexican families…Some women owned their own land and cattle, and they may have viewed their marriages to Euro-American men as a way to secure their own economic and social status, perhaps even to secure their racial status as white (82).

Though Zander presents the Sotelos as pioneers in their own right, the conflicts apparent in the subtext of her essay suggest that María Sotelo's social and ethnic status as a Mexican woman may have been less secure than Zander makes it seem. By marrying an Anglo settler, María Sotelo could secure her place within the new pioneering community in Tempe. While "Anglo-Americans did not yet view ethnic Mexican as clearly non-white," the Mexican-American's position in the new nation-state was still precarious (82). Soon after María Sotelo married Winchester Miller, there was "a steep decline in marriages between ethnic Mexicans and Anglo-Americans between 1880 and 1910 reflect[ing] a sharpening of ethno-racial boundaries" (82).

Before this sharpening of ethno-racial boundaries and before more Anglo women came into the territory, in early Tempe "marriages between the leaders of the canal company" like Miller "and Mexican women from prominent local families" like María Sotelo were common and "brought stronger ties between the management of the company and the Hispanic workers, as well as greater economic opportunities for the families of the wives" (Solliday 70). Zander describes María Sotelo's various suitors and they are all conspicuously Anglo; not a single suitor is Mexican. Marriage to an Anglo offered not only María Sotelo but also the rest of her family a more secure position in the future of Arizona.

In order to shore up their position in the community, the Sotelos needed to combine their romantic and professional partnerships. The professional relationship between the Sotelos and Winchester Miller, the secretary of the canal company, became reinforced by the romantic relationship between María Sotelo and Winchester Miller. Winchester Miller lived only "two miles south" of María Sotelo's father and brother and as neighbors they soon "became good friends" (7). Because of their friendship when:

> Winchester Miller went to Tucson on business…María's brothers asked him to visit them at their home. It was then that he met María and was so attracted by her personality that he immediately decided he wanted her for his wife. It was not long before he had won her and although he was much older than she, a widower with children of nearly her age, he was a good and brave man and would no doubt make her a good husband. He had fought in the Civil War on the Confederate side besides living through many hardships…Of him her father had spoken with unstinted approval so she married him after a courtship of four months on January eighth, 1873 (7).

In this extended passage describing the courtship that led to her marriage, María Sotelo hardly appears at all. Her thoughts, feelings, and reactions are completely absent and are

replaced by the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the men in her life. First, her brothers ask Winchester Miller "to visit them at their home" (7). Without any mention of her impression of him, the text then jumps to note that Miller is immediately attracted by María Sotelo's "personality" and decides "he want[s] her for his wife" (7). Whether or not María Sotelo was immediately receptive to this idea is not mentioned, but "it was not long before [Miller] had won her" despite being almost twice her age[8] (7).

The text explains this quick courtship in terms of his bravery, a former Confederate soldier who had lived "through many hardships" and "would no doubt make her a good husband" (7). What exactly María Sotelo is looking for in a husband is unknown, but "her father had spoken" of him "with unstinted approval" (7). Unlike her other suitors that her father sent away, her father approves of Winchester Miller "and so she married him" (7). Because of her brother's invitation, Winchester Miller's desire, and her father's approval María Sotelo was soon married.

This marriage solidifies María Sotelo's connection to Tempe. "At the time of [her] marriage Winchester Miller was superintendent of the canal which was still under construction" (8). The canals, and consequently the community, are still under construction, leaving room for María Sotelo to join in their project and in their society (8). Her marriage directly connects her to the pioneering community in Tempe, which like the canals is still being constructed. This rebuilding puts the community in flux and opens up a series of questions:

> Would the new flourish as did the old? Would it afford more or would it afford less splendor and happiness? Would it rest on less superstition and

[8] Winchester Miller's status as an ex-Confederate soldier, the significant age gap between himself and María Sotelo, and their interethnic marriage prefigure the invented story at the center of the next chapter about the Baron and Baroness of Arizona.

> broader minds? Would it decay and leave only a few traces to mark its existence or would it perpetuate itself for the rest of time? (8).

These questions underscore the newness of the pioneer community in Tempe; their future is unknown. In each instance, Zander compares the new with the old, wondering if the new community will have more or less success than the previous canal diggers. She thinks both about the community's present potential, whether or not they will "flourish" and be filled with "splendor and happiness," and their legacy, whether they will "decay and leave only a few traces" or "perpetuate" their settlement (8). Most importantly, Zander wonders about the intellectual formation of the new pioneers, whether or not their community will "rest on less superstition and broader minds" than the previous (8). Here she alludes to what will be the main theme in the last section of her text, education.

But before she can shift to discuss education, she must first ask one more question: "And what about María?" (8). For the first time, María Sotelo becomes the focus of her own biography. She appears in the narrative at the same time as Tempe, so that María Sotelo's individual history is linked to the history of Tempe. As María Sotelo becomes a part of the conversation she also becomes a part of the community. Zander portrays her "gazing at the first wonderful fruits of the land fed from the life giving waters of the canal" (8). She is now firmly planted within the pioneer community, part of the "wonderful fruits" of the new settlement (8).

Zander positions this moment as an important turning point in María Sotelo's life. Whereas before "her life had been lived exposed to dangers" now "She was married to a strong man and was doing her part in a community organized by strong men who were…well qualified to hold and develop the community they had started" (8). While

the emphasis is on the strong men, María Sotelo is also "doing her part" within this new community (8). Through marriage, the life of "María now Mrs. Miller" is unquestionably tied to this "new and wonderful venture" (8). In fact, it is María Sotelo herself who begins to answer the questions Zander posed about the future of Tempe. María Sotelo, "look[ing] on the first field of golden grain waving joy to her in the breeze of that first summer…knew that venture would endure and that her future was secure" (8). Again Zander ties María Sotelo's future to the future of the community; her future is secure because the legacy of the community will endure.

Up to this point, María Sotelo's link to the community and connection to its future is established and maintained through her marriage to Winchester Miller. Like the young women in *Caballero* and *The Squatter and the Don,* it appears that María Sotelo also joins the new nation-state through marriage. Because of her husband, she becomes an important figure within the settlement, taking a "leading and popular part" in the town's social activities (11). Her home with Winchester Miller "was the place of many gatherings that brightened the lives of the participants in their struggle against primitive conditions" (11).

However, unlike the female protagonists in the other novels, María Sotelo's, that is, Mrs. Miller's life as wife, mother, and hostess abruptly changes "In the year 1893" when "Winchester Miller died as a result of two injuries" (12). This unexpected death forever changes María Sotelo's position both within the family and within Tempe: "The death of Mrs. Miller's husband ended her social activities and left her with a family of ten children to provide for and educate" (12). Following Winchester Miller's death, twenty

years after their marriage, the responsibility of providing for and educating her children falls to María Sotelo.

Through education, María Sotelo finally forges her own independent link to Tempe, beginning a new pioneering legacy. All of her "children attended the public school in Tempe," a school that the family played an integral role in establishing (12). In 1892 they were involved in "a lively campaign started and maintained by their father who was then Clerk of the School Board" in order to construct "the main part of the school building, on the corner of Eighth Street and Mill Avenue" (12-13).

Significantly, this is the last mention of Winchester Miller in the text. While he is important in establishing the school, his legacy stops at its beginning. Zander does not even mention him by name, instead referring to him as "their father" (12). In an important shift, Winchester Miller fades at the same time that their mother, María Sotelo, becomes more prominent. As archivist and historian Christine Marin notes, for "Mexican American women…teaching… provided an opening for broadening their lives for playing a role in the development of their Tempe community" (3). Once widowed, María Sotelo's influence broadens as she plays an important role in the Tempe education system and consequently the Tempe community.

María Sotelo's legacy to her children will be education, as she becomes a pioneer in her own (feminized) right. Zander writes that her "oldest daughter later taught school in this building" and that "Mrs. Miller's children and grandchildren have been continuously in the Tempe schools for more than forty years" (13). This enduring legacy does not stop at the primary level. María Sotelo's children continue on to pursue higher

education, as "Four of her daughters graduated from the Tempe Normal and taught school in many parts of Arizona" (13).

The right of women to an education is María Sotelo's enduring legacy as evident in the educational attainment of her daughters; they are the ones that teach throughout Arizona. Zander herself, though she never mentions her relation to María Sotelo, is a part of this heritage, writing this essay as a fourth year student at the Tempe Normal School. Thanks to María Sotelo, the Sotelo women become an integral part of the Tempe education system, the Tempe Normal School, and more broadly Arizona's education system.

As a result, María Sotelo at long last becomes an Arizonan, and consequently, an American. Not only does the Sotelo family join the nation through participating in the U.S. pioneer myth; here at the end of the text María Sotelo becomes unquestioningly "American" through participating in the myth of Republican Motherhood. In *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, Linda Kerber defines the Republican Mother as a woman who, in addition to her traditional roles, was "also…an informed and virtuous citizen. She was to observe the political world with a rational eye, and she was to guide her husband and children in making their way through it. She was to be a teacher as well as a mother" (235). Because she is both mother and teacher, María Sotelo, though "born in Mexico" becomes an "American" through "rear[ing] her children as American citizens and inculcat[ing] into their character American ideals" (13).

María Sotelo's family's long history in the territory and her marriage to Winchester Miller are not enough to earn her the label American. Only by "rear[ing] her children as American citizens and inculcat[ing] into their character American ideals" can

she overcome the fact that she happened to have been "born in Mexico" (13). As Laura Muñoz argues, "Mexican American children pursued higher education in the course of fulfilling the civic integration mission that their parents had negotiated in territorial Arizona" (190). That is to say, the narrative of off-white settler colonialism that never quite worked is resolved through "these students" that fulfill "parental aspirations for continued or improved economic standing, Euro-American expectations of ethnic assimilation and generational ambitions of personal autonomy" (190).

As Marie Zander's life demonstrates, María Sotelo's descendants did fulfill her aspirations of economic, social, and personal security. Like other educated children of Mexican descent, they "secured a degree of white privilege, if not inclusive white American identities" (205). While María Sotelo's death certificate lists her "color or race" as "Mexican," Marie Zander's death certificate lists her "color or race" as "white" (Arizona State Board of Health). María Sotelo's history, grafted on to the new nation-state first through her family history and then through her marriage, finally becomes fully fused with United States history through educating her children as Americans.

Ironically, by the time Marie Zander wrote her essay, the Tempe education system epitomized the shifting racialization of Mexican-Americans that increasingly distanced them from Anglo settlers in Arizona. By the time Marie Zander attended the Tempe Normal School in 1917, life in Tempe had changed dramatically. In 1912 Arizona was awarded statehood and, as Zander notes in her essay, highways and railroads soon crisscrossed the new state, bringing people from all across the United States to Arizona. Tempe grew along with the state and, following the 1911 completion of the Roosevelt Dam, attracted "new investments in large-scale agricultural production" (Solliday 87).

The increased agricultural production created more job opportunities, and the promise of work, combined with the upheavals of the Mexican Revolution, also brought many Mexicans to Tempe during this time (87-88). The population increase prompted the town in 1914 to build a second elementary school on Tenth Street, two blocks down from the original Eighth Street school.

This new school soon became the epicenter of a debate around Mexican-American and Anglo race relations in Tempe. Although it is unclear exactly how Tempe's segregation policy began, Laura K. Muñoz in her dissertation *Desert Dreams: Mexican American Education in Arizona, 1870-1930,* writes that "local lore attributes the segregation simply to the construction of the new Tenth street building" (143). Whatever the cause, Mexican-American children in Tempe were not allowed to attend the new Tenth Street school. Their segregation became controversial when the Tempe school board decided to turn over the operations of the Eighth Street Mexican school to the Tempe Normal, the nearby teacher's training college (146-147). The school board's decision to turn the Eighth Street school into a Mexican training school was eventually overturned in the case *Romo v. Laird* which desegregated the Tempe school system, but as Muñoz notes, "The agreement between the normal school and the trustees ignited all sorts of questions about identity, possession, place and constitutional rights" (148).

Zander wrote her prize-winning essay only five years prior to the *Romo v. Laird* decision and six years after the building of the Tenth Street school. As a native Tempe resident and a student at the Tempe Normal School, she would have been familiar with the issue of school segregation and the debates circulating at the time about what the Mexican-American population's role was within the community. Anglo and Mexican-

American race relations had become much more polarized since the days of María Sotelo and Winchester Miller, and Zander's recovery of Tempe elementary's pre-segregation history directly challenges this polarization. Her decision to place a Mexican woman at the center of Arizona history is all the more remarkable considering the denial of the state's Hispanic heritage during her own time.

III. "All of which she saw, part of which she was": The Southwestern Pioneer Paradox

The fact that Zander's essay won the Harvard medal for her year demonstrates that her argument to include Arizona's Hispanic heritage as an integral part of the state's history was to some extent successful. This is due in large part to another of the state's heritages: the fluidity of racial and ethnic categories. Even as Zander was writing her essay, however, the once blurry division that separated Mexican-Americans from Anglos was becoming increasingly rigid. The contradictions that lie at the heart of Zander's essay at once point to and challenge this increasing rigidity.

On the one hand, Zander's redefinition of the term pioneer seems to resolve any tension between Anglo and Mexican-American settlers in Arizona. After setting up a many-layered and much nuanced history of Arizona that makes room for a non-white but still civilized pioneer, Zander focuses in on María Sotelo. She introduces María Sotelo as the figure in which past and present coalesce by writing "Among these scenes and in this environment was lived the life of María Sotelo, daughter of a pioneer, wife of a pioneer, and mother of pioneers" (1). Zander's first description of her grandmother is strategically ambiguous; she conveniently fails to clarify that María Sotelo is the daughter of Spanish pioneers, the wife of an Anglo pioneer, and the mother of Mexican-American pioneers.

This ambiguity allows Zander to make her grandmother, a Mexican woman, the center of her essay on Arizona history. By expanding the term pioneer beyond the Anglo U.S. context, she imagines a different definition of who and what is Arizona.

Expanding this definition, however, is not as easy a task as Zander makes it seem. There is something inherently off about her off-white settler colonialism; in reality, the subtext of her conciliatory biography suggests a much more contentious history. Ignacio Sotelo comes to Arizona as a direct result of an uprising; from the very beginning, the Sotelos enter a contested territory filled with people battling for control of the land, arriving not to a multi-ethnic utopia but rather a battleground. The fight for control of the territory, as the loss of their land in Tubac and the hardships they face in Tucson both suggest, is not always fair. Depite Zander's descriptions to the contrary, it would seem that in Arizona, all pioneers do not come to the territory on an equal footing.

In addition, all pioneers did not come at the same time. Precisely because they have been in Arizona for such a long time, the Sotelos do not fit so neatly into the pioneer category. Perhaps in response to the hostile anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican rhetoric of her own moment, Zander carefully records the births, deaths, burial places, and marriages that link the family with the Arizona territory and prove that the Sotelos were not immigrants but rather natives of the land. Early on in her essay, Zander interrupts her narrative to inform the reader that María Sotelo's grandmother "was buried inside the walls of the Tumacacori mission"; "her grandfather remained in command until his death"; "her mother was born there and both her mother and father were reared there," and "her parents were married in the mission" (3). This section seems out of place, breaking the narrative thread in order to list the family's connections to the territory, but

it comprises an important part of the "story [María Sotelo] was never to forget," a story that depicts the Sotelos as longtime residents of, not recent immigrants to, the Arizona territory (3). After spending so much time constructing the family as pioneers, that is, new settlers, in a new land, this section seems to be at odds with the rest of Zander's essay.

While highlighting the Sotelos' multi-generational ties to the land does in one sense help Zander justify their inclusion in Arizona history, tracing their deep roots in the territory also distances the family from the more recently arrived Anglo pioneers. Zander contradictorily portrays the Sotelos as both natives and pioneers, as Arizonans before there was an Arizona. Indeed, she barely mentions the territory's transition from Mexican to U.S. territory. The history of invasion and war that gave birth to the state is noticeably absent throughout her text. This absence, combined with her insistence on recovering family ties to the territory before the United States took possession of the land, highlights the limits and contradictions inherent within her recovery project.

Even in Tempe, the "new" community where Anglos and Mexican-Americans arrived at the same time, there is still a disjuncture between the opportunities available to different people. The canal's promise to "open up much land" does opens up an opportunity for the Sotelos to build new business partnerships with the Anglo settlers; but, even as she destabilizes Tempe's whitewashed origins Zander also reveals the racial discrimination present in Tempe from this early moment. María Sotelo's father and brother are only assistants working on the canal, while C. T. Hayden comes to establish "a trading post" and Winchester Miller is "soon appointed secretary of the canal organization" (7). The Sotelo men probably brought more expertise than that of

assistants; Scott Solliday's research on irrigation in the Salt River Valley suggests that it was actually the "Mexican settlers" who "made the most significant contributions to the development of Arizona, for they alone understood the principles of irrigation and desert farming" (44). Yet, the Sotelo men's expertise did not translate into positions of economic or political power in the new community. Even in this early moment, the Sotelos were not equal partners with the Anglo settlers in Tempe.

Yet, in the final lines of her essay, Zander adamantly reasserts her vision of Arizona as an incredible place that offers remarkable opportunities to all who come. Through María Sotelo's eyes, Zander presents the Arizona territory that emerged from a barren land to become the now settled, developed, and successful state. As María Sotelo reflects on these changes:

> her mind is busy with all the memories back to the time when the first water was turned upon the virgin soil after the Aztecs had left it. In that time stage coaches, wagon trains, buck boards buggies, and bicycles have come and gone. Transcontinental railways and great highways have come. The land under irrigation has spread into an empire. Modern cities and towns have sprung into being as if by magic…All of which she saw, part of which she was (13).

Here, rebuilding the canals is only the beginning of a chain of technological advances, from "stage coaches, wagon trains, buck boards buggies, and bicycles" to "transcontinental railways and great highways" (13). Forms of transportation facilitate movement within the new nation, replacing the waters of the canals that facilitated movement from civilization to civilization. The land that was once a hostile desert (filled with hostile Apaches) is now "an empire" built by the pioneers who tamed the landscape, facilitating "modern cities and towns" to spring "into being as if by magic" (13). Of course, there was nothing magical about the settler colonialism that founded these new

cities and towns. In order to pave the way for this new development, the old settlements were torn down; many Native American tribal nations disappeared or diminished and Mexican land became U.S. land.

How fully does María Sotelo enter into this narrative of settler colonialism; "all of which she saw, part of which she was" (13)? With this phrase, Zander reveals that María Sotelo's inclusion within this narrative is only partial. While she observes all the settlement, she is only partially a new settler. This quick shift from full observer to partial participant exposes the contradictory nature of Zander's project, that there will *always* be something off about her off-white settler colonialism. María Sotelo observes Tempe's community grow from "virgin land" to "empire," but remains partially outside this growth (13). Despite her marriage to Winchester Miller and her links to the Arizona education system, her relationship to the Arizona territory will always be different from that of the Anglo pioneers because of her family's long history in the territory. Ironically, the Sotelos' roots are too deep in Arizona soil to make them pioneers.

Yet Zander does not dwell on this contradiction for long. In the very last line of her text, she asserts that María Sotelo "has helped to make possible the social and material development of this wonderful state of ours" (13). Although María Sotelo is different from the Anglo pioneers, Zander nevertheless credits her with being foundational to the development of the state of Arizona. In the end, the reader is left to grapple with the questions that Zander leaves unresolved, wondering how María Sotelo and her family can be both natives *and* pioneers, and what impact putting a Mexican woman at the center of Arizona history inevitably has on that history.

Over one hundred years after achieving statehood, Arizona sits at a crossroads. In order to make sense of the questions that lie at the heart of "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer," the terms Arizona and pioneer need to be expanded far beyond what Zander suggests in her short biography. The multi-ethnic and multi-layered past she gestures toward needs to be recovered in its full context and understood not simply as part of a history of settlement but also as evidence of a history of conquest, displacement, and dispossession. Acknowledging this history will not be easy; signing a new controversial law or banning an ethnic studies class is certainly less time consuming and much less difficult. Even so, these (re)actions can only partially obscure roots that are thousands of years deep. Whether or not Arizona is willing to recognize these roots by reevaluating its pioneer past will, now more than ever, have a direct impact on its future.

Chapter 3:
Invented Identities: Rewriting Arizona History in the Case of the Baron of Arizona, William Atherton DuPuy's *The Baron of the Colorados*, and Samuel Fuller's *The Baron of Arizona*

"Transparency is not what archival collections are known for."
--Ann Stoler *Along the Archival Grain*

"Mr. Griff, look at me, tell me, am I a fake?"
--Ellen Drew as Sophia de Peralta-Reavis in *The Baron of Arizona*

In this chapter, I turn to a case that deals not with omissions from but rather additions to the historical record. In Chapters 1 and 2, Geronimo, Silko, and Zander revealed how historical ignorance, denial, or outright erasure uprooted the claims Native Americans and Mexican-Americans made on the land and culture of Arizona. In this chapter, the consequences of the hyper mediation and manipulation of history that were so central to the counter narratives of the previous chapters takes physical form in the case of James Addison Reavis, better known as the Baron of Arizona.

Whereas in the preceding chapters the authors responded to and resisted cultural erasure, in this chapter James Addison Reavis participates in it, literally erasing and rewriting Arizona history in archives across the globe. In the late-nineteenth century, Reavis planned what was going to be the largest swindle in U.S. history: he was going to steal the greater portion of the Arizona and New Mexico territories. His plan hinged on the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo's promise to honor Spanish and Mexican land grants, so long as they were validated in a U.S. court. Reavis, aware of the treaty's provisions, decided to fabricate and then present to the court a fake land grant that stretched 18,750 square miles across Arizona and New Mexico and included the southern

route of the transcontinental railroad, the growing metropolis of Phoenix, and valuable mining and agricultural land.

Although today the Baron of Arizona is all but forgotten, in 1884, when Reavis presented his case to the U.S. Surveyor-General of the Territory of Arizona demanding the survey and confirmation of the so-called Peralta Grant, the case of the Baron of Arizona threatened to rewrite nearly one hundred years of history and fundamentally change the physical, cultural, and economic landscape of Arizona, New Mexico, and the United States of America. When Reavis took his claim to court, he brought the ambiguities and contradictions of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the 1854 Gadsden Purchase, and the 1862 Homestead Act with him. When he took the stand, the very settlement of the Western frontier was on trial.

Though Reavis was eventually found guilty of defrauding the federal government and sentenced to a fine and two years in the Santa Fe penitentiary, his ultimate failure is less crucial to our understanding of nineteenth-century U.S. westward expansion than his surprising near success. The tensions that marked the relationship between Anglo settlers, Native Americans, and Mexicans in the Southwest during the late-nineteenth century were not lost on Reavis, who surveyed this multi-ethnic world of overlapping empires and competing interests and came up with his ingenious plan. Manipulating the historical, cultural, and legal ambiguities and contradictions that defined the Southwest for his own personal benefit, Reavis predicated his near success on the intersection of Spanish colonial, Mexican, and U.S. laws.

The fictionalized accounts of Reavis's plot necessarily gloss over, alter, and even erase this key intersection. In both William Atherton DuPuy's novel *The Baron of the*

Colorados and Samuel Fuller's film *The Baron of Arizona*, there is no overlap among U.S., Mexican, Native American, and Spanish culture in the territory. Instead, the novel and the film both emphasize the great chasm that separates the domestic (read: Anglo) from the foreign. They dismiss the Baron and Baronness as foreigners who are simply unsuited for and unworthy of participating in the new (Anglo) Southwestern community.

In both texts Reavis threatens to displace Anglo settlers who are hard working, determined, admirable people struggling against the harsh Arizona desert in order to improve the land and carve out a life for themselves. They carry on through the strength of their American character forged in the crucible of westward expansion, becoming the very embodiment of Turner's Frontier Thesis. Reavis, on the other hand, is a man trying to cheat the system by relying on the rights and privileges of the Old World aristocracy instead of pulling himself up by his own bootstraps. Reavis's wife Sophia is always depicted wearing a lace mantilla and exuding elegance, grace, and ultimately, antiquated customs that have no place in the U.S. Southwest.

The irony of both texts' vilification of Reavis is that, despite their portrayal of him as wholly foreign, Reavis was in fact the ultimate U.S. settler colonialist. Just like thousands of other homesteaders, Reavis set out to take land that was already taken. Though the scale was much larger and the stakes much higher, the underlying principle was the same; all homesteading, whether done by Reavis or any other Anglo settler, required a basic rewriting of history. In Reavis's case, that rewriting took physical form in archives across the globe. Though the other homesteaders did not physically alter extant archives in the same way, their claim to the land still required an ideological rewriting of the history of the Southwest, erasing the Native American, Spanish, and

Mexican history of the territory and replacing it with a vision of a virgin land. The only difference between Reavis and the other homesteaders, and what ultimately forced the federal government to stop him, was that he set out to take land from Mexicans, Native Americans, *and* the Anglo settlers themselves.

I. From Bonnie Blue to Baron: The Making and Unmaking of the Peralta Grant[1]

Before turning to DuPuy's novel and Fuller's film, it is necessary to first examine the history they fictionalize on page and screen. Like many histories of the settlement of the West, the Reavis case begins not in Arizona but in the South, during the Civil War. James Addison Reavis first discovered his talent for forgery when he was fighting as a Confederate soldier. He was born in Missouri in 1843,[2] eighteen years before the start of the war, and enlisted in the Missouri State Guard as soon as the war began[3] (Powell 13). Sometime between 1862 and 1865, when he realized the Confederate army was doomed to fail, he forged his commanding officer's signature and wrote himself a pass to cross over to the North (176). With this potentially life-saving signature, Reavis commenced what would become a lifetime commitment to falsifying documents for his own personal gain.

Though his first forgery was a signature, Reavis would later become famous for applying these skills to land titles. After the war, Reavis worked several odd jobs until he

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[1] The most comprehensive study of Reavis and the Peralta Grant is Donald Powell's *The Peralta Grant.* Powell, an archivist at the University of Arizona, traveled throughout the U.S. collecting documents and retracing Reavis's steps in order to reconstruct what turned out to be a very complicated history. I have condensed Powell's recovery here to include only the most salient points and included other sources that were either unavailable or inaccessible to him at the time.

[2] Reavis was the second of five children. His father was Scotch-Welsh and earned a living as a farmer and a tanner (Powell 13).

[3] In 1861 Reavis enlisted in Hunter's Regiment of the Confederate Army, in the 8th Division of the Missouri State Guard. In 1862 he reenlisted at Springfield in Captain Lowe's company (13).

finally settled into the business of real estate.[4] In 1871, a man named George M. Willing came to Reavis's office in Missouri with a business proposition. Willing told Reavis that in 1864[5] while traveling in Arizona he had purchased the title to a Spanish land grant from a man named Miguel Peralta who inherited the title from his father, the Baron of Arizona. Willing paid Peralta $20,000 for the title and papers proving the authenticity of the grant. Willing's story and the grant he described were fabrications, but he did have original Spanish documents that Reavis later used to present his case to the U.S. Court of Land Claims.[6] False papers in hand, Willing asked Reavis to become his business partner, help him collect (in reality create) more documents to substantiate the claim, and eventually get the title formally recognized by the United States. Reavis agreed and the men determined to meet in Arizona to file their claim.

Willing and Reavis's plan hinged on the terms of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the 1854 Gadsden Treaty. The treaties that ended the U.S.-Mexico War and resolved the resulting border dispute, respectively, stipulated that the U.S. government would recognize all Spanish and Mexican land grants in the newly acquired territory once

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[4] At the end of the Civil War, Reavis traveled to Brazil for a year. When he returned to St. Louis he worked as a streetcar conductor, a clerk, and a traveling salesman, before starting his real estate business. Powell mentions that prior to creating the Peralta Grant, Reavis had purchased and successfully altered an imperfect title for some valuable land in Missouri (14).

[5] Powell notes that based on his reconstruction of events, Willing could not possibly have been in Arizona until 1867. I use the date of 1864 because that is the date that appears on the transfer of the deed from Peralta to Willing that Reavis presented as evidence for his 1883 claim. It is unclear, however, whether the date or the entire document was a forgery. As Powell says, Willing may never have purchased the deed at all.

[6] These papers were probably originally furnished by the Missouri lawyer W. W. Gitt, known as the "Old Spanish Land Title Lawyer," who fled to Mexico after he "had been involved in a number of very questionable land deals in Missouri and Illinois" (19). When Gitt left Guadalajara, "it was found that in one volume of land records, some twenty pages had been removed and an equal number substituted. It is likely that at time Gitt assembled some of the original Peralta papers – those which Reavis filed in 1883 – and on his return to St. Louis disposed of them to Willing. Willing, to complete the chain of possession, had sought out a real Miguel Peralta in Arizona and had obtained from him a deed which made the connection between Gitt's papers and himself" (152-153).

validated. In order to receive validation, descendants or claimants of land grants had to file their claims with the surveyor general, who would then make a report and recommendation to the secretary of the interior, who would in turn make a separate report with additional recommendations to the U.S. Congress, which would ultimately validate or invalidate a claim (85). The process changed in 1891 with the establishment of the Court of Private Land Claims, which took over the validation of land claims.

Despite the guarantees of the treaties, the system for obtaining land grant validation was not transparent and bureaucratic red tape as well as illegal squatting left many land claims in jeopardy. Nevertheless, both treaties ostensibly granted full citizenship rights, including property rights, to Mexican citizens living in what was suddenly U. S. territory. The 1848 Treaty stipulated that:

> 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 ("Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo").

The U.S. cleverly undermined these sweeping privileges by requiring each person to first file his or her claim with the surveyor general of the territory, as Reavis did in 1883. The validation process proved disastrous for Mexicans who spent the rest of their lives and their fortunes appealing to the courts and holding back squatters.[7]

For decades, Secretaries of the Interior consistently criticized a system that clearly was not working. In 1880, just three years before Reavis filed his original claim, Secretary Carl Schurz wrote "after a lapse of nearly thirty years more than one thousand

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[7] For a fictionalized account of this predicament, see María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*.

claims have been filed with the Surveyor General, of which less than one hundred and fifty have been reported to the Congress, and of the number so reported, Congress has finally acted upon only seventy-one" (qtd. in Powell 85). In thirty years Congress only acted on 7% of all cases, and Schurz does not mention what percentage of those cases Congress actually validated.

In order to address these concerns and streamline the process, in 1891 the U.S. established the Court of Private Land Claims. According to Powell, the idea of "A land court had been proposed several times as the quickest and most equitable means of adjusting those [land claims] still pending in the Southwest" (106). The land court was not popular with many Anglo settlers who were extremely hostile to the idea of land grants, regardless of whether or not they were legitimate. Powell affirms that the creation of the land court "was angrily opposed in Arizona" where settlers "saw in it only a tool for the land grabbers, and particularly for the ultimate validation of the Peralta Grant" (106).

This collapsing of Reavis with others who sought validation for authentic land grants under the title "land grabbers" becomes central to both DuPuy's novel and Fuller's film (106). Powell himself in his study does not seem to distinguish between the Peralta Grant and other grants, instead grouping them together as potential threats to the (Anglo) settlement of the West. My analysis of the novel and film in the second half of this chapter focuses on this subtle shift in the Peralta Grant narrative; Reavis is vilified not because of the fraudulent nature of his land claim but because of the foreign origin of the grant.

The Reavis case also shocked Arizonans because they had little experience dealing with land grants, which were few in the territory. Because Arizona was relatively isolated, the Spanish crown granted only a few small pieces of land (Sheridan, *Arizona* 58). Although Mexico granted more land, the territory remained sparsely populated and most of the grants were eventually abandoned (58). In time, the United States recognized eight land grants within Arizona, but as Thomas Sheridan notes, "none of the descendants of the original grantees had managed to hold on to their titles" and the validated grants went to corporations or wealthy business owners who had purchased the land (58). Willing and Reavis, however, were determined to obtain validation for their fraudulent grant, which would have been the largest land grant in Southwestern history.

The first step in validating their claim was travelling to Arizona, at the time a sparsely populated territory dotted with a few growing mining towns. When Willing and Reavis travelled to Arizona in the 1870s, it was still a relatively new territory, having separated from the New Mexico territory less than ten years earlier in 1863, around the time of the first discoveries of mineral wealth in the northern part of the state (73). After the first prospectors struck gold, "For the first time in Arizona's history, non-Indians came to the mountainous interior and stayed" (73, 78). The location of the early territorial capitals underlines the importance of mining to the growth of the state; the original capital, Fort Whipple, was the site of the first major gold discovery, and the second capital, Prescott, was a larger community in the same area composed of "miners, merchants, and territorial officials" (78). Aside from the mining towns, Arizona in the 1860s and 70s was for the most part isolated, prone to attack, and sparsely populated (112).

As we saw in Chapter 2, Arizona's demographics changed when advances in infrastructure and agriculture, particularly irrigation, began to improve quality of life. The railroads, dams, and canals brought more and more settlers to Arizona, many of whom used the 1862 Homestead Act to stake their claims. Under the provisions of the Homestead Act, the U.S. government would allot 160 acres of public land to settlers who could prove they had lived on and made improvements to the land for five years. The Act was ill-suited to Arizona's desert landscape, which could be developed agriculturally only in the few small regions that had access to irrigation, such as Tempe, which grew with the rebuilding and regulation of the ancient Hohokam canals. In many other areas ranching was a more viable occupation than farming, but the Homestead Act undermined the territory's cattle culture by cutting into the rancher's grazing land and limiting them to 160 acres, far too little land to run enough cattle to make a profit (265). Despite these challenges, following the passage of the Homestead Act, farmers and their families joined the isolated ranchers, miners, and military men to increase the population of the Arizona territory.

As we saw in Chapter 1, increased settlement led to increased hostility with the many Native Americans who had been living in the relatively new U.S. territory for hundreds or even thousands of years. In the 1870s, General Crook entered the Arizona territory charged with subduing hostile Native Americans by military force (84). For the next twenty years, the military would battle against Native Americans and forcibly remove them to reservations. This ongoing battle culminated in the widely publicized pursuit, capture, and imprisonment of Geronimo, the subject of the first chapter. Interestingly, the press closely followed the saga of Geronimo's repeated attacks and

escapes at the same time as it followed the unfolding drama of the Peralta Grant. In the local press in particular, newspapers linked Geronimo and Reavis as a similar kind of threat to the stability of the territory and the attainment of statehood. Both men threatened to displace the settlers and, in the press's estimation, thwart the progress of the aspiring state.

This is the Arizona that Willing entered when he arrived in Prescott, the soon to be territorial capital, to meet Reavis in 1874. Peralta papers in hand, Willing arrived in Prescott, Arizona to record the deed he had purchased ten years earlier, only to be found dead in his lodging house the next morning[8] ("Death of Dr. Willing"). Meanwhile, Reavis stayed in Missouri until after he married Ada Pope of Montevallo, MO on May 5, 1874 (Powell 21). Although he knew about Willing's death, for reasons that are unclear he instead spent the next five years in California, first teaching school from 1875-1876[9] and then working as a journalist and correspondent for various papers until 1880 (22). Reavis finally arrived in Phoenix sometime in 1880 and then traveled to Prescott in order to locate the Peralta papers. With a letter from Willing's widow authorizing him to

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[8] On March 20, 1874 in an article entitled "Death of Dr. Willing" the *Arizona Weekly Miner* (Prescott, AZ) wrote "This sad event occurred last night, at the lodging house of Mr. R. E. Elliott, in this town, and was, we learn, brought on by exposure and privation. We stated in yesterday's paper, that the Dr. arrived here from the States, via New Mexico, on the previous evening. Soon after his arrival he made haste to visit us, when we learned that his object in again visiting the Territory was to secure title to some mines claimed by the Willing mining and exploring company in the vicinity of Black Cañon creek, and a Spanish grant on the Gila river, to which grant a French count was, he said, preparing to lead a colony. Dr. Willing first came here in the summer of 1864, at the head of a well appointed prospecting party, which operated for several months in the country southeast of Wickenburg…He had his faults, not the least of which was the habit of stretching the truth, but was, on the whole, a bold adventurer and intelligent man. His native state is, we believe, Pennsylvania. He leaves a wife in the East."

[9] During his tenure as a schoolteacher Reavis met Major Bill Reynolds who showed Reavis his manuscript for a book about a Miguel Peralta, Baron of Arizona. This novel, though it could not be the origin of the Peralta Grant (Reynolds began writing after Reavis and Willing's original 1871 meeting), may have given Reavis many ideas for elaborating his plot. Reavis lost (or perhaps kept for inspiration) the manuscript and it was never seen again.

collect Willing's personal effects, Reavis was able to find and claim the Peralta Grant materials (25).

Reavis's time as a journalist is significant considering that the press, both regional and national, played a central role in his case. In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson links print capitalism to the rise of nationalism. Print was able to connect large groups of people who, though they never came directly in contact with one another, were nevertheless linked by a common print culture and print vernacular, thereby imagining themselves to be part of the same community. However, just as print culture can unite a nation, it can also divide it. While Anderson focuses on how print consolidated the nation, in the case of Reavis, the regional circulation of different papers helped maintain deep divisions within the nation, which Reavis used to his advantage.

With regards to the coverage of the Peralta Grant, there is a stark contrast that divides how the Arizona press treated the case versus the New York and San Francisco papers. In Arizona, Reavis was always dismissed as a fraud, partially because of a better understanding of Spanish and Mexican law, and partially because of an open hostility to Spanish land grants and the rights accorded to former Mexican citizens as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the Gadsden Treaty. In contrast, the New York and San Francisco papers did not question and even supported Reavis; most of his financial backers were based out of these two cities and he lived in each longer than he ever resided in Arizona.

Reavis knew he could not file the claim with only the papers that Willing had collected. In order to shore up his case, in 1881 he traveled to Mexico, supposedly to gather (though in actuality to plant) evidence in the archives there. When he returned

with what he believed to be enough proof to bring his case before the court, he went to Mary Ann Willing, George M. Willing's widow, and asked her to relinquish her claim to her husband's grant. In 1882, Mary Ann signed over the Peralta Grant to Reavis and he drew one step closer to claiming over 12,000 acres of prime real estate.

Reavis was determined to profit off of the natural resources and strategic location of southern Arizona and New Mexico, a territory that offered mineral wealth, land for cattle raising and farming, and a southern route for the transpacific railroad. With the letter from Mary Ann Willing in hand, in 1883 Reavis returned to Tucson, Arizona to file his claim to the Peralta Grant before the Surveyor General Joseph W. Robbins. Robbins sent R. C. Hopkins, a Spanish language expert, to Mexico to investigate the claim further. Reavis heard about Hopkins's trip and, unbeknownst to Robbins, accompanied the investigator to help him find the necessary documentation. While Reavis was helping Hopkins navigate the Mexican archives, back in the United States Robbins became ill with tuberculosis, died, and was replaced by his chief clerk, Royal A. Johnson.

The Arizona press lambasted both Johnson and Reavis in the local papers, which treated both men as threats to the settlers. The papers were incredulous that Reavis would steal land away from hard working farmers and at the same time they interpreted Johnson's painstakingly slow investigative process as a conspiratorial stalling tactic meant to help Reavis validate his claim. In actuality, Johnson was a methodical man who was skeptical of his predecessor's favorably written report. As Johnson launched his own, separate investigation Reavis began selling quitclaims to settlers and mining and railroad companies. Reavis used the press's rumors about Johnson's stalling tactics to

claim that the government was on the verge of validating the Peralta Grant and that the territory was as good as his.

The press's vilification of Reavis and Johnson fostered so much public hostility that in May 1885, two years after Reavis filed his original claim, Land Office Commissioner W. A. Sparks ordered Johnson to stop his investigation due to public outcry and a lack of evidence. This obstacle, far from deterring Reavis, only prompted him to redouble his efforts and file a new claim.[10] When he heard about Sparks's decision to close the case, he left to collect (and generate) more evidence for a new case. This time, instead of going to Mexico, Reavis went to Spain to comb the colonial archives. His fact-forging mission caused quite a scandal; in 1886 he fled Seville after a warrant was issued for his arrest for inserting false documents into the archives there. Yet, his confidence was not shaken and only one year later, in 1887, he came back to Tucson to file a new claim based on new evidence.

This second claim was markedly different from the first because Reavis introduced a new, bolder proposition: that he had found the only living heir to the Peralta Grant, his own wife, Doña Sophia Micaela Maso Reavis y Peralta de la Córdoba.[11] Reavis introduced endless boxes of new evidence, including baptismal records from the San Xavier mission south of Tucson, birth and death certificates from Mexico and Spain, and firsthand accounts from friends and acquaintances in California all connecting Sophia to the Baron of Arizona and the Peralta Grant. According to Reavis, Sophia's

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[10] Due to the growing public hostility, Reavis fled Arizona for San Francisco, where he resided until he left the country.

[11] Reavis claimed he married Sophia in California in 1882, but he did not divorce Ada Pope until 1883. This is just one of the many inexplicable mysteries about Reavis's relationship to Sophia and Sophia herself about which the archives offer no answer.

twin brother, mother, and father all tragically died, leaving her alone and unaware of her spectacular inheritance, that is, until Reavis came on the scene.

Reavis again turned to his investors in New York and San Francisco to continue to grow his profit. With his new wife and new evidence, in November, 1887 Reavis decided to form a new company, the Casa Grande Improvement Company. Reavis, who was disregarded as an obvious fraud within the state of Arizona, was able to pass himself off as a visionary entrepreneur in these other cities. According to Powell, in contrast to the open hostility of Arizonans, in New York:

> They listened to his ready flow of talk of his bright visions for irrigation works to bring thousands of acres of desert into green vigor, to his plans to induce settlers to take up lands, to the prospects of great mining development; and knowing nothing of Arizona at firsthand, they were impressed. They examined the photographs of ancient documents he carried; and knowing equally little about Spanish manuscripts and grant procedures, they were convinced (80).

This quote from Powell underscores Reavis's two main strategies in garnering support for his case. First, Reavis used the multilayered history of the Southwest to his advantage, pitting Spanish colonial and Mexican institutions and procedures against the new U.S. rules and regulations. Second, Reavis profited from the regional divides within the U.S. at the time, preying on the New York financiers' ignorance of the Southwest in general and Arizona in particular in order to acquire investors, lawyers, and assets. The Casa Grande Improvement Company began with $50,000,000 in stock and an impressive list of prominent investors (81). Reavis assumed that with such powerful men on his side, he was bound to succeed.

Meanwhile, back in Arizona things were not going so well for Reavis and his claim. Because of so much new evidence, in 1889 Johnson[12] received word to reopen his investigation into the Peralta Grant, reversing the 1885 order to close the case. Building on the evidence he had previously gathered, one year later in 1890 Johnson released his "Adverse report of the Surveyor General of Arizona, Royal A. Johnson, upon the alleged Peralta Grant." In his report, Johnson systematically discredited Reavis's claim, identifying major inconsistencies, uncertainties, and outright forgeries in the documents provided as evidence.[13] The Arizona press immediately revised its opinion of Johnson and widely published and praised his report. The Arizona settlers, who followed the unfolding case closely in the papers, celebrated what they thought was the end of nearly a decade of turmoil, and even held a gala in Phoenix in Johnson's honor.

Reavis was the only person who claimed to be ignorant of what the Arizona papers were reporting. Undeterred by Johnson's adverse report and ignoring the allegations of fraud, in 1890, only a few months after Johnson's report was published, Reavis filed a suit[14] against the federal government for $11,000,000. In his suit, Reavis downplayed Johnson's report and even insinuated that it did not exist. As Powell writes, "The filers said they understood that the Surveyor General of Arizona had made some sort of report on their claim but that they had been unable to obtain a copy and were

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[12] Powell mentions an intervening report in 1889 made by John Hise, the Surveyor General who replaced Johnson (a Republican) from 1885 to 1889 during Grover Cleveland's presidency. Powell notes that though the report exists it is never cited in the final trial. Johnson regained the Surveyor General post in 1889 when Harrison beat Cleveland.

[13] Johnson specifically referred to the anachronistic use of a steel pen on many of the documents, the shape of the letter 's' that was uncommon in other Spanish documents from the same time, and the suspicious absence of any mention of the Peralta Grant in Bancroft's history of Arizona (91, 92, 96).

[14] Reavis's key witness in his suit was Alfred Sherwood, a California man who testified to Sophia's noble parentage, providing the missing link between the papers and the person on whose shoulders Reavis's hopes rested (103-104).

ignorant of its contents. Therefore, they prayed the court to ascertain the amount of land taken and the value thereof and to give them judgment" (102). Reavis undoubtedly followed the press's coverage of his case closely, and it is unbelievable that he would not know of the whereabouts or the contents of the report. Filing the suit, however, would curb public enthusiasm and force the press to report on the possibility of the validation of the Peralta Grant yet again. Reavis hoped the suit would swiftly cause the press to report on the case and the court to bring to fruition an inevitable decision in his favor.

In February 1893, Reavis filed a new case (in addition to the 1890 lawsuit) in the U.S. Court of Private Land Claims in Santa Fe. Because this case was filed in a new court, it came under the jurisdiction of an entirely different set of government attorneys and experts. Instead of Royal A. Johnson heading up the investigation, Matthew Given Reynolds, special attorney for the Court of Private Land Claims, took over verifying the legitimacy of the Peralta Grant (117).[15] Reynold's special counsel was Severo Mallet-Prevost, a New York lawyer originally from Zacatecas, Mexico who had a much better understanding of both the Spanish language and Spanish and Mexican laws than the other experts and attorneys previously involved in the case (117). From 1893 to 1895 Reynolds and Mallet-Prevost retraced Reavis's steps throughout the U.S., Mexico, and Spain, looking at the original papers he cited, and gathering evidence from related documents (118).

By 1895, just as Reavis's case was slated to come to court, news of the inexplicable inconsistencies that Reynolds and Mallet-Prevost discovered spread

[15] In the novel *The Baron of the Colorados* and the movie *The Baron of Arizona,* all the various government attorneys and experts are somewhat misleadingly collapsed into one composite character.

throughout Arizona and even reached Reavis's strongholds in New York and San Francisco. The errors were so egregious that the Peralta Grant became a national story, a turn of events that began to unravel Reavis's scheme. Almost immediately, the powerful New York and San Francisco investors and attorneys that had supported him began to disappear. Nearly twenty-five years after George M. Willing first presented Reavis with the idea of claiming the Peralta Grant, Reavis finally had his day in court, but it did not go anything like he had planned. By the time Reavis arrived in Santa Fe for his long awaited trial, he was forced to represent himself in court. During the trial, Reynolds, Mallet-Prevost, and the government's expert graphologist Will Tipton quickly and thoroughly discredited every shred of evidence Reavis had spent the last two decades collecting, explaining the countless irregularities in the Peralta Grant documents that led them to conclude that the grant was falsified.

Even when he was placed under arrest and sentenced to two years in the federal penitentiary, Reavis still looked to the press to make a name and a fortune for himself. In June 1895 he was placed under arrest for attempting to defraud the federal government and in 1896 a jury sentenced him to 2 years in the federal penitentiary in Santa Fe and a $5,000 fine (175). Yet, when Reavis left prison, he returned to his journalistic roots in the hopes that he would be able to profit off his sensational story. He wrote a confession in the San Francisco *Call* and published the first of what were supposed to be multiple issues of his own magazine, the *Peralta-Reavis Real Life Illustrated* (176). No longer hoping to cash in on his success, Reavis was determined to make a profit from his failure. Despite his best efforts, Reavis's various ventures failed and he lived in obscurity and poverty until his death in 1914 in Denver, where his ex-wife Sophia Loreta lived with

their two children, Miguel and Carlos[16] (177). No copies remain of the only issue of his self-titled magazine.

Despite being the cornerstone of Reavis's case, there are almost no documents, no archival records, and no evidence of what Sophia Reavis thought about the Peralta Grant, her husband, or the forgeries. The two main sources of information about Sophia are the trial transcript and the newspaper coverage, both of which are highly mediated. At the trial, the government prosecutor humiliated Mrs. Reavis on the stand, incredulously asking her how she could have ever believed such an improbable story about her own identity. His line of questioning eventually forced Mrs. Reavis to admit that she knew so little about the Peralta Grant and the proof of her own ancestry because James Reavis never allowed her to learn how to read (168). When the prosecutor insinuated that she knowingly impersonated the Baroness, she simply responded, "I did not know that I was impersonating anybody but myself" (169).

The press similarly discredited Sophia, mocking the possibility that a mixed-race working class woman could ever believe herself to be a Baroness. An 1890 artist rendering of Sophia (figure 3.1) shows her wearing fine clothes with her hair in a French twist and provides the caption "'THE THIRD BARONESS OF ARIZONA.' 'Da. Sofia Loreto Micaela de Peraltareavis, née Masó y Silva de Peralta de la Córdoba.' Alias, Reavis's half-breed wife." Her portrait, though realistic, becomes a caricature when paired with the caption. By exposing her for what she really is, the caption transforms a one-time Baroness into the butt of a joke. Whereas before her husband's trial her luxurious clothes and well-kempt appearance were respectable, here they become

[16] Sophia gave birth to twin boys in 1893, two years before Reavis's arrest (Powell 108).



Figure 3.1: "Photograph of an artist rendering of Sofia Peralta-Reavis, an alleged heir to the Reavis Land Claim in Arizona" (1890). From the Arizona State University Archives, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records, Historical Photographs.

laughable. Just as the press criminalized Reavis for stealing land from the deserving Anglo settlers, it marginalized Sophia for being a nonwhite woman aspiring to wealth, social position, and property rights.

The criminalization first of Reavis and then of his wife Sophia points to the beginning of a conscious effort to erase and undo Arizona's pre-1848 past. Powell's definitive study is telling; Reavis is a criminal because he was a land grabber, not because he was a fraud. In DuPuy's novel and Fuller's film, this slippage becomes even more apparent as Reavis is vilified for being a greedy Spanish nobleman. Neither text seems to acknowledge or even recognize that Reavis, an ex-Confederate soldier from Missouri, was in fact not a Spanish aristocrat.

Painting Reavis as foreign and un-American is in fact a necessary move, as recognizing him as an American would highlight the similarities between his own plot and the literal plots of thousands of homesteaders who staked their claims on a very similar logic. Although Reavis depended on different parts of U.S. history for his own success, relying on the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the Gadsden Treaty instead of the Homestead Act, his hope still rested on purchasing and working a piece of land to build his personal fortune. The history of the Peralta Grant becomes the rule instead of the exception when put in the context of U.S. capitalist accumulation throughout the West.

Reavis's self-defense at the trial tellingly sounds very similar to the defenses offered in support of westward expansion. He said:

> My object was to develop Arizona. As a fact, I never cared that much [with a snap of the fingers] for the grant, except the honor of having done something in it. I am not a lover of money, but I am a lover of development and building up a country. Therefore my whole life has been in the interest of building up Arizona, and my wife and I joined in this and induced colonists to come to Arizona (Powell 149).

This is the same argument advanced by Indian fighters, miners, ranchers, yeoman farmers, and railroad companies to legitimate their own claims to the western territories. Progress depended on their presence; the success of the territory and then the state depended on their ability to develop it. Nevertheless, as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, the success these settlers sought often depended on the failure of Native Americans and Mexican-Americans who lost everything from their land to their freedom. Just as Reavis was on a small scale manipulating and mediating history for his own personal gain, so too the settlers who began moving into the Arizona territory were beginning to

rewrite history and make themselves the only rightful inheritors of the land. This rewriting required a substantial amount of historical forgetting, including the disavowal of the Native American and Mexican-American experiences explored in the preceding chapters.

II. From Fact to Fiction: William DuPuy's *The Baron of the Colorados*

The cultural work of forgetting often played out not in the courts or the history books, but in fictionalized accounts of westward expansion. Manifest Destiny, the mediated and manipulated narrative of historical forgetting that formed the ideological basis for westward expansion, also inspired one of the most popular genres in the United States: the Western. In reality, the Western shaped westward expansion at least as much as westward expansion shaped the Western. As Jennifer L. McMahon and B. Steve Csaki observe in their introduction to *The Philosophy of the Western*, the history of western settlement is inseparable from the stories it generated.

The fictional accounts legitimized Anglo expansion, settlement, rights, and land claims while delegitimizing those very same things for Native Americans and Mexican-Americans. The stories of nineteenth and twentieth century westward expansion "staked their own claim on the popular imagination," collapsing fact with fiction as they "settled in the minds of all who heard, saw, or read them" (1). These stories were often only loosely based on actual fact, painting a much more positive picture of life in the west than was the case in the day-to-day reality. Due to their popularity, these stories achieved mythic status, and "the myth of the American West quickly took on a life of its own" (2).

The erasure of non-Anglo agents is one of the defining characteristics of fictionalized accounts of westward expansion. In her book *West of Everything*, Jane

Tompkins outlines the main elements of a classic Western, including the prevalence and pervasiveness of death. In her estimation, "To go west, as far west as you can go, west of everything, is to die" (24). Death pervades the genre, just as it pervaded actual experience. Unlike actual experience, in the Western death is so ritualized that it achieves a "sacramental aura" or leads to a "spiritual transcendence" (25, 24). It goes without saying, however, that in Westerns not all death is imbued with such supernatural import. The deaths of Native Americans and Mexican-Americans is common, often happens en masse, and is rarely if ever mourned or even acknowledged by Anglo characters. Their deaths are as remarkable as a wide-angle shot of the desert, fading into the landscape.

The landscape, whether described on the page or displayed on the screen, is another hallmark of the genre. The sweeping deserts, the rugged cliffs, and the expansive canyons make Westerns instantly recognizable. It is "a land defined by absence: of trees, of greenery, of houses, of the signs of civilization, above all, absence of water and shade" (71). The environment is, as the title of Richard Slotkin's seminal work suggests, fatal. There is nothing to nurture settlement, nothing to support human life. Yet, if a character can survive in this fatal environment, it tells the readers or the viewers something about his (because the heroes of Westerns are always male) character. It tells them that if he is "brave" and "strong enough to endure this" then he can "become like this—hard, austere, sublime" (71).

Again, Native Americans' and Mexican-Americans' ability to adapt to the environment is not celebrated or even acknowledged. That is because, as Tompkins notes, the purpose of the landscape is not simply to transport the reader or viewer to a

particular place but rather to demonstrate the power of the hero. She writes that "Power, more than any other quality, is what is being celebrated and struggled with…the worship of power, the desire for it, and at the same time, an awe of it bordering on reverence and dread" (76). In a typical Western, only the Anglo agents have access to this sort of power.

This power is consolidated in the past; Westerns express a longing to get back to an invented time and place, making their tone markedly nostalgic. That is not to say, however, that Westerns are necessarily sentimental. In his essay "Critical Memory and the Black Public Sphere," Houston Baker writes that "Nostalgia does not...mean arrested development" or "a distraught sentimentality ever pining for 'ole, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago," but rather "a purposive construction of a past filled with golden virtues, golden men and sterling events" (3). This purposive construction is linked to the present, constructing a glorious past in order to legitimate authority in the present.

Both *The Baron of the Colorados* and *The Baron of Arizona* participate in the purposive construction of Arizona's glorious territorial past. In recovering Reavis's story they also recover this foundational period of Arizona history, celebrating the hardiness of Arizona's territorial citizens who built something out of nothing in the hostile desert environment. Both texts paint the settlers and the state as exceptional, the settlers because they were able to make a living in a place that is so unlivable and the state because only in Arizona could a case like Reavis's come to court, and only in Arizona could the settlers triumph.

Both texts reconstruct this defining period of Arizona history at a time when advances in technology and infrastructure were bringing radical changes to the state. By

the time DuPuy and Fuller dramatized Reavis's story in the 1940s and 50s, Arizona had become an entirely different place in comparison to its territorial days. In his article "Phoenix in the 1950s: Urban Growth in the 'Sunbelt,'" Michael Konig argues that the industry and policies associated with World War II transformed Phoenix into the city that it is today. In the 1950s Phoenix quadrupled in size thanks to military and manufacturing investment, urban development, advances in transportation, and perhaps most importantly, the advent of air conditioning, which made year-round life in a city with frequent 115 degree summer days possible (38).[17] With these changes, from 1930 to 1960 Phoenix seemed to be a city living up to its name, rising out of the ashes and taking its place as a major metropolitan center in the post-war West.

However, Konig warns that Phoenix's "rapid expansion created problems that threatened its distinctive Southwestern character" (19). An influx of new residents changed the social and cultural makeup of the state, which became further and further removed from its wild western days. Arizona, once home to the famous gunfight at the O.K. Corral, was now home to a burgeoning, modern metropolis that looked increasingly like Los Angeles. The state that struggled to define itself less than half a century earlier in Chapter 2 here struggles to redefine itself, returning to some of the very same questions that plagued territorial Arizona about who and what made up the state.

In the midst of this period of transformation *The Baron of the Colorados* and *The Baron of Arizona* emerge as cultural texts that nostalgically recreate a history that is utterly Southwestern, involving Spanish noblemen and land grants, Mexican orphans,

[17] Although air conditioning did not enjoy widespread use until after the War, the first evaporative coolers appeared in Phoenix as early as 1930 (Konig 22).

Anglo homesteaders, and secret Indian blood. Both texts make sense of the shifts occurring in Arizona at the time by turning to the Reavis story, which celebrates Arizona's unique and rich cultural heritage while championing its path towards (Anglo settler colonial) progress.

Nevertheless, there are certain moments in each text that disrupt this reconciliation of Arizona's territorial past with its present progress. Baker adds that nostalgia does not operate in isolation, but is the "twin rhetoric" of "*critical memory*" (3). According to Baker, "to be critical is never to be safely housed or allegorically free of the illness, transgression and contamination of the past" (3). In both *The Baron of the Colorados* and *The Baron of Arizona*, the setting, dialogue, and characters expose the tension between Arizona's multiethnic heritage and its celebration of Anglo settler colonialism. These fictional elements point to the real complexity of the state's distinctive Southwestern character and create uncertainty as to what that character may look like or mean half a century after Arizona achieved statehood.

In his 1940 novel *The Baron of the Colorados*, William Atherton DuPuy dramatizes James Addison Reavis's ambitious and ultimately unsuccessful plan to usurp nearly 12,000 square miles of territory in the late nineteenth-century. DuPuy obsessively recovers this chapter of Arizona history in order to, as Zander did in "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer," bring honor and glory to a state struggling to define itself. In the novel, though Reavis threatens to destroy the community the Anglo settlers worked so hard to establish, in the end the settlers triumph, winning Arizona back from the would-be usurper. In typical Western fashion, the narrative is one of Anglo ingenuity and entitlement.

Though the central plot of *The Baron of the Colorados* causes the reader to sympathize with the Anglo settlers, the novel's subtext[18] gestures toward the past and presence of Native Americans and Mexican-Americans in Arizona both before and after statehood. Just as Zander's celebration of the state's glorious past also uncovered a darker history of dispossession, DuPuy's novel at once reinforces and undermines the legitimacy of the Anglo settlers' claims to Arizona. Though *The Baron of the Colorados* emphasizes that these settlers are the only authentically native Arizonans, certain moments in the text, including the descriptions of Arizona as well as the characterization of Sophia, contradictorily suggest that other populations preceded the Anglo settlers, thereby undermining the legitimacy of their exclusive claim to the territory.

In the Preface, DuPuy affirms that capturing and preserving the true history of Arizona was his main purpose for writing the novel. Though he readily admits that he has fictionalized Reavis's story and that "This book should not be regarded as history," DuPuy nevertheless makes strong claims on the authenticity of his tale (ix). He writes that "most of the characters…are real, most of the events set down actually took place, and, especially, the color of the time and place in which the author was steeped during his impressionistic youth, may be taken as photographically correct" (ix). Despite taking artistic liberties with certain details including characters and events, he emphasizes that "the color of the time and place" is as accurate as a photograph (ix).

DuPuy's firsthand knowledge of Arizona is key to this accuracy, and key to his recovery project. Arizona and the Reavis case, as demonstrated by its treatment in the

[18] Here I am using Frederic Jameson's notion of the subtext: "The whole paradox of what we have here called the subtext may be summed up in this, that the literary work or cultural object, as though for the first time, brings into being that very situation to which it is also, at one and the same time, a reaction" (81-82).

New York and San Francisco press, was marginalized and misunderstood in these city centers. As a native of the Salt River Valley, the same valley to which the Sotelo family traveled to work on the irrigation canals nearly seventy years earlier, DuPuy "felt a bit of responsibility" for recording and "saving…from oblivion" Reavis's story (xi). Though in the foreword and throughout the narrative DuPuy emphasizes Reavis's centrality within Arizona at the time (he was a household name in the state by the time he took his case to federal court), he writes that there was "no consciousness attuned to the business of making a record of it" (xi). The official history, it seemed to DuPuy, had unjustly neglected to include James Addison Reavis and the Peralta Grant in the timeline of the settling of the West, instead banishing this important part of Arizona history to "a musty wooden box in an unbelievably obscure basement" (x). This neglect forced DuPuy to perform his own painstaking archival search for a story "that had wound itself obscurely, in the absence, it seems, of those persons of the press who deal in such matters" (xi). If history would not record Reavis, DuPuy was determined to use fiction to recover his case from the void.

DuPuy gained access to and appreciation for the details of Reavis's story working as executive assistant to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior in Washington, D.C. His office gave him access to the Reavis archives, while his experiences in Washington D.C. gave him firsthand experience with Arizona's marginalization at the national level (Kauanui 39). His novel is in many ways his own attempt to rescue not only Reavis but also Arizona from the "unbelievably obscure basement" of U.S. history (x). By the time he wrote *The Baron of the Colorados*, many had already forgotten not only Reavis and his

role in "the unfolding of the West" but also the centrality of Arizona to U.S. agriculture, mining, and infrastructure (xi).

Using Reavis's story as a pretext, DuPuy is then able to write the history of the Arizona territory, a history that even in DuPuy's time was fading. As discussed above, in 1940 when DuPuy published *The Baron of the Colorados* Phoenix was on the verge of explosive economic, social, and political change. Whether or not DuPuy was already aware of this change is uncertain, but his novel is markedly nostalgic. As Phoenix began to swell with transplants from other parts of the country, the population shift threatened to erase what Arizona natives like DuPuy discerned to be the state's unique Southwestern character. These newcomers had no cultural investment in understanding Arizona or appreciating its past.

In response to this under-appreciation, in *The Baron of the Colorados*, DuPuy looks back to a highly romanticized past in order to capture the Southwestern character of territorial Arizona and preserve it for future generations. In the novel, Arizona is still a territory populated by rugged Anglo settlers, silent Native Americans, and charming Mexicans. In other words, Arizona is the epitome of the mythic West, providing all the necessary stock characters to make for a respectable Western that tells a tale of good (read: Anglo) triumphing over evil (read: everyone else).

As such, the novel appropriately opens under the threat of imminent (Anglo) dispossession. The settlers anxiously await the arrival of James Addison Reavis, the man who claims to own their land. Tensions run high; the first chapter describes a near-fatal confrontation at the train station where Reavis narrowly escapes a settler's bullet. The words of the would-be assassin, John Travers, on his way to the train station to join the

rest of the town in receiving Reavis underscore his desperation in the face of dispossession. Driving through their land, Travers and his daughter, Helen, discuss the steep physical, economic, and emotional cost of establishing a home in the desert. As they admire the fruits of their labor, Helen says "Daddy, our fight is won" (4). John Travers, however, bitterly responds, "Ten years of battle…and now this man Reavis would take it all from us" (4). The reader immediately sympathizes with the hard-working Travers and is suspicious of the newcomer Reavis, who has not struggled alongside the settlers and has therefore not earned his claim to the land.

In this opening scene, it appears that the only people present in territorial Arizona are the Anglo settlers and Reavis. This makes the central conflict a simple, black-and-white case of good versus evil, pitting one clever criminal against a homogeneous community of hard-working citizens. The complex political, social, and economic realities of territorial Arizona discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 are nowhere to be found; there is no mention of the dispossession, removal, and imprisonment throughout the state of Native Americans like Geronimo, nor is there any mention of the U.S.-Mexico War or the still recent transfer of the Arizona territory as a result of that war. These other histories are in fact explicitly erased as DuPuy declares that before the Anglo settlers arrived "desolation had reigned" (6). In the novel, Arizona was a *terra nullius* prior to the arrival of the Anglo settlers.

By erasing the struggles that predated Reavis's arrival, the novel changes the conditions and consequences of Reavis's crime. Reavis is more than a swindler and his crime more serious than that of forgery because the threat he poses is not just to a few isolated individuals, but rather to the core of all civilization in the territory. The settlers

had built something out of nothing, creating a community "in the great vacant spaces which stretch a thousand miles from El Paso to Los Angeles," and Reavis's success threatened to undo all their hard work (7). This threat is Reavis's true crime, not forgery. Even if the documents he presented were authentic, his desire to usurp the land from the settlers would be just as condemnable. The novel criminalizes Reavis for attempting to take something that not only does not belong to him but more importantly that he does not deserve to own. The irony of this criminalization is that the Anglo settlers were guilty of the same crime; when they arrived they dispossessed the Native American and Mexican people who lived in Arizona before them. This irony, however, does not seem to register within the novel's central plot.

Yet, this simplified portrayal of Arizona is in tension with dialogue, character descriptions, and scenery that suggests a much more complex history, and consequently, conflict. Throughout the text, DuPuy's descriptions of the people and places of Arizona seem to transgress the ideological assumptions of westward expansion. Perhaps because of his dedication to providing photographic accuracy, his assertion that the Arizona desert was a *terra nullius* is constantly undermined by images of the territory's Native American, Spanish, and Mexican past *and present*. DuPuy undermines his own portrayal of Arizona as an unpopulated "waste country" with constant references to Apache brutality, Mexican-style adobe homes and buildings, and "coffee-brown" people (43, 7).

These passages, though provided to lend a sort of local color authenticity to the text, also complicate the dominant narrative of Reavis's threatened dispossession of the Anglo settlers. Though the settlers are the apparent victims of the novel, in describing their victimization another plot emerges, that of a previous dispossession. These

references to other people and histories underscore that the Anglo settlers were not the only people present in the Arizona territory at the time, nor were they the only ones who had a stake in the past, present, and future of the state.

Despite DuPuy's disavowal of Arizona's Native American roots, in the novel, the land is paradoxically barren and populated with hostile Apaches. When Reavis first enters Arizona, it seems that the land is free for the taking. This is in fact a motivating factor in Reavis's scheme; because Arizona is "A stark, barren, half desert country…piled chaotically with mountain masses of rock, and as yet little known to man," it should prove easier to steal (42). However, the land is not as stark or barren as it first may seem. DuPuy goes on to add that the territory was little known to anyone "other than the half-nomad Apaches who already had gained for themselves unsavory reputations due to the brutality of their killings" (42). Although their negative reputation neutralizes any basis for recognition as a civilized people, their presence is nonetheless undeniable. In the same sentence DuPuy erases and underscores the Apache presence within Arizona.

Likewise, the descriptions of Reavis's arrival at the train station simultaneously ignore and highlight the state's Mexican heritage. As DuPuy describes the crowd, he includes among the scene "Here and there a coffee-brown girl with a splash of brilliant color in her dress, or an urchin hidden under a mop of raven hair" both giving "evidence of the proximity of old Mexico" (7). Though in the second half of this quote DuPuy geographically and temporally displaces Mexico's relationship to Arizona, the very here and now presence of "a coffee-brown girl" and "an urchin hidden under a mop of raven hair" contradicts this constructed rhetorical distance (7). DuPuy's rhetorical

characterization of Arizona as a new frontier is constantly interrupted by splashes of local people of color who undermine both the newness and the boundaries of this frontier.

All of these contradictions come to a head in the characterization of Carmelita, James Reavis's wife, who over the course of the novel becomes the blank canvas upon which all suppressed narratives of Native sovereignty, Spanish conquest, and Mexican independence are written. Throughout the course of the novel DuPuy variously describes her as a U.S. native, a Mexican, a Spaniard, an Apache, and Reavis's own invention—a woman without a history or an identity. Carmelita's ambivalent characterization has serious ramifications for Arizona, both legally and culturally, because it (re)members the state's erased Native, Spanish, and Mexican past in a way that complicates and confounds the text's central narrative of (Anglo) dispossession. Her (supposed) Spanish ancestry makes her the legal owner of the territory, undermining Anglo land claims, while her cultural (mis)identifications highlight the state's own contradictory cultural identity, revealing its multiethnic character.

The ambivalence of Carmelita's characterization is apparent from the beginning, in the description of her name. According to DuPuy Carmelita, who "Reavis asserted, was the great-granddaughter of the Baron, Doña Sofia Loreta Micaela de Peralta-Reavis…was in reality a baroness…though in this land of democracy of which she was a native, her childhood name of Carmelita still clung to her" (2). Here, her familiar diminutive childhood name undermines the distinction of her Spanish name and title. Though DuPuy credits the reluctance to accept such an aristocratic name to the "land of democracy of which she was a native," the name Carmelita is yet another testament to

Arizona's non-Anglo past (2). In just her name, Carmelita exposes the tensions at the center of Arizona's Southwestern identity.

Though Carmelita is the lynch pin of the entire plot, the link between the supposed Spanish land grant and the present-day claimant, for most of the novel she only passively observes the unfolding of her own life's story. She herself has no control over her floating identity, almost always described in the passive voice and never speaking. In fact, as the novel continues it becomes clear that Carmelita in her own right does not even exist. Before Reavis, "She had been such a lost person in a great world who did not even know her own identity" (91). Reavis's intervention into her life is almost divine; the woman that once was lost "at last…had been found" by this man who gives her an identity, an inheritance, and a future stake in Arizona (92).

Of course, Reavis turns out to be a false god. At his trial the prosecutor exposes that "The record had been changed…to give seeming actuality to a person who never existed but who was intended to inherit an estate rich almost beyond the imagining but which was itself a figment of unreality" (164). In nullifying the validity of the grant, he also nullifies the validity of Carmelita's existence. Just as quickly as she comes into existence, found in obscurity by Reavis, she disappears, invalidated by the courts just like the rest of Arizona's pre-Anglo history.

And yet, even Carmelita's passivity proves to be another contradiction. Though the text grammatically and narratively paints Carmelita as a passive subject who is alienated from her own identity, the novel then cannot explain how she so actively embodies that identity. At the trial, the prosecutor asserts:

> Mrs. Reavis…has been an innocent victim of this unprecedented hoax. As a young girl she was led to believe this fantastic story of her descent from Spanish grandees and her rights under this grant…The prospective heir was drilled to living up to her part. How well she has responded everybody knows. But all the time she believed herself to be the person Reavis represented her to be. Her actual identity is known to very few people and, of course, not to herself. And, strangest of all, though she has been accepted as possessing the royal blood of the Bourbons there is not in her veins a drop that in any way ties back to Spain (165).

In this passage, the real imposter is not Reavis but Carmelita. Although in the first half of his speech the prosecutor describes her as a victim, in the last line, he admits that the strangest element of the entire story is her own deceptive authenticity. She is a masterful actress, "drilled to living up to her part" and responding remarkably well (165). So well, in fact, that she convinced Spanish royalty of her noble birth and gained entrance to the court as one of their own.[19]

Just as Reavis's altered documents (temporarily) validate his land claim, Carmelita's acquired manners validate her identity claim. Both depend on being "accepted" as an avenue to possessing either land in Reavis's case or status in Carmelita's case (165). However, here at the end of the novel Carmelita's counterfeit is even more disconcerting than Reavis's because, while Reavis's forgery can be proved by handwriting and document experts, Carmelita's performance cannot be discredited in the same objective, scientific manner.

The dispossession the novel describes therefore has to do with more than just land. The Anglo settlers fear the Reavis case will dispossess them not merely of their land but more importantly, of the ideological underpinnings of their right to occupy that

[19] James and Sophia Reavis did travel to Spain, where the Spanish nobility accepted them as one of their own. Their twin sons even purportedly played with the Spanish prince (Kelland 93).

land. Carmelita becomes even more threatening to the settlers than her husband because, while the threat Reavis poses to the settlers is economic, the threat Carmelita poses is ideological. Her Spanish/Mexican/Native American past troubles Arizona's *terra nullius* historical foundation as her shape shifting undermines its native/foreigner cultural foundation. In a strange double-crossing, the archive's dispossession of the real Sophia Reavis allows for the fictionalized Sophia to challenge, or at the very least, to reveal the implications of her own dispossession. Though *The Baron of the Colorados* is ostensibly about the Anglo settlers' claims to the territory of Arizona, in telling their story, the subtext of the novel also recovers the contradictory claims of Native Americans and Mexicans to the same land.

III. From the Page to the Screen: Samuel Fuller's *The Baron of Arizona*

With the advent of cinema, the genre of the Western leapt from page to screen. In their Introduction to *American Cinema, 1890-1909: Themes and Variations*, André Gaudreault and Tom Gunning write that "The invention of cinema is a topic on which there is far from unanimous agreement" (2). Different definitions of what qualifies as cinema (moving pictures, public projection, a paying audience) lead to the identification of different dates to mark the beginning of film (7). In general, the first devices to capture moving pictures appeared in the 1890s (7). These moving pictures at first played to primarily middle-class audiences as part of longer vaudeville shows (11). In 1905, a few small theaters built specifically for showing films sprung up (15). In these early theaters, called nickelodeons because of their five-cent admission price, economically and ethnically diverse audiences watched short films (11, 16). The popularity of nickelodeons, particularly with working-class people, created a demand for more films

(16). At first, foreign films met this need and dominated the U.S. market (17). However, by 1909 U.S. filmmakers were making their own films and developing their own genres. In short order, the Western became the most popular genre in the U.S.

The iconic scenery and celebration of U.S. expansion coupled with the longstanding centrality of the West in U.S. popular culture made the Western the quintessential U.S. film genre. In his study of early Westerns, *Shooting Cowboys and Indians*, Andrew Brodie Smith defines the Western as a film "referred to as such by producers, exhibitors, or moviegoers" that portrayed "either cowboy or Indian characters or both and sometimes ethnic Mexicans" and explored "conditions associated with the frontier or with the consequences of U.S. territorial expansion—including, but not limited to, conflict between whites and nonwhites, migration, ranching, mining, and banditry" (6). Westerns were popular with U.S. filmmakers because they allowed the filmmakers to distinguish themselves on the international market, were inexpensive to produce, and easily captivated movie-going audiences (37-38).

With the advent of sound in the 1920s, two different versions of the Western emerge: the epic, high-budget A-Western and the often bizarre, low-budget B-Western. Throughout the 1930s, the B-Western outnumbered its bigger, better version. In his study *The Invention of the Western Film*, Scott Simmon notes that while there were "at most fifty films that can be labeled as A-Westerns," during the 1930s, there were "more than one thousand B-Western features" (100). The B-Western was subject to a different production budget and schedule than A-Westerns, making them more cost effective and faster to produce. B-Westerns typically showed second in a double feature, ran under one

hour, cost around $15,000 to make,[20] and took only days to shoot (100). Prefiguring the popular Western television shows of the 1950s, B-Westerns also often featured recurring characters in a series of films.

Though their production qualities make it easy to dismiss B-Westerns as funny and frivolous (the tone of the films was generally light, and their fast and frugal production led to the many uneditable errors that came to typify the genre), B-Westerns are not without their own social commentary. They look to the past, to that Turnerian crucible of the American character, to confront the problems of their present moment. Reeling from the 1929 stock market crash and mired in the Great Depression, in their tales of the nineteenth-century West B-Westerns often looked for an escape, a scapegoat, or even a solution to their contemporary problems.

A decade before Samuel Fuller made *The Baron of Arizona*, another B-Western titled *The Night Riders* and starring none other than John Wayne brought the story of the Peralta Grant to the screen. *The Night Riders* (1939) was part of The Three Mesquiteers series, a B-Western franchise of films that featured "a shifting trio of stars and production companies" (Simmon 161). Unlike *The Baron of Arizona*, *The Night Riders* was only very loosely based on the details of the Reavis case, using Reavis as inspiration to create an even more extraordinary plot. In the movie, a former U.S. Mint engraver and his Mexican maid team up with a riverboat gambler to forge a Spanish land grant in California and claim the grant by impersonating a Spanish nobleman and his wife. The Three Mesquiteers enter on the scene when the U.S. government validates Don Luis de

[20] Simmon writes, "B-films in the 1930s might occasionally have budgets as high as $150,000, but many B-Westerns, including a number of John Wayne's, were budgeted at close to $15,000 and even less."

Serrano's grant and he begins to charge rent for all his land, including the Mesquiteers's self-titled 3M Ranch. When the settlers, among them the Mesquiteers, cannot pay, the Don mercilessly evicts them from the land with his mercenary posse of enforcers.

Though the Mesquiteers appeal to President Garfield, he regretfully informs them that his hands are tied; the United States government must honor its treaty with Mexico and recognize the Spanish land grant. The brave Mesquiteers, not ones to stand idly by, then take matters into their own hands. Donning white masks and capes that conjure up images of the Ku Klux Klan, the Mesquiteers become Los Capaqueros, riding around at night to rob the Don's henchmen and give the money to soon-to-be-evicted settlers so that they can pay their rent. The Mesquiteers eventually discover that the grant is a forgery and expose the Don, his wife, and their friend the engraver as frauds. Having saved California from the evil Don, the Mesquiteers return to their ranch as heroes.

The most notable and shocking element of *The Night Riders* is its glorification of Klan-style vigilantism. From the very first shoot-out scene the film cues the audience to be on the Mesquiteers' side; while the Don's men wear black cowboy hats, the Three Mesquiteers wear white ones. The heroic Mesquiteers, the Robin Hoods of the Wild West, are very clearly the 'good guys,' yet they don their white capes and masks to rob the Don *before* they know that he is a fraud. Though their heroism is applauded from the beginning, their actions are only justified at the end. Nevertheless, the Mesquiteers and the audience do not need to know that the Don is a criminal to know that he must be stopped since it is not the falseness of the papers but the foreignness of the claim that is so offensive to everyone, from the Mesquiteers and their fellow settlers all the way up to President Garfield.

The slippage from fraud to foreigner is a central component of the incrimination of Reavis in the press, as well as in *The Baron of the Colorados* and *The Baron of Arizona*. The Klan-like robes of *The Night Riders*, however, are the clearest evidence that the case of the Peralta Grant was not just about fact and fiction, it was about racist resentment. The film's connecting economic hardship to foreign, specifically Spanish or Mexican invasion, is timely considering that the release of *The Night Riders* coincides with the end of Mexican Repatriation, an effort led by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service that successfully deported nearly half a million Mexicans, many of whom were citizens of the United States. Like other B-Westerns, *The Night Riders* links the past to the present, bringing to the screen the nativist resentment that plagued a nation on the heels of a decade of economic depression.

World War II pulled the country out of the Great Depression but the United States soon sank into the Cold War, leading to the emergence of a new genre: the noir-Western. In *Gunfighter Nation*, Richard Slotkin defines the noir-Western as "a new and darker style" that either "centered on themes of revenge and featured psychologically damaged and alienated heroes" or "offered an ironic or inverted version of standard 'progressive' themes" (334). Tales of bravery and heroism gave way to cynical films about tyrants, corrupt politicians, and conmen. The combination is not surprising to Simmon who sees a natural affinity between the two genres. After all, "Noir revealed city life as the last frontier, where civilization and law is a veneered illusion and men must fight for whatever fragile order they care to invent" (204).

The dark noir-Western then had different preoccupations than its A- and B-predecessors. In the postwar era, noir-Westerns "played variations on the same basic

concern: How had America's achievement and exercise of pre-eminent power affected our commitment to the democratic ideology for which we had nominally fought the war?" (Slotkin 334). These self-reflective films asked who benefited from the war and what they gained. Contrary to the celebratory tone of the prewar films, the noir-Westerns were gloomy, skeptical, and cynical.

The Baron of Arizona could be classified as a B-noir-Western, though it does not quite fulfill the expectations of any of these genres. Director Samuel Fuller made *The Baron*, his second film, on a shoestring budget. Fuller shot the film with the help of well-known cinematographer James Wong Howe, who volunteered to work on the film for a fraction of his normal salary (Fuller 254). With Howe behind the camera, this B-version of the Reavis story took on a much darker, more gothic look than *The Night Riders.* The film's casting further enhanced its gothic qualities with Vincent Price, a staple of horror films, in the title role, looking as out of place in the Arizona desert as the real James Reavis. With the budget of a B-movie, the cinematography of film noir, and the scenery of a Western, *The Baron of Arizona* is a hybrid of these early- to mid-twentieth century popular genres.

Perhaps because it defies easy categorization, *The Baron of Arizona*, unlike director Samuel Fuller's other films, never enjoyed commercial or cult success. Fuller is today cited as one of the "greatest influence[s] on a generation and a half of directors as diverse as Martin Scorsese and Wim Wenders, Steven Spielberg and Jean-Luc Godard, John Woo and Bertrand Tavernier, Quentin Tarantino and Jim Jarmusch, Jonathan Demme and Curtis Hanson" (Gallagher). Beginning his career in the early 1950s, at a time when large movie studios dominated the market, Fuller was a freethinking and

independent filmmaker. His first film, the low-budget western *I Shot Jesse James* (1949), had surprising commercial success despite its homoerotic undertones and limited release. His third film, *The Steel Helmet* (1951), caused an even greater sensation as the first film to portray the still unfolding Korean War. In between these two, Fuller made *The Baron of Arizona* (1950), the campy romance that featured Vincent Price as leading man. The film was not, in Fuller's own words, "a big success" and is one of his least studied today, lacking the journalistic style and gritty subject matter that would later become synonymous with his work (255).

Fuller himself was both a journalist and a soldier. Born in 1912 in Worcester, Massachusetts, he began selling newspapers at age 11 to help his recently widowed mother. By 17, he had moved from selling to writing, working as a crime reporter and a cartoonist. Tag Gallagher writes that it was these formative years spent working as a reporter that would later lend his films "the feel of tabloid journalism: a bizarre story, violence, and a terse, hard-hitting approach that emphasizes action and conflict." When the U.S. entered World War II, Fuller moved from writing about to acting out the scenes of violence that filled the newspaper pages. He enlisted "as a private in the US Army," and lived through some of the most gruesome scenes of the war "in Algeria, Sicily, Omaha Beach, the battle of the Bulge, and the Falkenau death camp" (Gallagher).

He would return to scenes of war in many of his films, including *The Steel Helmet* and *The Big Red One.* Unlike other "gung-ho war movie[s]," Fuller's depictions were complex, highlighting both the "repetitious cycle" of violence as well as the "deeply flawed" nature of the soldiers (Fuller 256). Drawing on his own personal experience, in each case he emphasized how "War brings out the best and worst in you" (256). As a

director, Fuller drew on his experiences as both writer and fighter to create films that explored the complexities of human nature and relationships.

That said, complex is not the first word that comes to mind to describe *The Baron of Arizona.* This bizarre and campy romance seems out of place in the chronology of Fuller's works, sandwiched in between two films that explore the psychological consequences of murder and war, respectively. With a plot that is centered around James and Sophia Reavis's love story and a tone that is, as can be expected from a film starring Vincent Price, over-the-top, it is easy to see why critics have overlooked *The Baron*. However, beneath its seriocomic veneer, *The Baron of Arizona* reveals the ethnic, historical, and social complexities that marked territorial Arizona.

As we saw in the preceding chapters, when Anglo settlers arrived in Arizona, they did not find a virgin land. Instead, numerous Native American tribal nations and Mexican settlers contributed to the multiethnic character of the territory. As more and more people immigrated into and throughout the different parts of Arizona, they displaced Native Americans who were then removed to reservations within the territory or, in the case of the Apaches, deported to another area of the country entirely. With increased immigration, tensions rose with Mexican-Americans as well.

Racial and ethnic categories were still very much in flux during the territorial period, but Mexican-Americans were increasingly regarded as different from the more recent immigrants from the Midwestern and Southern United States. Though many Mexican-Americans who claimed Spanish ancestry considered themselves to be distinct from the more recent working-class immigrants from Mexico, with time the racial hierarchy that Arizona inherited from the Spanish Empire became increasingly flattened

into a white/nonwhite binary that left Mexican-Americans either on one side or the other. The political and economic power that Mexican-Americans enjoyed, particularly in Southern Arizona, became smaller and smaller as Arizona inched toward statehood.

It is at this point in Arizona history that *The Baron of Arizona* begins. The film's frame narrative opens on a group of men dressed in black tie toasting to Arizona the night of its admittance into the Union as the forty-eighth state. In the midst of the celebration, one of the men, Mr. Grif, who we latter learn is responsible for exposing Reavis as a fraud, offers a surprising toast to the Baron himself. While the others are astonished, Mr. Grif explains that like them, Reavis shared a love for the state and a desire to improve upon it, though his methods were less than conventional.

The rest of the film is a flashback that begins on a dark and stormy night. In the first scene, Reavis trudges through the rain to knock on the door of a run-down shack where a young orphan named Sophia lives. Inside, he informs Sophia and her guardian Pepito that she is the Baronness and rightful heiress of Arizona and that he intends to help her take possession of her inheritance. *The Baron* then follows Reavis around the world as he forges Spanish records, seduces beautiful women, presents his case to the Court of Land Claims, narrowly escapes an angry lynch mob, and ultimately confesses to his crimes. In the final scene, which might be Fuller's only happy ending, Reavis emerges from the Santa Fe penitentiary to find none other than Sophia, his devoted wife, waiting for him.

With its fantastic plot and Hollywood romance, *The Baron of Arizona* seems meant to entertain, not educate. Indeed, guaranteed entertainment is what the movie poster (figure 3.2) for the film promises, advertising *The Baron of Arizona* as an

unbelievably true tale that moviegoers had to see to believe. The promotional poster highlights the nature of the film's plot, which is, according to the surrounding text and images, extraordinary, violent, and romantic. The poster describes the Baron as a truly exceptional figure, a man who inspired both romance ("women fought for his kisses") and violence ("men clamored for his life"). The images further underscore this connection between love and brutality, mixing depictions of near-kisses between James and various women with images of a near-strangling, a near-hanging, and a violent mob with fiery torches. Overall, the poster assures moviegoers that they will not be disappointed by the "tremendous entertainment" that will "surge across the screen" in this, "the greatest true adventure ever told!"



Figure 3.2: Magazine Advertisement for *The Baron of Arizona*, Dir. Samuel Fuller

The film appears to not only sensationalize the Baron's story, but also simplify territorial Arizona, glossing over its multiethnic society in order to present a rousing tale

of helpless (Anglo) natives and a silver-tongued would-be usurper. Like *The Baron of the Colorados*, in *The Baron of Arizona* James Reavis is again portrayed as a foreign, though much more charming, threat. The only role that Arizona seems to play is as another pawn within The Baron's scheme, "who stole the state…and laid it at the beautiful feet of his bride." The complexities that defined the territory are apparently nowhere to be found, cast aside to make room for a Hollywood romance complete with seduction, betrayal, and ultimately reconciliation. Nevertheless, by the end of the film the extraordinary characterization of both Reavis and his romance with Sophia becomes intertwined with Arizona's path toward statehood, raising questions about who and what will define the newly admitted state.

By *The Baron of Arizona*'s release in 1950, Arizona had transitioned from multiethnic frontier to segregated Sunbelt metropolis. In the wake of this tumultuous transition *The Baron of Arizona,* like *The Baron of the Colorados*, looks back nostalgically to the state's territorial origins, a nostalgia that is evident from the first scene in which the Anglo settlers encounter the Reavises within the Arizona territory. The mise-en-scène is familiar; tough-looking people wearing cowboy boots and hats gather in the center of a classic Hollywood Western town with a few rustic storefronts surrounded by desert.

Suddenly, into this familiar scene enters an unfamiliar sight. The Reavises descend into the rural desert landscape in a luxurious black carriage drawn by four perfect white horses. They wear rich clothing; James is dressed in a black cape and wears a top hat while Sophia wears an opulent black dress and a lace mantilla. The contrast between the Reavises and their surroundings is striking; they look completely out

of place. The desert landscape is antithetical to, as Jane Tompkins puts it, "the fancy words and pretty actions of the drawing room, elegant clothes, foreign accents, dusky complexions, subservient manners, of women, Easterners, and nonwhite males" (73). Because they are outsiders, they are already frauds, no matter what the legitimacy of their paper claim may be. As Spaniards and aristocrats they are a holdover from another time and place and, as the absurdity of their costuming lets the viewer know, in Arizona there is no going back.

While their costuming displaces them visually, the monologue delivered by the ringleader of the Anglo settlers displaces them verbally. Like the Three Mesquiteers in *The Night Riders*, the settlers reject the ideological legitimacy of the Reavises' claim, which in the words of the ringleader is "just a lot of fancy words," even before the government exposes it as a forgery (*The Baron of Arizona*). In contrast to Reavis's fancy words, the settlers base their claim to Arizona on physical labor and hard work. As the ringleader explains:

> My father was the first white American to pitch a tent in Phoenix. Since I was eight years old I helped him plant and plow until we got enough to buy our own piece of land from the government. Then this fellow comes along who says he's a Baron, whatever that is, and every time I try to talk to him he tells me to settle with one of his clerks (*The Baron of Arizona*).

In this speech, the speaker identifies two opposing claims to the land. On one side there is the speaker, who bases his claim on his personal history of hard work. On the other side there is Reavis, who has no history in the territory and bases his claim on an antiquated system that recognizes Barons and Baronies, a system that is completely unintelligible to the speaker. Delivering his speech in front a large banner that reads "In God We Trusted, In Arizona We Busted," the speaker emphasizes that the settlers,

despite their honest intentions, will lose their land as the pitiable victims of a completely unfair set of circumstances (*The Baron of Arizona*). In the speaker's estimation, Reavis has not earned the land and therefore does not deserve to take possession of it.

While the speaker appears to only be talking about his fellow settlers and their opponent James Reavis, the two opposing claims that the speaker identifies in his speech derive their legitimacy from the Homestead Act on the one hand, and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo on the other. In this sense it is not only James Reavis but the settlement of the Western frontier that is truly on trial. In the quote above, the speaker stakes his claim to the Arizona territory by planting, plowing, and purchasing. The connection he makes between physical labor and property rights marks the speaker as a homesteader. Reavis, in contrast, stakes his claim to the Arizona territory by presenting a land grant in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

Ironically, the Treaty was meant to safeguard the property rights of Mexicans who would otherwise find themselves in precisely the same situation as the speaker, dispossessed. The speaker, whose "father was the first white American to pitch a tent in Phoenix," does not see the connection between his own circumstances and those of the Mexican landowners (*The Baron of Arizona*). Instead, in his rejection of Reavis he also rejects the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the rights of the Mexican-Americans that it supposedly guaranteed. By dismissing Reavis as a foreigner, the speaker also dismisses the Mexican-Americans in territorial Arizona as foreigners in their native land.

The greatest irony is, of course, that James Reavis is not Spanish and has more in common with the speaker than either would like to admit. Though the film on its surface

appears to cast off Reavis as foreign and celebrate the settlers as the true natives, from the very first scene, both the characterization of Reavis as well as his romance with Sophia undermine this neat division, blurring the line between foreign and domestic and causing the viewer to question the legitimacy not only of Reavis's claim but also the claims of the speaker and his fellow Anglo settlers. The political, historical, and social reality of the territory they all seek to claim appears to be much more complex than the film at first discloses.

In the opening scene of the film, Mr. Grif makes the connection between Reavis and the other settlers in his call to toast "to a real lover of Arizona, to my friend, James Addison Reavis" (*The Baron of Arizona*). Though the main plotline of the film dismisses Reavis as foreign, Grif's toast complicates this foreignness from the beginning. While the others scoff at his suggestion to toast to the so-called Baron, Grif affirms that Reavis, like them, was motivated by his desire to see the state progress. Like the other settlers, "it infuriated him that ignorant people inherited land because the U.S. recognized Spanish grants," so he claimed the land for a more deserving person, himself (*The Baron of Arizona*). Here Reavis is motivated not by greed but rather by righteous indignation, a value he shared with the other Anglo settlers.

As a real lover of Arizona, one of the values and interests he shared with the Anglo settlers was legitimizing his claim to the territory. In Grif's toast, he positively connects Reavis to the other settlers, praising his drive to improve upon the land and eventually see the territory become a state. However, Grif's connection also reveals another less positive point of comparison; just as Reavis had to rewrite history to legitimate his claim, so too did Grif and his other black-tie companions have to reframe

Arizona's past in order to bolster their own legal and cultural claims to the state. Grif's toast suggests that Reavis was not the only one mediating and manipulating Arizona history for his own personal benefit. Indeed, the scene visually revises Arizona history by attributing its statehood solely to Anglo men, the only people present. Just as Reavis was an imposter, so too were the other Anglo settlers who played a fundamental role in Arizona's path to becoming a state.

Even the most seemingly innocuous element of *The Baron of Arizona*, James and Sophia's love story, becomes entangled with the social and legal complexities of Arizona. Fuller took liberties with many details of the Reavis story, but the most notable by far is his insertion of a classic Hollywood romance into the Baron saga. On its surface, the love story plot seems to simplify territorial Arizona even further; at the end of the film James and Sophia, despite the deceit, public scandal, and questionable age difference, fall in love. As previously discussed, the real relationship between James and Sophia was not so harmonious. In Fuller's own words, "The real Reavis lived out his final years in a shack, penniless and abandoned" (254). Elsewhere, Fuller gravitates to exactly this sort of anti-payoff, probing the depths of the lonely, the depressed, and the directionless. Yet, in *The Baron of Arizona* he chooses "an upbeat ending to the picture, even though it wasn't historically factual" (254).

It seems strange that a relationship so pervaded by disappointment, abandonment, and unfulfilled promises would culminate in such unwavering devotion. The only explanation Fuller offers for such an uncharacteristic choice is that "In the movie business, a good ending must sometimes hold sway over the truth" (254). This explanation, however, sounds odd coming from someone like Fuller who was never

defined or deterred by the demands of the movie business. The unbelievable romance seems to ring untrue and unnecessary, glossing over the real-life complexities that make the Reavis case so interesting and alarming.

However, this seemingly contrived romance, like Grif's toast, points to territorial Arizona's whitewashed history. Sophia's claims to pureblooded Spanish aristocratic whiteness form the core of the film's plot, and ultimately are the undoing of Reavis's plan. The climax of the film is tellingly not when Reavis is revealed to be a fraud, which the viewer has known from the beginning, but rather when Sophia is revealed to have Indian blood. At the climax of the action, Pepito confesses to Reavis that he always recognized that Sophia was not the Baroness because, unbeknownst to everyone else, Pepito knew that she had Indian blood in her. Sophia's parents swore him to secrecy about their daughter's true identity in hopes that she would have access to better opportunities if she passed as white. In Pepito's eyes, the truth about Sophia's Indian blood is an even darker revelation than that of Reavis's own forgeries, which Mr. Grif exposes at the same time.

It is no coincidence that these revelations emerge simultaneously; the film's linking of Sophia's ethnicity with Reavis's forgery echoes the anxieties about the cultural boundaries of Arizona expressed in newspaper articles in Reavis's own day and reiterated in *The Baron of the Colorados*. Both are criminalized for being imposters, presuming that nonwhite people had no claim to or role within the new state. In this light, instead of masking the complexities that defined territorial Arizona, *The Baron of Arizona*'s insertion of a Hollywood romance that actually serves to underscore the tensions that defined the multiethnic society.

Though at first *The Baron of Arizona* seems like a campy story about a dashing criminal and the woman who saved him from his own moral failings, in telling their story, the film also tells the story of territorial Arizona's own complex relationship with its many inhabitants and their claims to the land. Reavis's ideological connection to the Anglo settlers, as well as the linking of his forgeries to Sophia's Indian blood, defies Reavis's criminalization and the settlers' victimization. By the end of the film, the border that divides Reavis from the settlers and Sophia from her inheritance becomes increasingly porous, raising many doubts about who contributed to Arizona's statehood and what role they would play in its future.

IV. Searching for Sophia: (Rewriting) History Repeats Itself

Both *The Baron of Arizona* and *The Baron of the Colroados* shy away from addressing the most unsettling part of the Baron of Arizona history, not the making and unmaking of the Peralta Grant but the making and unmaking of the grantee, Sophia. Only three years before *The Baron of Arizona* was released, in 1947 the *Saturday Evening Post* published an article about the "Red Baron." On the front page of the article there appeared a picture of Sophia (figure 3.3) accompanied by the caption, "Carmelita, the illiterate kitchen drudge who fully believed Reavis that she was descended from Spanish kings, heiress to titles and vast lands" (Kelland 22). Over fifty years after the territorial Arizona press discredited Sophia for being "Reavis's half-breed wife," *The Saturday Evening Post* continues in the same tradition. Newspaper articles, the novel, and the film pity and protect the Anglo settlers, but none discuss Sophia as the ultimate victim of Reavis's plot.



Figure 3.3: "Carmelita" from "The Red Baron of Arizona, *The Saturday Evening Post* 220.15 (1947).

While Sophia as legal claimant is everywhere in the archives, the many court papers that bear her name offer only glimpses of who she really was and where she actually came from. The elusivity of Sophia says volumes about her own position and the position of women like her in territorial Arizona. As Ann Stoler notes in her book *Along the Archival Grain*, "Transparency is not what archival collections are known for" (Stoler 8). We of course want to know more about her, about what she thought about James Reavis once he was exposed as a fraud, about what she thought of territorial Arizona, to which she had no connection. The archival traces she left behind are just enough to recover an alternate history, a multi-ethnic history, that was even in her own time being rewritten around her.

Today, Arizona again finds itself at the center of a plot to rewrite history. Arizona's controversial immigration law, SB1070, is built on an *implicit* rewriting of history that, like the Homestead Act and many other U.S. laws before it, seeks to suppress if not erase the multiethnic and multilayered history of the state. The passing of SB 1070 was quickly followed by the passing of HB 2281, the state's ban on ethnic studies, a bill that requires an *explicit* rewriting of history through banning knowledge that would undermine or question the underpinnings of the new immigration law. By putting these contemporary pieces of legislation in the context of the nineteenth-century case of the Baron of Arizona, we see them not as exceptional, but rather as part of a longstanding logic of rewriting history within the state, within the Southwest, and within the nation. It is my hope that by examining case studies like the Baron of Arizona we will help expose the long roots of this practice, see how it has operated in the past, and better understand how to resist its employment in the present.

Conclusion:
The Consequences of Forgetting: Remembering Arizona's History, Rethinking Its Future

"History lets Arizona stalk us through its past."

--Thomas Sheridan *Arizona: A History*

"The past is never dead. It's not even past."

--William Faulkner *Requiem for a Nun*

The people living within the boundaries of what would become one of the last states to join the Union experienced remarkable political, economic, and social shifts in the years that separated the end of the U.S.-Mexico War from the incorporation of Arizona into the United States of America. In its sixty-four year territorial period, Arizona transitioned from an isolated outpost on the northernmost part of the Mexican frontier to an increasingly important part of the modernizing U.S. West. Between 1848 and 1912 the population increased, the demographics changed, the economy evolved, and the infrastructure expanded. Native Americans who previously dealt with other tribal nations and the Mexican government now had to grapple with a new state power and a new group of settlers. Mexicans-now-Americans transitioned from one nation to another, incorporating their small but established society into an entirely different culture. Anglos moved into the territory in ever-increasing numbers, bringing regional U.S. differences and cultural expectations with them. Together they experienced, influenced, and reacted to territorial Arizona's radical transformation.

The three microhistories that are the focus of each of the preceding chapters do not capture all of the transformations that took place during Arizona's territorial period, nor do they offer a comprehensive picture of how Native Americans, Mexican-

Americans, and Anglos experienced and understood these transformations. Geronimo's narrative, while important, is also exceptional. Most Apache warriors did not appear in newspapers across the country, go to the World's Fair, or dictate their own autobiographies. Zander's essay, while valuable, is also conciliatory. The unresolved contradictions at the heart of her essay cause the reader to question how other Mexican-Americans in Tempe and throughout the state felt about the increasing discrimination and division within their communities, and whether or not they would consider themselves to be Arizona pioneers. The case of the Baron of Arizona, while instructive, is also outlandish. Reavis's plot was so bizarre, so far removed from reality, that it is difficult to ascertain what parts are true and what aspects are false. Especially with respect to Sophia, it is almost impossible to know where she came from, how he found her, what the nature of their relationship was, or how she internalized her own imagined identity. All three cases provoke more questions than provide answers about the people living in Arizona in the period immediately prior to statehood.

However, even in their limited scope, these microhistories do contest the implicit historical assumptions that underpin contemporary legislation like SB 1070 and HB 2281 by demonstrating that Arizona has never been composed of a homogeneous, much less an Anglo community. Diversity is and has always been central to the space that is now called Arizona. Over twenty different tribal nations called Arizona home before any European stepped foot within the territory. When the Spanish arrived, they mixed with the different tribal nations and created even more complexity that only increased after Mexican Independence. When the U.S.-Mexico War ended and Arizona became

Arizona, the Anglo settlers that came to the territory added to an already diverse mix of peoples, languages, and customs.

This history of diversity seems to be at odds with the exclusionary policies that have of late become synonymous with Arizona. Senate Bill 1070, aimed at curbing undocumented immigration into the state, employs the same anachronistic logic that informed the plots of *The Baron of the Colorados* and *The Baron of Arizona*, painting white Arizonans as natives and everyone else as invaders or intruders within the state. Likewise, House Bill 2281, designed to eradicate ethnic studies courses in Arizona, actively erases all nonwhite history and culture, promoting the very same historical myopia that both Geronimo and Zander denounced one hundred years earlier in their narratives. Taken together, the histories of Geronimo, Zander, and the Baron of Arizona demonstrate that these laws, though popular, are based on a very distorted version of Arizona history.

The hyper mediation and manipulation of history and its resulting consequences have been central to this study. The rhetorical vanishing of tribal nations throughout the United States facilitated the usurpation of their land as well as their forced removal to reservations. Likewise, the forgetting of the U.S.-Mexico War and the subsequent transfer of nearly half of Mexico's territory to the U.S. enabled the second-class citizenship of Mexican-Americans throughout the nation. The concept of Manifest Destiny justified U.S. imperial exploits both inside and outside the continent, authorizing the physical and cultural conquest of many different peoples including but not limited to Native Americans and Mexican-Americans in the Southwest.

The preceding chapters also highlighted the possibility for resisting this physical and cultural conquest in the form of counter-narratives. In Chapter 1, Geronimo and Silko responded to the physical and cultural displacement and dispossession of Native Americans in Arizona in *Geronimo: His Own Story* and *Almanac of the Dead* and *Gardens in the Dunes*. In Chapter 2, Zander responded to the ignorance and erasure of the important role Mexican-Americans played in establishing the state in "The Life of an Arizona Pioneer." In Chapter 3, while *The Baron of the Colorados* and *The Baron of Arizona* did not overtly question Anglo settlement within the Southwest, the subtext of both the novel and the film point to the undeniable complexity at the heart of Arizona history. In all cases, by recovering aspects of Arizona history that were either ignored or actively erased, the narratives also undermine the displacement of and discrimination against Native Americans and Mexican-Americans within the state.

While Arizona has been the focus of this dissertation, the hyper mediation and manipulation of history as well as the impact of creating, maintaining, and disseminating counter-narratives are not unique to the state. National polls show majority support for laws like SB 1070 and HB 2281, demonstrating that these issues are not solely of interest to Arizonans. Contrary to talking points on both the right and the left, the state is not an exception to be emulated or eradicated, but rather a bellwether for national trends. Because of its central role, Arizona has here served as a flashpoint from which to examine the conditions and consequences of U.S. expansion, not only in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but also today.

In the preceding pages, Arizona also served as an important case study to highlight the very real consequences of historical forgetting, as well as the promising

possibilities of creating and sharing narratives that counter that forgetting. Although the national media coverage tends to focus only on Arizona's discriminatory policies, there are many artists and activists challenging those policies through their work today. If examining Arizona's territorial period has taught us anything, it should be that racial and ethnic categories, as well as borders of inclusion and exclusion, are above all mutable. How artists and activists are currently working to change them is the subject of the Epilogue.

Epilogue:
Todos Somos Arizona: Moving from Hate to Hope in Arizona and Beyond

"Though large-scale protests against SB 1070 had once lined the capital streets with more than a hundred thousand ralliers and then faltered, Pearce, Brewer, Arpaio, and Horne had no idea that their actions would give rise to a game-changing shift in Latino activism and electoral involvement, newfound alliances and civil rights movements, and to the rebirth of a progressive tradition of activism, to reclaim the state from its extremist interlopers—or, rather, to bring Arizona back as a state in the union."

--Jeff Biggers *State Out of the Union: Arizona and the Final Showdown Over the American Dream*

"TODOS SOMOS ARIZONA"

--¡Alto Arizona!

Though they received far less coverage in the media, Arizona's artists and activists began challenging SB 1070's racist and exclusionary logic in their work from the moment Governor Brewer signed the bill into law. National media coverage on both sides tended to focus on the merits of the law itself, with outlets leaning to the right celebrating its strict enforcement of federal immigration policy and outlets leaning to the left decrying its brazen disregard for constitutional protections and human rights. For the most part, neither side focused on the immediate outcry and resistance to SB 1070 that evolved into a fully-fledged political movement within Arizona itself.

Though SB 1070 was a state law, not everyone in the state supported it, a nuance that many opponents neglected to see. While some opponents of the law became allies in the struggle to overturn it, others failed to make a distinction between Arizona and SB 1070, dismissing all Arizonans as incapable of or uninterested in reforming the state. This blanket dismissal of the state became a major failure of the national opposition to SB 1070, in effect silencing the work of many Arizonans who actively resisted the ideological position the law represented. By silencing the state's dissenting voices, those

who may have thought of themselves as allies in the larger struggle to protect human rights and eliminate discrimination actually reproduced the same oppression they denounced; ironically, they made the Arizona that SB 1070 desired to create a reality by erasing Arizona's internal resistance and accepting that the entire state was unequivocally racist and exclusionary.

In response to this erasure, in this Epilogue I survey the important work of visual artists, filmmakers, and political activists that is currently redefining Arizona by foregrounding the state's complex history and affirming its multiethnic identity. The strategy that these artists and activists employ is dual pronged, both contesting the logic that underpins SB 1070 and HB 2281 as well as creating and claiming a more inclusive identity for the state. First, their work contests the historical and ideological assumptions behind Arizona's controversial immigration and education reform, showing that despite the political rhetoric surrounding both measures, they neither protect nor benefit any of Arizona's citizens. Second, their work creates and claims a different Arizona by asserting the human dignity of all its residents and imagining the promising future an inclusive state would afford for everyone. While many on both sides now associate Arizona with SB 1070 and HB 2281's message of hate, in their work these artists and activists are redefining the state, replacing that message of hate with a counter narrative of hope.

I. Redefining Arizona's Image: Visual Artists and the ¡Alto Arizona! Campaign

Immediately after the passing of SB 1070, Puente, a grass roots community-based organization in Phoenix, launched an anti-SB 1070 campaign they called ¡Alto Arizona! The campaign was designed to create pushback to the Arizona legislature and its bold

new law, literally telling the state lawmakers to halt their racist agenda. ¡Alto Arizona! quickly became the face of the opposition to SB 1070 and later HB 2281, organizing protests and documenting abuses to challenge the laws. Unlike other organizations, ¡Alto Arizona! reached out from within Arizona to activists and artists across the country, locating the epicenter of not only the discriminatory policies but also the resistance to those policies within the state itself.

As part of their campaign, ¡Alto Arizona! put out a call to artists inside and outside the state to take part in what they called creative resistance. As discussed throughout this dissertation, cultural texts can play a key role in critiquing and expanding ideas about citizenship and belonging, intervening in these debates on an ideological level. According to visual artist and activist Favianna Rodríguez, in Arizona the first task at hand for immigrant rights activists today is to reframe the immigration debate, starting with redefining the immigrant. Much of the success of the anti-immigrant movement stems from its fomentation of the belief that immigrants are corrupt, conniving, and dangerous. In Rodríguez's eyes, art can be a powerful tool to "expose and critique" this stereotypical and sensationalized depiction of the threatening immigrant, as well as offer a counter-definition of how immigration positively impacts communities (Brooks). In order to mobilize and organize activists like Rodríguez, ¡Alto Arizona! challenged artists in Arizona and throughout the country to use their work to redefine the motivation for and impact of immigration, countering the division, fear, and confusion that SB 1070 created with "unity, pride and identity" (*Altoarizona*).

Much of that division, fear, and confusion sprang from the intentional mediation and manipulation of Arizona's political, social, and economic reality by those in power.

Proponents of SB 1070 claimed that a sudden flood of undocumented immigrants was the direct cause of the majority of the state's woes including a rise in crime and an economic depression. This characterization, however, was an anachronistic obscuring not only of Arizona's multiethnic and multinational history but also of the migration and mobility that has long characterized the state's border region. Just as the Anglo settlers in *The Baron of Arizona* had to rewrite history in order to paint themselves as the true Arizona natives, SB 1070's proponents whitewashed Arizona history in order to make their claim to citizenship the only legitimate one.

Through their creative resistance, the ¡Alto Arizona! artists held SB 1070 supporters accountable for their manipulation and mediation of Arizona history, in their artwork affirming their right to write history. Just as Geronimo and Zander cultivated unity, pride, and identity in their counter-narratives of Arizona's Native American and Mexican-American past, the art that emerged in protest to SB 1070 countered the law's anachronistic anti-immigrant rhetoric. On the "About" page on the ¡Alto Arizona! website, the group affirms:

> [W]hile Brewer and Sheriff Joe Arpaio may have written themselves into the history books by supporting this repugnant law, they will appear as nothing more than a footnote. Indeed, this chapter of history will be written by the millions of immigrants who assert their place in the American story like all others who came before them. This chapter will be written by a new generation of fearless leaders. It will be written by all of us (*Altoarizona*).

¡Alto Arizona! carries on in the tradition of narratives like Geronimo's and Zander's, challenging the mediated and manipulated versions of Arizona history that deny the role that Native Americans and Mexican-Americans played throughout the state's history in order to deny them rights. Though the national media on both sides equated Arizona's

new law with Arizona itself, groups like ¡Alto Arizona! pushed back against this collapsing of policy with people and demonstrated that not all Arizonans were pleased with the direction the state appeared to be headed in. Indeed, many Arizonans were taking back their right to write Arizona history on their own terms.

Supporters of SB 1070 tried to discredit the artists and activists who opposed the law, misconstruing their affirmation of rights as a declaration of destruction. Supporters cited the large protests that began immediately after Brewer signed SB 1070 as evidence of the activists' insolence, anger, and anarchistic tendencies. However, the tone of the art that has emerged in response to SB 1070 is anything but destructive, instead becoming a constructive tool "to educate and bring people together" (*Altoarizona*). As the following examples demonstrate, the art that emerged as a result of ¡Alto Arizona!'s campaign not only resists exclusionary laws like SB 1070, it also offers a different epistemology from which to imagine a more just, vibrant community, both in and out of Arizona.

Much of the art responded to the criminalization and demonization of undocumented immigrants that construed them as a nameless, faceless threat to the individual and collective security of everyone in the state. Many elected officials participated in this rhetorical criminalization; in the debates leading up to SB 1070, Senator Ron Gould said "People are living in no-man's land. They're being attacked by foreign invaders. They're being killed by drug smugglers" ("Quotes"). Senator Thayer Verschoor blamed the federal government's refusal "to enforce immigration laws here, protect our borders, protect us from the criminals that are crossing our borders, who are killing our citizens, who are robbing their homes, invading their homes" ("Quotes"). Senator Sylvia Allen declared that if the federal government refused to protect its people,

then Arizona would have "to do something to protect citizens who live here" ("Quotes").

In these quotes, each senator foregrounds the safety and security of Arizona citizens, a safety and security that is in their eyes antithetical to undocumented immigration. They all rely on an us-versus-them logic, making Arizona's security contingent on the eradication of all undocumented immigrants who they characterize as "invaders," "drug smugglers," murderers, and thieves ("Quotes"). None of them consider the humanity of these undocumented immigrants, instead disregarding them as nothing more than criminals who threaten the physical and economic safety and security of Arizona's legitimate citizens.



Figure 4.1: Immigration Reform Now (Man). Ernesto Yerena. From altoarizona.com

In response to the dehumanization of undocumented immigrants, much of the protest art emphasized the humanity and dignity of all those living and working in

Arizona. A campaign quickly began to crystallize around the slogan "We Are Human," which appeared on signs distributed at marches and protests, such as this poster by artist Ernesto Yerena (figure 4.1). Many of the protests focused on section 2B of SB 1070, otherwise known as the racial profiling clause. The man pictured in this poster could likely fall into this reasonably suspicious category, as could any Latino in the state.

In the aftermath of SB 1070, status became the defining characteristic of anyone who looked like they could possibly be undocumented. Status, however, is not what defines the man in this poster. Instead, the sign he holds underlines his humanity, which has nothing to do with his legal relationship to the United States. It is from this position that he with raised fist demands immigration reform now, as well as an end to raids. By combining the "We Are Human" slogan with calls to reform immigration and stop the raids, this poster visually repositions the immigration debate as a matter of human rights, not legal rights. While SB 1070's provisions criminalized and dehumanized undocumented immigrants, this image reminds the viewer that undocumented people are, above all else, people.

One of the main talking points used to garner support for SB 1070 was the issue of demographics or the assertion that, unless Arizona passed tougher legislation, the invasion of undocumented people would continue to flood the state and cause an irreversible demographic shift in the population. This led to a rhetorical criminalization of undocumented families that took many forms, including the denunciation of so-called anchor babies and the rejection of the Dream Act. In this, another protest poster by Yerena (figure 4.2), he challenges the criminalization of the family by focusing on the portrayal of children as a threat to Arizona society. Again, as was the case with the

previous poster, the child's status is not disclosed, nor is it the focus of the image. Instead, the "We Are Human" slogan here underscores the fact that this child is first and foremost a person who, like the man in the previous image, with clenched fist asserts his right to human dignity regardless of legal status. The image puts a face to the nameless, faceless anchor babies and DACA applicants so criminalized by supporters of SB 1070. While it may be easy to reject these children in abstract debates about immigration and education reform, it is more difficult to confront the faces of these hopeful and often hard-working, driven students and tell them they have no place within Arizona society.



Figure 4.2: Immigration Reform Now (Child). Ernesto Yerena. From altoarizona.com

Indeed, many protest posters visually affirm that these supposedly threatening undocumented immigrants are peaceful people who would add to as opposed to take away from the state. Although the clenched fists in the two preceding posters from the

"We Are Human" campaign are a necessary response to the dehumanizing criminalization of undocumented immigrants, their denunciation must be coupled with a positive declaration. Protest posters like this one by artist Anthony Molina (figure 4.3) consciously cultivate a non-combative tone to emphasize that immigration reform should be constructive and not destructive, focused on building and not destroying community. This image also shows a child, but the clenched fist in the previous poster here becomes a peace sign. The child's smiling face and peace sign provide a different context for the demands to end exclusionary policies and practices, to "STOP SB1070," "STOP THE RAIDS," and "STOP CRIMINALZATION." While supporters' claimed that implementing laws like SB 1070 was the only way to ensure safety, this image rebuts that argument by visually connecting an end to discriminatory laws with the establishment of peace. According to this visual, including instead of excluding is what will create a better Arizona.

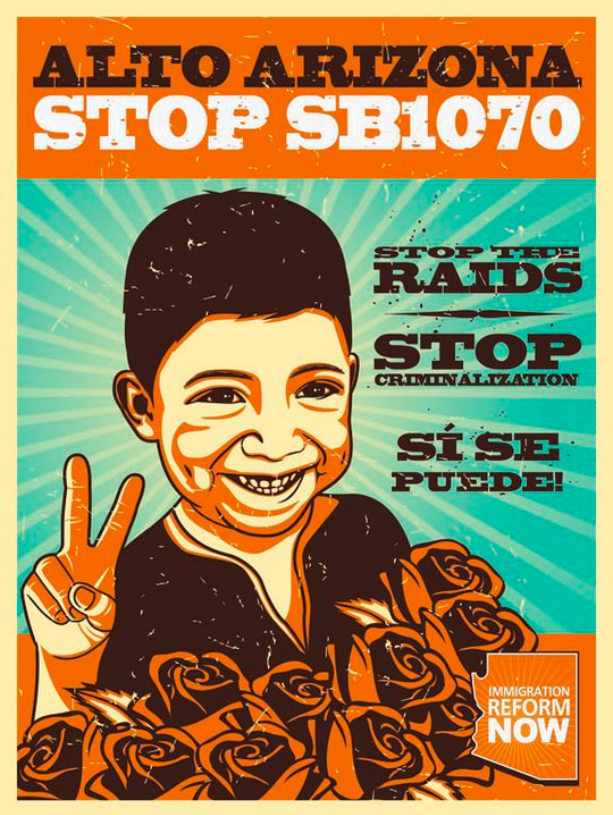


Figure 4.3: Alto Arizona. Anthony Molina. From altoarizona.com

Creating a better Arizona also requires those who are against discrimination, dehumanization, and the denial of basic human rights to take ownership of the state. This image by artist Favianna Rodríguez (figure 4.4) does just that, reclaiming Arizona from within with the phrase "LEGALIZED HATE OUT OF MY STATE." Contrary to SB 1070's stated goal of immigration enforcement through attrition, the attrition Rodríguez calls for here is of all those who would support the implementation of "JUAN CROW" policies within the state. Just as the supporters are numerous, so too are the opponents;

the individual woman is here joined by a row of protesters who together declare, “WE WILL NOT COMPLY.” They join her in solidarity, reclaiming Arizona for all.



Figure 4.4: Stop Juan Crow Now! Favianna Rodríguez. From altoarizona.com

Likewise, this image by artist Joel García (figure 4.5) also outlines how others can and should join with Arizona in solidarity. The image plays on the Arizona state flag, which features red and yellow rays in the top half radiating from a gold star in the

center and a solid blue background in the bottom half. Here, García has replaced the star at the center of Arizona's flag with a globe, demonstrating that discrimination is not unique to one state or even one nation. This discrimination is visually manifested in the globe's brown color, which challenges the racial discrimination that SB 1070 represents while at the same time suggesting that this discrimination is not unique to Arizona but pervasive throughout the world. García pairs this image with the phrase "TODOS SOMOS ARIZONA," both providing a warning to those who may think their community is untouched by racism as well as positively redefining Arizona by claiming the state for everyone. Instead of being defined by its exclusionary policies, this image reclaims Arizona as an inclusive space defined by its multiethnic and multinational population.



Figure 4.5: Todos Somos Arizona. Joel García. From altoarizona.com

II. Redesigning Arizona's Classrooms: *Precious Knowledge* and the Fight for Ethnic Studies

Artists and activists also rallied in resistance to HB 2281, Arizona's ban on ethnic studies. It is not surprising that Arizona's immigration reform was quickly followed by education reform; since the mediation and manipulation of Arizona history was central to bolstering the arguments in favor of stricter immigration laws and enforcement, the teaching of that history had to be changed accordingly. In Tucson, the Mexican-American Studies program exposed students to the histories that were marginalized or denied in the debate surrounding SB 1070. Unwilling to allow this contestation of its new policy, the state banned the program and the books it used.

For those who thought Arizona was extremist before, the passing of HB 2281 secured its reputation as a police state with Fahrenheit 451-level paranoia. HB 2281 outlawed courses that "promote the overthrow of the United States government, promote resentment toward a race or class of people, are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group, [and] advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals" ("HB 2281"). The most fascinating aspect of the law was its final prohibition, that of "advocat[ing] ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals" ("HB 2281"). The desire to isolate students in order to neutralize the threat they posed to the state was disconcerting on the one hand, but on the other hand, it also demonstrated that solidarity was precisely the strategy with which to undermine the logic underlying Arizona's retrograde immigration and education reform. The law's very wording outlined its opponents resistance; students and teachers from across the country

joined with the Tucson Mexican-American Studies program to denounce the law and call for its overturning.

Just as ¡Alto Arizona!'s anti-SB 1070 artwork rejected and replaced the Arizona legislature's nativist rhetoric with a more inclusive message, opponents of HB 2281 used visual art and film to question the danger ethnic studies posed to students and the state, emphasizing the positive impact Tucson's Mexican-American Studies program had on its students and their Tucson community. In this poster by Yerena (figure 4.6), he sets Francis Bacon's famous "Knowledge is Power" in the context of Arizona's ethnic studies ban. In this image, Yerena questions the kind of threat that ethnic studies poses to the students and the state. If knowledge is power, then the real goal of the ban is not to protect students but rather to disempower them. These students, however, have the heart and the *ganas* to fight for their courses and fight for their right to access the power gained through education.



Figure 4.6: Knowledge is Power. Ernesto Yerena. From altoarizona.com

The documentary *Precious Knowledge* similarly reframes Arizona's education debate by redefining both the intention and the impact of ethnic studies. Through film, *Precious Knowledge* documents the human element that was absent from the legislature's debates about the merits of ethnic studies. The film follows students in the Tucson Unified School District's Mexican-American Studies program before, during, and after the state superintendent together with the state legislature banned their classes. The focus is on the teachers' pedagogical methods and the students' reactions to and reflections on the courses, making plain that Horne and Huppenthal's demonization of the Mexican-American Studies program is completely unjustified. If anything, the film captures the positive impact the courses have on retention, college enrollment, and personal fulfillment and suggests that they should be replicated in other places.

The scenes that show the Mexican-American studies teachers in their classrooms contest the descriptions offered by Horne and Huppenthal about their radical and subversive agenda. The film focuses primarily on two teachers, English teacher Curtis Acosta and history teacher José González, conducting their senior-level Mexican-American studies literature and history courses, respectively. Following the criticisms leveled against the courses, one would expect them to be filled with incendiary political propaganda and indoctrination exercises. In a 2007 open letter to the citizens of Tucson, Horne quoted a former teacher and enemy of the program, John Ward,[1] who declared, "the whole inference and tone" of the classes "was anger" (Horne). According to Ward, the teachers were "vehemently anti-Western culture" and "vehemently opposed to the

[1] Horne makes sure to note that John Ward "despite his name, is Hispanic" (nau.edu)

United States and its power," a message they used to incite students by telling them "they are victims and that they should be angry and rise up" (Horne).

Contrary to Ward's characterization and accusations, there is no evidence of hate or anger in the classes. Though both teachers encourage students to think critically about power in all forms, neither takes a stance against the United States or the West, instead encouraging students to become civically engaged and come to their own conclusions about state power. Though the teachers do encourage direct action when their classes are threatened, protesting at a local School Board meeting along with their students, the message they send certainly does not imply that the students are victims. Quite the opposite, the teachers continually emphasize that the knowledge the students have prevents their victimization by empowering them.

The students respond strongly to this message of empowerment, a message that typically would not reach the kinds of students likely to enroll in the Mexican-American studies program. The students these courses attract are the ones who are disempowered by the Arizona and U.S. education system; the film focuses primarily on four students, all of whom have a forty-eight percent chance of dropping out of their high school before graduation ("Precious Knowledge"). By the end of the documentary, all four have gradated high school and one attends college at the University of Arizona. More importantly, the students are fundamentally changed by their experience taking the ethnic studies classes, noticeably more confident, more engaged with their local and state government, and more active in their local community. In the film, the only negative impact the ethnic studies classes have on the students is the emotional toll they experience when their classes are banned.

Contrary to the demonization of both the teachers and the material they present in the Tucson Mexican-American studies program, the classroom scenes emphasize their dedication to the students and their learning. The documentary reframes the program not as an effort to indoctrinate but rather an opportunity to develop critical thinking skills that allow the students to analyze the complexities that lie at the heart not only of Arizona history but U.S. history, politics, and policy. As the students interact with the material, they do not grow to hate or reject the U.S., instead developing a more nuanced idea of how the nation operates and what their role in it might be as active and engaged citizens. Though there are scenes that show the students protesting and participating in contentious school board meetings, the overall tone of *Precious Knowledge* is positive. As the title suggests, the knowledge that the students possess is something they treasure and the ethnic studies courses leave a lasting, positive impact on their lives. Far from enticing the students to become angry or resentful, the program encourages them to be thoughtful, reflective, and responsible members of society.

III. Reinvigorating Arizona's Electorate: Team Awesome and the Fight for the Latino Vote

Though the movements that developed in response to SB 1070 and HB 2281 were powerful, mobilizing in response to the legislature's racist agenda would never be as effective or create the same structural change as transforming the legislature itself. Calling themselves "Team Awesome," a group of young high school and college students saw this need and began a voter registration drive to mobilize Arizona's Latino voters. They canvassed Latino neighborhoods, telling potential voters that they had the power to

elect legislators who would not allow laws like SB 1070 and HB 2281 to pass in the first place.

They began with the campaign of Phoenix city council hopeful Daniel Valenzuela, a firefighter who had no experience in politics. Together, Valenzuela and Team Awesome teamed up to execute an innovative campaign strategy: creating new voters instead of winning over established ones. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Team Awesome and their volunteers who knocked on 72,000 doors in the middle of a scorching hot summer, in Valenzuela's district "Latino participation jumped almost 500 percent" with a citywide increase of "300 percent" (Sabaté). With the help and organizing efforts of Team Awesome, Valenzuela won an unlikely victory in Phoenix's west side, which is 60 percent Latino, becoming only the second Latino to serve on the Phoenix city council (Sabaté).

The nationally unprecedented success of Team Awesome instantly made them a key player in local and state politics, even drawing the attention of the Obama 2012 campaign. In the run up to the 2012 elections, local political candidates began actively courting the group in hopes of garnering their support; but, the team was aware of their political power and wary of throwing their support behind candidates without first making sure they would take concrete steps to help the Latino community once elected. After multiple interviews, they agreed to organize around the campaigns of Richard Carmona for U.S. Senate as well as Paul Penzone for Maricopa County Sheriff, the office held by the infamous Sheriff Joe Arpaio (Sabaté). The team's political importance was affirmed when the Obama 2012 campaign came to Arizona, a red state with a significant Mormon population, "to learn from their success and replicate it" (Sabaté). The

Carmona, Penzone, and Obama campaigns' desire to work with Team Awesome demonstrated that mobilizing the Latino vote was now a necessary component of democratic candidates' bids for office both in and out of Arizona.

The strength of Team Awesome lies in the dedication of their volunteers, who tirelessly knock on doors and contact voters in order to convince them that participating in the electoral process matters, and could change their lives. The Team Awesome students know firsthand how politics impacted their personal lives; most of them are undocumented, and have lost job opportunities and college scholarships thanks to the failure of the Dream Act (Browne). The team knows that if different leaders had been elected, their college and career ambitions might have been realized. Even though they are unable to vote themselves, they do not give up on or opt out of the electoral process, instead registering people who can vote for them. As Tony Valdovinos, a Team Awesome core organizer, told a Phoenix New Times reporter, "This summer, I was holding ballots, something that I couldn't do. I probably voted 300 times with all the people who turned out after I knocked on their door" (Alonzo).

The team did not have as much success in the 2012 elections as they did in the Phoenix city council race. Carmona lost to popular Arizona politician Jeff Flake, a descendant of one of the original Mormon pioneers to the state. Penzone lost to Arpaio whose popularity continues despite mounting protests to his immigration raids as well as a federal investigation into allegations of corruption within his office. Obama also predictably lost Arizona to Romney who appealed to the state's conservatives and its large Mormon population. At the end of the 2012 election cycle, Arizona remained red.

Despite the disappointing losses, the 2012 elections are certainly not the last of Team Awesome. They are already joining with other activists to organize a recall of Sheriff Joe, inspired by the successful and unprecedented recall of former Senate President and SB 1070-supporter Russell Pearce. Transforming the state cannot happen overnight, and the Carmona and Penzone campaigns were much more ambitious than that of Valenzuela. If Obama and U.S. legislators deliver the immigration overhaul and reform they have promised, those reforms will almost definitely make the Latino vote an even more important political consideration. Going forward, Team Awesome will have its eye on these national changes, especially the future of the Dream Act and other paths to citizenship not just for themselves as students but also for their families.

More than immigration or education, SB 1070 and HB 2281 were above all else about fear. Arizona's controversial immigration and education reform measures revealed a fear of change: economic change, demographic change, and political change. Nevertheless, fending off these changes with retrograde legislation is unrealistic. Though some argue that SB 1070 and HB 2281 will usher in a new era of exclusionary policies within Arizona, it seems more likely that they will be remembered merely as a last ditch effort to stave off inevitable shifts in the state's population and popular opinion. Supporters of both laws, however, should not be too dismayed; if there is anything for them to learn from the art and activism that has emerged in response to both SB 1070 and HB 2281, it is that the change they fear does not have to be threatening. It might even lead to a better Arizona.

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