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Con Sus Calzones Al Réves, With his Underpants on Inside Out: Cultural Economy and Patriarchy in Pablo de la Guerra's Letters to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra, 1851-1872

by Gabriel Gutiérrez
Loyola Marymount University

Occasional Paper No. 60
August 1999

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Authors Note:

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Con Sus Calzones Al Revés, With his Underpants on Inside Out: Cultural Economy and Patriarchy in Pablo de la Guerra's Letters to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra, 1851-1872

"No tengo más calzoncillos que los que tengo puestos y están tán mugrosos que me dan asco pero los labo por no quedar á raíz. Te mando todo el lino grueso que he podido hal - lar y espero que en el retorno de la diligencia me mandes aunque sea un par para mudarme, no olvides esto."

[I don't have underpants other than those I am wearing and they are so filthy they disgust me, but I wash them to keep myself from being bare. I send you all the thick linen I could find and expect that on the next stage-coach you send at least one pair so I can change, don't forget this.]

– Pablo de la Guerra to
Josefa Moreno de la Guerra,
Los Angeles, April 30, 1865

Introduction

When he wrote the passage above to his wife, Josefa Moreno, Pablo de la Guerra probably did not expect that more than a century later historians would be mulling over the more personal and earthly realities of his much celebrated public life. A politician whose career spanned the Mexican and Euroamerican periods in Alta, Calif., he is the subject of a number of articles and one dissertation. Most of these studies deal with his civic contributions and those of the de la Guerra family. Indeed, de la Guerra's letters to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra provide a rare window through which one can explore the microcosm of family, gender, and generational relations within the context of political, economic, and cultural turbulence, which followed the American conquest and annexation of California. Because of his role as a statesman, Pablo was an absentee husband, father, and businessman who heavily relied on Josefa in order to complete his socially constructed and expected duties as a patriarch.

However, three scholars have looked into the private, domestic life Pablo shared with his family, and Josefa in particular.[1] Still, little is known about Josefa. Santa Barbara Mission Archivist and Franciscan historian Maynard Geiger wrote that Santa Barbarans should be interested in Pablo's letters to Josefa because "they concern a well-known and highly esteemed citizen of a famous family."[2]

The belief by traditional historians that only writers make history is apparent in Geiger's depiction of Josefa as "not a letter writer." He describes Pablo as "a devoted husband and father who would have much preferred to spend his time at home with his family." Like other traditional historians, Geiger devotes his own brief text to a chronology of Pablo's life while implying that Josefa plays three roles as recipient of Pablo's letters: wife, mother, and daughter. These roles, those of wife and daughter in particular, are marginalized by Geiger's failure to elaborate on Josefa's contributions as a historical actor. Thus, we learn little about her, her life choices, or her decision to forego written communication with Pablo. This conventional interpretation refers to Pablo and "his children," but does not mention Josefa as the mother.[3] While it is understood that she mothered their children, discussion by Geiger of Josefa's motherhood is non-existent outside of Pablo's letters, which referred to Josefa caring for their children. Thus, Josefa's subjective historical agency, as expressed through her contributions as a household and business manager, is neglected.

Historian Joseph Cassidy remarks, "Though Pablo is remembered mainly for his public life, no account could be complete without some aspects of his private life."[4] Yet, he proceeds to devote only the last three and a half pages of his study to it. According to Cassidy, the letters "never referred to political affairs. Rather, he [Pablo] wrote only of family and household matters."[5] Thus, Cassidy concludes that Pablo's public and private affairs were mutually exclusive. He describes Josefa as a woman who, "from the time she left her San Juan Bautista home to marry Pablo, knew only the sheltered comfortable life in the large de la Guerra household."[6]

Cassidy presumes that the "sheltered" Josefa was neither willing nor capable of interacting in social affairs because she "spoke only Spanish. Consequently, she viewed a stay in Los Angeles, with [Pablo] in court most of the time, as too abrupt a change for her."[7] Thus, Cassidy attempts to define what he perceives as Josefa's lack of historical agency by merely guessing that she was passive and even frightful of public interaction.[8] On at least one occasion, Pablo wrote, "Next Sunday the last function will take place at the theater. Oh, if you could come next Friday, we could see a performance in Spanish together."[9] While not exploring other possible motives, which caused Josefa to stay in Santa Barbara or at other nearby family ranches, Cassidy assumes that Los Angeles was thoroughly Anglicized just 15 years after the conquest. An examination of cultural ramifications of the conquest may have alleviated this misinterpretation.

A Master's thesis by historian Helen Louise Pubols sketches the de la Guerra home life, but does not thoroughly examine the life that Pablo and Josefa shared. Pubols does not examine the dynamics of Pablo and Josefa's relationship as depicted in the letters. Her study was intended to be used as a reference work for the Santa Barbara Trust for Historical Preservation and examined the 106 years in which the de la Guerra family possessed the Casa de la Guerra.[10] Her interpretation of this relationship partially accepts those of earlier studies. Like Geiger, she writes that Josefa was "not a great letter writer."[11] Thus, the dependence on the written record by these historians accepts Pablo's descriptions of Josefa and renders her a deficient historical actor. This characterization notwithstanding, Pubols devotes an appendix and a portion of her text to a case regarding the murder of one Indian servant by another in the de la Guerra kitchen. The court transcript describes Josefa's capture of the murderer as she "ran and caught him by the hair and threw him down and shut the door" so that another servant could further restrain him.[12] In this sequence of events, Josefa, like women and men of her time, responded to daily activities and situations and in the process created history. This is a departure from Geiger and Cassidy's interpretations.

Pubols argues that since its establishment, the Casa de la Guerra served as a symbol of the cultural vanguard in Santa Barbara until the Casa's steady decline in the last quarter of the 19th Century. She writes that in the pre-Euroamerican conquest year, the de la Guerras placed themselves at the forefront of cultural transformation "with a display of foreign goods from Hispanic America, Europe, and Asia," while in post-conquest California, "the cultural leaders surrounded themselves with the latest in American Victoriana."[13] According to Pubols, the women of the family, more so than the men, acted as cultural transformers through their tastes for external or otherwise foreign goods. She describes the consumption chain in the post-conquest era as a "clumsy" arrangement in which Josefa or her brother-in-law Antonio María made long distance requests for commodities from Pablo, and he in turn would either misunderstand these requests or simply not find the items. She writes that whether these items were acquired or not was not as significant as the family "want[ing] these fashions in the first place."[14] Thus, Pubols portrays Pablo as a bumbling incompetent who was incapable or unable to facilitate the family's desire to "Americanize" itself. In this respect, Pubols maintains that the de la Guerra household stood as a symbol for cultural adaptation, and thus Americanization. While Pubols suggests that Pablo was incapable of handling Americanization and that the family were uncritical consumers, I argue that Pablo and Josefa's relationship demonstrated a combination of cultural adaptation and cultural production as a response to Euroamerican influences.

The ongoing negotiation for power and social positionality between Pablo and Josefa was a reactionary and pro-active dialogue that depended on their respective adjustments to external economic and political conditions. The fluctuating economy, which affected the de la Guerra consumer demands, also helped to produce cultural behavior by Pablo and Josefa different from what has heretofore been perceived. This study is an attempt to break from the Geiger, Cassidy, and Pubols' studies, which interpret Pablo's letters as a historical monologue in which there existed limited reciprocal complimentary and contradictory behavior between Pablo and Josefa. I examine the cultural economy of patriarchy as an interplay of a variety of themes, which are addressed in five sections.

The first section addresses cultural economy, patriarchy, and the family. It is concerned primarily with secondary sources and deals with definitions of terms and concepts that contextualize discussion for the following sections.

The second section entitled "Paternity, Maternity, Childrearing, and Household Management," describes the world of the de la Guerra household and attempts to contextualize their complex living arrangements, addressing Pablo's discursive assumptions about presumed authority as a patriarch.

The third section, entitled "Demystifying the Male Provider Role," attempts to demystify the illusions of economic dependency by Josefa and their children on Pablo by examining shifting consumption patterns and a fluctuating economy, which at times dictated which physiological, social, and cultural needs were to be nourished.

The fourth section, "The Patriarch of Manipulation, Guilting, and Pleading," addresses Pablo's passive-aggressive attempts to assert patriarchal privilege. Thus, patriarchy is examined as a process which is domineering, but also less confrontational at times. Patriarchy's lasting characteristic is understood in this section to be the ability to affect and instill particular patterns of behavior.

Finally, "The Intersection of 'Public'and 'Private' Space" re-examines the alleged separation of 'public' and 'private'spheres into male and female domains, as described by earlier scholars. It addresses Pablo's sexualization and devaluation of the experiences he shared concerning his 'public'life with Josefa. Moreover, this section re-examines the intersection of public and private space in Pablo and Josefa's relationship.

My approach is both thematic and chronological. In many cases, certain passages address interwoven themes and appear in more than one section. I examine these manifestations of patriarchy through an analysis of the inner-cultural attitudes and behavior toward gender and generational roles as well as consumption practices by and between Pablo, Josefa, and their children. Thus, while I recognize the establishment of Euroamerican hegemony during this post-conquest period, my discussion centralizes Pablo and Josefa as cultural mediators, not only with regard to external factors, but with one another. Before examining the letters some definitions are in order.

Cultural Economy, Patriarchy, and the Family

This study examines what could be called the *cultural economy of patriarchy* in the discourse of Pablo's letters to Josefa. While culture is multidimensional and the concept of "culture" has been addressed by cultural theorists with varying conclusions resulting, it is understood in this essay as the currency of ideology which manifests itself within the parameters of socially constructed behavioral expectations set by ideals and values of a given society. These socially constructed expectations espouse principles, ideals, and values which privilege the status quo and simultaneously marginalize the subaltern, resulting in what Antonio Gramsci called cultural hegemony.[15] Moreover, cultural economy denotes a departure from the reliance by critical race and feminist theorists on "tangible" categories of analysis that include race, class, and gender. While cultural economy embraces the structural consequences of physical (race), material (class) and biological (gender) analytic considerations, it builds on these to include intangible historical considerations, such as cultural behavior and ideological manifestations. Considering these intangible factors, one can determine how cultural behavior, however fluid and complex, functions as a manifestation of ideological constructs. Assessing such intangibles reconstructs the human agency of historical actors.

The notion that cultural behavior functions as the currency of ideology implies that a marketplace of ideals and ideology exists. However, such a marketplace was and remains devoid of the application of principles of *laissez faire*. The marketplace of ideals has been highly regulated and often contested and negotiated by competing elites who form the status quo.[16] Occasionally, marginal subjects in society venture into the mainstream to voice their position, complex and diverse as these are. Yet, as bell hooks reminds us, "to be in the margin is to be part of the whole but outside the main body."[17]

Patriarch is one of several venues in which power is derived and negotiated when not contested. It positions adult men in privilege in relations to women and children. Patriarchy is manifested along gender and generational considerations, and is both, cultural and universal but by no means static. In this particular case, the overbearing presence of patriarchal impera-

tive in the letters selected for discussion reveal that patriarchal ideals and expectations, like the fluidity of currency in a system of economic market exchange, were negotiated when not contested. While historians Geiger, Cassidy, and Pubols interpret Pablo's letters to Josefa as honorable expressions of one man's concern for family welfare, I interpret them as a forum in which patriarchy took many forms that ranged from socially constructed ideals and expectations to manipulation. Thus, the flexibility of patriarchal behavior denotes a response to others' written, spoken, or behavioral discourses. Patriarchy was not at all times an overtly domineering process. The fact that Pablo was the author of these letters should not suggest that he always remained the "initiator," and thus, the only historical agent. Some of Pablo's patriarchal characteristics depended on the initiation of dialogue by presumably invisible "others."

The allusions of patriarchy and lived experiences described in these letters reveal that culture was both an adaptive [reactive] and productive [pro-active] rejoinder to economic and political transformation on Pablo and Josefa's parts. The idea of cultural economy further attempts to shift from the standard analysis of "resistance and accommodation" to colonial forces, and localizes human interaction by emphasizing that conquered individuals in a colonizing process face not only their conqueror, but one another in the native hierarchical social order. More specifically, they face each other as collaborators and obstacles of social and cultural change and exchange. Thus, culture takes on economic functions through cultural interaction and negotiation for power. This is not an attempt to replace resistance and accommodation as strategies of response with conquest and domination or with categories of analysis, but is, instead, an effort to better understand individual choices by emphasizing intra-cultural behavior, particularly how and why it fluctuates along race, class, and gender lines.

Historians and literary critics grapple with questions of cultural transformation and its relation to economic and political imperialism.[18] In her introduction to *The New Cultural History*, historian Lynn Hunt states that by becoming increasingly interested in the history of culture, Marxists and Annalistes have been confronted with the notion that "economic and social relations are not prior to or determining of cultural ones; they are themselves fields of cultural practice and cultural production."[19] Thus, the new cultural history is an infusion of what French scholars call *mentalités*, which refers to the analysis of behavior, attitudes, and consciousness that when combined challenge earlier conclusions suggesting that a structuralist political economy provoked individual action.

Similarly, literary critic Edward Said writes that the process of imperialism occurred "beyond the level of economic laws and political decisions, and by predisposition, by the authority of recognizable cultural formations, by continuing consolidation within education, literature, and the visual and musical arts — were manifested at another very significant level (that of the national culture) which we have tended to sanitize as a realm of unchanging intellectual monuments, free from worldly affiliations."[20] Thus, Said speaks about how political decisions and economic laws were both initiated and consolidated by "cultural formation" in the process of imperialism. In this sense, culture functions in a manner which determines and monitors expectations for social behavior according to one's race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. Further, Said admonishes the acquiescence of scholars and others toward this "national culture" of "unchanging intellectual monuments [which are] free from worldly affiliations."[21] By remaining trivial, ideas become regurgitated and stagnant rather than critical and constantly changing. Put another way, social psychologist Gloria Romero reminds us that "students are encouraged, taught, and rewarded to expect the expected."[22] Moreover, by compiling non-critical pronouncements on the de la Guerras upon one another, Geiger, Cassidy, and Pubols, among others, simultaneously construct, reinforce, and resurrect Eurocentric ideals of male domination.

Non-traditionalist scholars have sought to remedy such short comings. Central to many of the various approaches by these scholars has been the study of a primary institution of cultural formation and socialization – the family. Methods and approaches to Chicano/a family research have (with few exceptions) remained ahistorical. Studies of Chicano/a families initially sought to dispel negative stereotypes and to challenge their depiction as homogenous and static institutions.[23] Lea Ybarra's essay "Empirical and Theoretical Developments in the Study of Chicano/a Families" outlined the progress of these works. She examined studies of Chicano/a families up to the 1970's. According to Ybarra, these studies

attributed sexual power imbalances to male domination, which resulted from what was perceived as an overpowering Chicano macho and a submissive and subordinate Chicana counterpart.[24] Further, by not examining bi-racial Chicano/a families, these studies thrived on the cultural deficiency model, explaining negative aspects as results of cultural problems, rather than examining in comparative fashion the universality of male domination. These studies depict Chicano behavior as central to the family, while Chicanas' behavioral practices were considered peripheral and were attributed to instinctive responses to male centrality. Ybarra attributes these generalizations and myths to the absence of analysis which considered factors such as socio-economic status, educational attainment and demographics.[25]

Ybarra refers to "reactive literature" of the late 1960's and early 1970's as the second stage in the development of Chicano family research. This stage includes a body of literature which was written predominately by Chicanos/as who challenged existing male-centered, ethnocentric works, yet did not provide new theoretical or methodological models.[26] Hence, in spite of its criticisms, this analysis was confined to paradigms set by predominately male Euroamerican scholars. This scholarship also includes community studies by historians, which sought to couch the Chicano experience within an "American context." These studies are limited to a periodization which commences with the Euroamerican conquest and occupation of northern Mexico.[27] By creating such a context, these scholars perpetuate the proverbial Euroamerican gauge which measures the adaptation, accommodation, acculturation, assimilation, and "progress" of Chicano/a families.

Concerned with presenting Chicanos/as as active historical participants, these historians portrayed men and women as wage earners who contributed to Euroamerica's industrialization and as reformist activists or philanthropists who sought to remedy social ills wrought by the irony of their proletarianization. In *Desert Immigrants*, historian Mario T. Garcia offers a brief discussion of the cultural ramifications that industrialization had on gender relations. He writes that women, especially daughters, by becoming wage earners to augment family income, were "Americanized." By the 1920's, "besides acquiring some new material and cultural tastes… young Mexican working women appear to have begun to exhibit a desire for greater independence from strict family practices."[28] Thus, Garcia equates "Americanization" with materialist accumulation and "greater independence" from a presumably rigid family structure.

Relying on the earlier work of economist Paul S. Taylor, Garcia accepted the notion that expectations and demonstrations of independence during this period were a benchmark in historical gender relations. According to Garcia, this resulted in a challenge to the "traditional male-dominated Mexican family structure."[29] Thus, industrial capitalism, while suppressing a male and female work force, is made to appear as a liberating agent for Mexican women who grew less dependent on men economically. In short, this supposed liberation came in the form of entrance to a consumer market. Increased capacity for consumption was equated with liberation, while an increasing rate of repression among women wage earners and credit-based consumption were left unscrutinized.

Historian Alex Saragosa's essay, "The Conceptualization of the History of the Chicano Family," also discusses the Chicano/a family within the context of industrializing capitalism. He concludes that the changing economy shifted power determinants between men and women, and parents and children, from the family to forces outside the family. However, such a conclusion neglects the significance of the church, state, and "community sanctions" as external facilitator's of patriarchy prior to industrialization and capitalism.[30] According to Saragosa, Mexicans and Chicanos/as were caught in an industrializing world while maintaining agrarian ideals. Industrial ideals, which affected non-whites, the working class, and women, profoundly made headway through socialization processes such as education, mass consumption, and popular culture.[31] While Saragosa argues that the history of the Chicano/a family must be understood and examined within the context of industrial capitalism, it should be noted that patriarchy and other forces which reinforce power imbalances date to pre-industrial capitalism.

Historian Richard Griswold del Castillo in *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present* acknowledges that socially acceptable ways existed in which women, "particularly those of the upper classes," could act outside the

limits placed by the patriarchal family. However, like Saragosa and Garcia, Griswold del Castillo concludes that increased economic opportunity after the conquest contributed to the "significant erosion" of patriarchy. He writes that for working class families, men migrated to find jobs and women became employed outside the home at an increased rate.[32] Thus, according to Griswold del Castillo, the economic dislocations and reordering of a household economy suggest that both opportunity and burden best characterize ramifications of the changing economy. However, the notion that patriarchy eroded during the industrial era and into the 20th Century is challenged by anthropologist Patricia Zavella, who argues that industrialization resulted in capitalist patriarchy that she defines as "a system in which the control of wage labor by capital, and men's control over women's labor power and sexuality in the home are connected."[33]

In her study *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*, historian Vicki L. Ruiz, provides a thorough investigation which demonstrates that occupational space in the early 20th Century exposed women to new ideals regarding their situations at home as well as in the work place.[34] While she utilizes Taylor's studies to reveal changes in consumption practices among wage earning women, Ruiz also points to other expressions of independence which included young women moving out of their homes and renting apartments with coworkers. Defiance of chaperonage, which was "reinforced by informal community sanctions," was also an indication that those women who took part in this phenomenon challenged not only parental authority, but community expectations as well.[35] Thus, Ruiz argues, patriarchy was not relegated exclusively to the family, but was socially constructed as well.

Ahost of scholars, primarily historians, have successfully demonstrated that patriarchy was not static in the pre-industrial Southwest.[36] Historian Ramón Gutiérrez in his work *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away* argues that the concept of honor attributed to male authority was undermined in early 19th Century New Mexico by young adults who began to select their own marriage partners in defiance of paternal expectations.[37] Chicana feminist historian Antonia I. Castañeda in her award-winning essay "Women of Color and Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," writes that "understanding the nature of gender systems and experiences before contact is critical to understanding how those experiences changed with conquest and colonialism and why women responded and acted the way they did in intercultural settings and relationships."[38] This is an all too important statement that due to time, space, and contextual constraints will not be addressed here. However, the limitations placed on this paper serve to recognize that the subject treated is part of a larger and much longer historical process of race, class, gender, and cultural inter- and intra-action in 19th Century Alta California.

Castañeda's statement on the poverty of diversity in Western history, and Western women's history in particular, points to the need to examine gender relationships and to understand how women of color "maintained, adapted, and transformed their own cultural forms while resisting, adopting, adapting, and affecting those of other groups."[39] It is this resisting, adopting, adapting, and ultimately affecting that I invoke with the term "negotiation," referring to Pablo and Josefa's husband/wife relationship. More than a representation of acts, these constitute a process by which behavior, the process of the act, is arbitrated. Thus, I am concerned with the means as much as with the ends in order to examine what motivated people to behave in the ways they did.

This needs to be understood within a larger framework which examines reciprocal and complimentary gender relations. This type of history, according to Castañeda, is a departure from the principle tenets of Western feminism, "including the universality of male dominance and the dichotomy between public and private acts."[40] Historian Deena J. González's portrayal of Doña Gertrudis Barceló, as an entrepreneur, disputes earlier misconceptions and romanticizations about sexualized public and private space. Moreover, González demonstrates the dangers of racist, sexist, and classist bias in historical interpretation, when she points out that the ostensibly "disparaged" behavior of running a gambling salon emerges as a result of assumptions made by reporters of Barceló's time, 19th Century novelists, and even professional historians today, which in fact, are value-ridden and condemning.[41]

The reliance on and the lack of critical analysis of the historical record presented by 19th Century Euroamericans and by contemporary historians has recently been challenged by Castañeda and González among others.[42] González points out that 19th Century Euroamerican writers "mourned the seemingly wasted opportunity presented by land still in the possession of Spanish Mexicans" best exemplified by Richard Henry Dana's proclamation, "In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be!"[43] Castañeda similarly points out that the literature of the 19th Century "was generally written by middle-class, Anglo males who interpreted women's experiences from their own gender and class perspective of women's proper roles. These authors created sexist and unidimensional portrayals of women," and in the process constructed the literary canon in the field.[44]

In the same fashion, but with different results, the discourse in Pablo de la Guerra's letters to Josefa Moreno was interpreted by Geiger, Cassidy, and Pubols, as a manifestation of Pablo's chivalry, honor, and integrity; wherein, providing for the family and maintaining attachments to them in spite of physical separation was done with great sentimentalism.[45] That Pablo was chivalrous, honorable, and honest is not debatable, nor were his sincere intentions to contribute to family welfare and the estate. However, these characteristics were not the only ones Pablo manifested. As the letters under review demonstrate, Pablo was also a scolding, shifty-tempered, and at times, a manipulative man.

Thus, I re-examine Pablo's discourse by attempting to reconstruct and portray Josefa differently. In reconstructing a dialogue from a previously perceived historical monologue, one needs to study how cultural change and production manifested themselves through gender roles and consumption practices between these two historical actors. Specifically, one needs to consider how Pablo's discourse was affected by Josefa's presence and her historical contribution.

Selected Letters of Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno, 1851-1872

Maynard Geiger notes that only two of Josefa's letters survive in the de la Guerra collection at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives Library, believed to be the most extensive collection on the de la Guerras; although, "internal evidence of Pablo's letters indicates there were more."[46] Whether more of Josefa's writings are scattered through different repositories is unknown. Antonia Castañeda and literary critics Genaro Padilla and Rosaura Sanchez demonstrate that individual Californians left behind personal testimonies and literary works, which are housed at the Bancroft Library and only recently have been examined.[47] Josefa was not among them.

Geiger was aware of the potential to study Josefa as a historical subject by examining the "internal evidence" in Pablo's letters, yet opted to stay away from such analysis and allow the written record to "speak for itself." In light of this, alternative interpretations and considerations provide an avenue through which critical readings of theretofore exclusionary perspectives can become more inclusive. For instance, what Geiger refers to as "internal evidence" of Josefa's activities in Pablo's writings confirm her subjectivity as an active historical agent and need to be supplemented by theoretical approaches and socio-historical contexts in order to begin to reconstruct a more balanced and, therefore, more accurate historical interpretation. Other sources and methods also need be applied in order to provide the fullest picture possible. With this in mind, the following section examines the social and familial context in which Pablo wrote.

Paternity, Maternity, Childrearing, and Household Management

In her essay "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara," historian Gloria E. Miranda writes that several factors contributed to moderate family sizes prior to 1848. These included the following: infant mortality, miscarriages, infertility by either spouse, absentee husbands who, for economic motives, left their families to seek work, marital discord, and personal choice of family size. Prenatal and postpartum activities were altered by food cravings and the building of baby furniture and toys by women and men, respectively.[48] No doubt the lives of parents were altered from conception through adulthood, as the raising of children became a priority. In the case of Pablo and Josefa, the factors discussed by Miranda were evident in three forms: choice of family size, infant mortality and an absentee husband. This section examines how patriarchy in the form of paternalism was interwoven with maternalism and the sometimes unforeseen twists and turns of childbearing and childrearing.

From the text, it is difficult to determine whether the choice to have children was mutual or if sexual references on Pablo's part helped to alleviate his loneliness and, accordingly, demonstrated expression of his desire to see and have sexual relations with Josefa. He asked Josefa when she hoped to enlarge the family to advise him, "*para ver si me es posible estar alla para entonces,*"[49] [to see if it is possible for me to be there when it happens]. The date of the letter, 1857, came four years prior to the birth of their next child. Many speculations can be made, including whether Josefa may have wished against having another child at that moment, whether the temporary infertility of either may have prevented it, or whether unforeseen senatorial duties did not give Pablo the opportunity to visit Josefa. These speculations notwithstanding, the significance of this passage is the evidence of a dialogue which existed between Pablo and Josefa regarding their respective choices to have children.

On another occasion, Pablo wrote "*lo unico que me consuela es leér tus cartas pero tu te olvidas mucho del hombre que más te ama, pero cuando te vea me las has de pagar. Acuerdate lo que hicimos cuando llegué de Los Angeles, pues ahora ya que tu lo quieres, sera la cosa mucho mejor. Pienso que sabras lo que te quiero decír*,"[50] [the only thing that consoles me is to read your letters, but you forget many times the man who loves you the most, but when I see you you will pay for it. Remember what we did when I arrived from Los Angeles, well now that you want it, it should be much better. I think you know what I am talking about]. There is no reference here to conceiving nor bearing children. References to sexual relations in his letters, while he was a judge in Los Angeles, were not as evident as they were in those written from Sacramento. Thus, proximity to the household and to Josefa suggests that conjugal visits between them were more frequent. Josefa visited Pablo in Los Angeles on occasion and Pablo stopped on his way to San Luis Obispo, where he sometimes presided over court.[51]

Josefa and Pablo parented seven children. Due to his absence, Pablo did not share the birth experiences of several of them. Miranda notes that the absence of medical facilities in California resulted in midwives and other women assisting with the birthing process. On occasion, male doctors were called in to assist deliveries. In 1861 Pablo's brother, Antonio María, wrote to inform him of his daughter Delfina's birth and the stillbirth of her twin brother. Two doctors were present at the birth due to complications which Antonio described, "It was a case of life or death, but Providence helped us, since a day later we wouldn't have been able to find any doctors and then you would have been a widower."[52]

The potential for maternal fatality is evident in Pablo's discussion of his sister's daughter Manuelita to Josefa, "*supongo que ya sabras la muerte de Manuelita que fue causada dicen por haber comido naranjas pocos días despues de haber parido*,"[53] [I suppose that you have already heard of Manuelita's death, which they say was caused by her eating oranges only a few days after giving birth]. Pubols attributed Manuela's death to cholera.[54] Alfred Sully, Manuela's husband related to his sister says that,

> [Manuela] wanted to eat an orange that had been sent her, but I thinking I know not why they might be bad had told her no. Her mother who was present thought they would do her no harm. She would, however, ask the doctor. The next morning with the consent of the Doctor, she ate the fatal orange. Which, in a short time, brought a vomiting that nothing could stop…
>
> But I tried to cheer up, thinking I had another duty to attend to, this boy that Manuela had left me. Doña Angustias took charge of it. At first, her milk did not agree with it, but with great care and attention it soon recovered. It was beginning to take notice of me and I to center all the love and affection I had for the Mother in him. But the consolation was not to be enjoyed by me. On the night of the 14th, it was accidentally killed by its grandmother. She was nursing it in bed, fell asleep, and when she woke up he was dead. She had strangled it in her sleep. The doctor persuaded her it died of a convulsion, but to me alone he told the true story, and now… I am once more alone in the world.[55]

Doña Angustias nursed her own grandchild as a result of Manuela's death, but the tragedy of infant mortality did not escape her efforts. The demands of childrearing are evident in Angustias' attempt to nurse the newborn prior to falling asleep. Whether this occurred at night or nap time is not clear, but the implications are that she fell asleep in the process of feeding him. A possible factor may have been fatigue since in addition to housework, she took care of her own children, including the toddler who was approximately one year old at the time.[56]

The demands of childrearing on Josefa and Pablo were at times complicated by tragedies they experienced. Infant mortality claimed the life of Pablo and Josefa's daughter Cristina Francisca, who died shortly after her birth in 1848. Five months after the stillbirth of Delfina's twin, their daughter María Paulina, who was six years old, passed away.[57] Paulina's death was evidently painful to Pablo who wrote to Josefa, "*Conque Dios N.S. Se ha acordado de nosotros privandonos de nuestra hijita! ¡Cuan doloroso es esto querida mía!… Ayer como hombre lloré á mí hija y hoy como Cristiano estoy conforme con la voluntad de Dios y ofrezco mí dolor por la glo - ria de mí hija. Yo espero que tu hagas lo mismo y no te entregues de todo al llanto,*"[58] [so God Our Father has remembered us depriving us of our daughter! How painful this is my love! … Yesterday I cried to my daughter like a man, and today like a Christian, I am in compliance with God's will and offer my pain for my daughter's glory. I hope that you do the same, but don't submit yourself completely to mourning]. Josefa's experience of Paulina's illness and death must have been horrifying as she witnessed "The attack [which] was so strong that from the first moment when she began to feel bad, she was unable to talk and her mouth became black." Paulina's sudden death concluded a 40-hour fever of unknown origins.[59] Miranda states that during this period, cause of death among infants, children, and adults was not usually recorded although the most frequently cited illnesses included pleurisy, numerous viruses, intestinal disorders, and small pox.[60] Although doctors and midwives assisted the family and community at times, the women of the house took care to provide medicinal herbs for the sick.[61]

Pablo and Josefa's surviving children included Francisca and Carlos, born in 1849 and 1852 respectively, and Delfina and Herminia, born in 1861 and 1862, respectively. Francisca resided in the house in 1860, but, by 1870, only Carlos, Delfina and Herminia resided in the house with Pablo and Josefa.[62] Pubols writes that infants and children were taken care of by family and servants, but informs that "It could be that some of these attendants were older cousins."[63] One can also suspect that the foreigners' accounts she relied on may have mistaken older siblings for servants as well. For instance, on one occasion Pablo cautioned against the neglect of the younger children should his daughter Francisca visit him, "puede que Francisca quiera venir pero no se como tener aquí tres mujeres y ademas alguna debe de quedarse con los chiquillos; pero en esto obra como creas más justo y conveniente."[64] [It's possible that Francisca wants to come, but I don't know what to do with three women here and besides one should stay with the children; but work it out as you see just and convenient]. As well as suggesting Pablo's unwillingness to have "too many" women around, this reflects Josefa's authority as a mother to decide, manage, and delegate child care and other household duties to her daughters and other younger women.

The de la Guerra household was large and according to various sources full of activity. Francisca recalled that the de la Guerra home was "patriarchal" and that "several families lived there happily together."[65] Indeed, the patriarch José and his wife María Antonia de la Guerra (Pablo's parents) had 13 children, and 54 grandchildren.[66] Census data from 1850 to 1870 indicates that married sons, their families, and unwed daughters of the family resided in the Casa de la Guerra during that time. In 1850, 16 members of the family resided in the 9-room house including the families of Francisco and Concepción Sepulveda de la Guerra and Pablo and Josefa de la Guerra.[67] Ten years later, 23 people including 12 adults, seven school-aged children, three children who did not attend school that year, and one 7-year-old "servant" by the name of Helena shared space there.[68] In addition to marriages and births, this number included two of Francisco's children from his first of two mistresses, María del Rosario Lorenzana.[69]

The census data for 1850 and 1860 describe the men and their adult sons as "stock raisers/rancheros," while women and younger children are listed as "keeps house" or "at home." The actual running of the family ranches and other enterprises suggests that these job descriptions could be misleading. Joseph A. Thompson, the historian and grandson of José and María Antonia de la Guerra, writes that the de la Guerra ranchos were spread through the present-day counties of Marin, Monterey, Sacramento, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura during the Mexican and Euroamerican periods.[70] Part and parcel to running the family enterprises was landownership by certain women of the family, including the youngest daughter María Antonia de la Guerra Lataillade who in her lifetime owned at least four different ranchos with a combined total of 88,800.7 acres. The two ranchos she was granted were of substantially less acreage than the ones she acquired upon her husband's death.[71] Acreage of other land grants and ranchos also indicates that there was a disparity between the amount of land granted to María Antonia Lataillade and her brothers.[72]

Land and resource management was meticulously over seen by employees along race, class, and gender lines. Hired servants and artisans helped to ease many of the obligations which the de la Guerras had to undertake. These working class women and men were described by María Antonia Jimeno de Arata, a granddaughter of José and Maria Antonia, as mostly semi-skilled and skilled workers. She refers to a list of employees which provides a description of work activities. These include the following:

> Keepers of the keys [llaveros], coachmen [cocheros], gardeners [huerteros], cooks [cocineros]. Those in charge of tortillas [tortilleros], bakers [panaderos]. Those in charge of chocolate [chocolateros], pages [pajes], woodcutters [leñeros], soap manufacturers [jaboneros]. Those in charge of tobaccos [cigarrerros], masons [albañiles], manufacturer of candles [velanos], carpenters [carpenteros]. Those in charge of harnesses [cabezados], spurs [espuelas], bridles [frenos], and shoemakers [zapateros]. Those in charge of rope [mecotes], belly-saddles [sillas de montar], flour mill [molina de harina], chickens [gallinas], sausage [chorizo], shopkeepers [tenderos], washwomen [lavanderas], messengers [mandaderos], ironers [planchadoras], servants [criados], and carriers [cargadoras]. The *mayor-domo de la matanza*, with his assistants, for hides and tallow [*cueros y manteca*]. At times, some 500 head of cattle were slaughtered.[73]

Such records were kept until 1858, the year of José de la Guerra's death and provides insight to the distribution of work and the race/ethnic backgrounds of employees. The job descriptions above were distributed among 90 employees, the majority of whom were Indian. Several Mexicans, one Spaniard, a Basque, one Black, an Irishman, a Peruvian, and a Chinese were also employed. Besides the enterprises established by José de la Guerra in his house, he also managed a store on Chapala street, where he sold general merchandise such as bread, sugar, panocha, soap, cigarettes, cigars, and liquor.[74] Thus, these employees were family servants and employees of the family businesses who manufactured consumer goods for local markets. Pablo's brother Francisco, who owned Rancho Simí, was also listed in the 1870 census as a "viniculturalist." This land was a vineyard "especially noted for its vinos and brandies" and sheep pasturing.

Thompson makes the general statement that the "daughters of the Casa were taught home management, each taking a week's turn about as mistress."[75] Pubols concludes that "although José was nominally the head of the house, it was the women of the family who held the real responsibility for its smooth functioning." She points out that "as daughters of the house married and moved to their husbands' homes, daughters-in-law moved in to take up the role of mistress."[76] The court testimony over the murder of an Indian cook by another Indian servant suggests that Josefa shared household space with and perhaps overlooked household servants.

On the evening of Nov. 2, 1853, an Indian servant by the name of Domingo, who had served in the de la Guerra house for seven or eight years, was apparently drunk and had fired a gun outside. After he left, the Sheriff went to the house in search of him. Upon his return, Domingo was confronted by two Indian servants by the names of Juan Bautista and Prospero about the sheriff's visit. When the two servants called him a fool for shooting the gun, Domingo became indignant and stabbed and killed Bautista. José confronted Domingo and was attacked and stabbed as well. To intercede, the maid Rosaria and Josefa each grabbed José by the coat and "hauled him off." After struggling with Prospero, Domingo headed for the door, but was unable to get out because Josefa, who had already shut the door, "ran and caught him by the hair and threw him down and shut the door," so that Prospero could further restrain him.[77] Josefa recalled that she was "two or three feet" from Juan Bautista when he fell to the ground, thus indicating that she was in the kitchen at the time of the murder. However, she testified during trial that she had just entered the kitchen when Domingo "got up and gave the blows."[78]

It is not certain why Josefa entered the kitchen though she seems to have entered unsolicited by events in the kitchen at that moment. Apparently, she was not drawn to it by the noise resulting from the argument that preceded the stabbing. She testified on two separate occasions that she "saw no fight or quarrel prior to [the act of murder]," and that she "did not hear the conversation which passed between the accused and the deceased."[79] This incident occurred as José and several children ate in one of the dining rooms. The fact that Juan Bautista was cutting meat at the time of his murder, and that Prospero was by his own estimation 12 feet away performing an unspecified task suggests that they were preparing dinner for the rest of the family. The maid Rosaria testified that the murder occurred at about 6:15 or 6:30 p.m. and that "the lights were burning." She continued, "I know that Don José was taking soup in the dining room and perhaps some children." Thus, her uncertainty of children "taking soup" at the moment suggests that she probably was not serving them, and that like the two men, she was performing an unspecified task in preparation for dinner. She continued that she "did not know how many persons were in the house at the time." Court testimony suggests that Antonio María was the only other adult in the house at the time. Given the testimony, Josefa's presence in the kitchen suggests among other things that she oversaw the servants, served those who ate, or served herself.

Part of Pablo and Josefa's parenting included overseeing their children's education. Miranda writes that "girls received at best rudimentary education commensurate with their future role as wives and mothers."[80] Women taught daughters to read and write as the sons were usually away at school. On at least one occasion, Pablo and his niece Cleotilda went to inquire about Francisca's enrollment at a convent school run by the Sisters of Charity in Los Angeles.[81] The opening of a convent in San José and Hartnell's school in northern California served the educational needs of the children as well. While much of the responsibility to oversee the children's educational progress fell on women, and Josefa in particular, Pablo requested updates on their progress. He wrote, "I do not wish that you allow Carlos to go out much or that you allow him to join with other boys. Be careful of this matter and tell him not to go out, but to study and review what he has studies." Thus, Pablo's instructions imply that maternal and paternal control over social behavior had to be mediated by education. He also asked Josefa to "tell Francisca and Elena that they should have the girls read every day…" Pablo attempted to position Josefa as the middle person cautioning, "if I return and find them not advanced, they will have to pay for their neglect."[82]

It is possible that Pablo referred to Elena, the servant who lived with the family in 1860, since there was no record of another Elena during this time. Her race is listed as White, and by the time of this letter, she was approximately 14 years old. Her service as a tutor suggests that she was literate, perhaps having been educated by women of the family, since census records indicate that she lived in the house from the age of seven. In this case, Josefa oversaw her children's education by delegating that authority to an older daughter and a servant. Pablo's letters imply a hierarchical chain of command based on gender, age, and class. While he asked Josefa to make sure that their children were excelling academically, he reminded her to keep a watchful eye for their well-being either by her own direct actions or by delegating that authority to others.

Pablo's patriarchal discourse may have resulted from his inability to provide first-hand emotional and physical attention to Josefa and their children. The regret caused by his absence was evident when he stated, "*antier cumpleo un año Dña. Paulina y tome un traguito por ella*,"[83] [Yesterday was Doña Paulina's birthday and I had a drink in her honor].

At times the provision of material goods brought out a paternalism characterized by his desire to compensate for his absence. He wrote, "*como están nue - stros hijitos: escribeme y dime que les hace falta*,"[84] [How are our children (the diminutive hijitos'is used as a term of endearment and thus is not literally translated as little children'): write and tell me what they need]. Although Pablo offered to provide things for the children and other members of the family, economic fluctuations, the availability of such provisions, and the limits of his own schedule did not allow him to be successful all the time. He wrote, "te dije que no habia podido hallar en San Francisco el juego para la Pancha pero otra vez que vuelva daré otra recorrida á ver si lo hallo y entonces te mandaré el colchón porque al mandarlo desde aquí saldria muy caro,"[85] [I told you that I could not find the bedroom for Pancha in San Francisco, but upon my next return, I shall look again to see if I find it and then I shall send you the mattress because it would be too expensive to send it from here (Sacramento)].[86] In 1866 he wrote, "I am forwarding two pieces of clothing, one for each [of their daughters]. I do not know if they will arrive in good condition, but I believe you know now to fix them up."[87]

Pablo's concern that shipping costs were too exorbitant and his sending damaged goods suggests that he economized when providing non-food items during the period of economic decline. Indeed, Albert Camarillo describes the period, in which these letters were written, as the "proletarianization" of Mexicans in California.[88] The following section discusses two factors, the economy and Josefa, which served to demystify the functionalist perspective of the male provider role.

Demystifying the Male Provider Role

Prior to their marriage on March 7, 1847, Pablo was the customs official in Monterey. His political career included stints as U.S. Marshal, State Senator, Lieutenant Governor, and District Judge. Pablo's physical detachment and seclusion from his family and home were the most noteworthy themes in his letters to Josefa. The manner in which this projected itself onto his demeanor toward Josefa and how she responded are pieces of evidence that help to define and gauge the degree and nature of patriarchy in Pablo's discourse. These letters reveal a man with varied temperaments, and a woman with equally assorted qualities. The cynicism, humor, frustration, and warmth in Pablo's discourse demonstrate the complexities, and at times, conflicts between Josefa and himself. Historian Cynthia Orozco writes that functionalists have argued that the family serves as a refuge in which Chicanos/as "can escape racism and domination and within this 'harmonious' unit, all members act out their designated roles: men as 'providers' and women as homemakers."[89] Pablo's letters and Josefa's responses, as he interpreted them, serve to demystify the functionalist perception of gender roles within the de la Guerra family.

The privileges granted to male providers have stereotypically included positions of authority over those for whom they provide. Traditional historians depict male providers as being granted service and general submission by the provided, in exchange for their material and non-material provisions. Studies of 19th and 20th Century Chicano/a families challenge these notions and present family relationships based on mutuality and reciprocity.[90] It has been suggested that Pablo's perceived role as male provider, and the illusion of his patriarchal authority often resulted in his directive discourse. This discourse was exemplified by the many demands and expectations he placed on Josefa and their children. Josefa's responses, as Pablo perceived or interpreted them, sometimes caused a shift in his tone to a more placating one; while failure to respond to his liking, often caused him to scold her.

The presence of patriarchy remains a dominant consideration in these more recent studies in that they examine gender and generational-based resistance. Several factors challenge the functionalist portrayal of the assumed male-provider role. Shifts in the sometimes uncertain economy resulted in changing consumption practices. While the economy fluctuated, consumer demand on the part of the de la Guerra family shifted as well. During lucrative economic times, consumption of luxury goods, as evident in Pablo's letters, was in abundance. At times of economic depression, and after 1862 in particular,

consumption became selective and based on subsistence goods. Thus, the market economy and consumer demands helped to determine the particular quality of Pablo's patriarchal discourse and the family's cultural agency.

Whether in northern California or Los Angeles, Pablo sent luxury goods and food products to Santa Barbara. On occasion, he entrusted it to his compadre Alfred Robinson to deliver to Josefa, writing, "te mando cién pesos para que compres lo que necesites,"[91] [I am sending 100 pesos so that you can buy what you need]. This indicates that not everything was provided for by the de la Guerra house and the ranches, and that Josefa needed to purchase goods which may have been in short supply at local markets. However, the difference between want and need presented a dilemma, which Pablo and Josefa experienced as consumers. This dilemma was present in the choices they made while responding to the conditions of markets around them. Historian Joseph Thompson points to these markets when he discusses furniture, musical instruments, and other luxury goods which found their way to California on merchant ships from Boston, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Manila, and China.[92] Pubols refers to photographs of the house, which display decorative art and furniture from China and included a carved chair, a screen with a dragon motif, a painted scroll, and a vase.[93]

The economic function of Pablo's patriarchal role of provider is suspect, because during good economic times, he did not provide the essentials for survival and even luxury goods were, at times resisted, or flat out rejected by Josefa. On one occasion, Josefa showed a dislike for a cape Pablo bought for her claiming that it was not the color she had requested. Although it was the color and not the style or fashion of the cape she renounced, he responded, "when I chose it, I regarded rather its utility than its showiness. This is what I believe people like yourself ought to obtain – things that are useful, not primarily pretty. But now I see that, although you may be old in years, you do not wish to be so in taste."[94] Josefa was approximately 37 years old when Pablo wrote this. Whatever the intentions of this statement, it reveals that patriarchy was not exclusively an economic function. Thus, economic dependency by Josefa on Pablo in and of itself did not constitute patriarchy. Pablo's statement that Josefa was "too old" for things that are more "pretty" than they are "useful" suggests that the cultural economy of patriarch (in this case) resorted to Pablo's attempt to restrict Josefa's autonomy as a cultural and social practitioner. While she complained about the cape, Pablo's perception of his own role as a cultural and social provider and agent was violated. Thus, his discourse was affected and even determined by the incoherence between expected behavior and actual behavior.

Part of her functions as a cultural and social facilitator, as Pablo perceived it, included Josefa's role as hostess to visiting acquaintances and family members.[95] Josefa's hosting signified a transgression between private and public spheres, and was related in many ways to the purchase of art and taste for other luxury goods. That these were purchased for entertainment and decorative purposes as well as for their fashionable facade suggests that consumer demand was couched in class considerations. While some of the de la Guerra men held public office, the women entertained people who visited for both public and private purposes. Pubols writes that the de la Guerra house "was a neutral ground for sanctuary, where community members could seek assistance, resolve disputes or obtain official approval for their actions."[96] The upkeep and presence of the house took on great significance. Still, the interaction between men and women who filled these roles was a collaborative, but not always a consensual one. In addressing the interior decoration of the house Pablo wrote, "*te mando los cuadros que son bastantes y bonitos y también te mando semilla de repollo y varias de flores para que tengas bonita a guerta (huerta) cuando yo vaya, y la sala bien compuesta. Los cuadros grandes son para la sala y los medianos para algún cuarto*,"[97] [I send you the paintings that are plenty and pretty and I also send you seeds for cabbage and various flowers so that you can have the garden beautiful when I arrive, and the living room well kept. The big paintings are for the living room and the medium ones for some other room]. He not only sent the paintings, but instructed Josefa where to place them. His reference to planting flowers in the garden and having the living room well kept for his pending return suggests that gender specific tasks were central to maintaining an acceptable demeanor and thus to his expected appeasement.

As with the cape, Josefa did not find the paintings to her liking. Pablo wrote, "*yo no sé que clase de cuadros querias y yo pensaba que los que te mandé te iban á gustar mucho porque son los que están en boga en San Francisco y aquí [Sacramento],*"[98] [I don't know what type of paintings you wanted and I thought that you would really like the ones I sent because they are en vogue in San Francisco and here (Sacramento)]. This passage reveals that Josefa requested the paintings, though she did not like the ones Pablo sent. His insisting that they were *en boga* suggests that his selection of the paintings was market induced. That is, because they were en vogue, paintings were perhaps limited to those styles which he purchased whether he liked them or not. Moreover, Pablo's attempt to rationalize his purchase of the paintings, by claiming that they were in style, contradicts the very same criticism he made of Josefa regarding in contrast to Pubols' conclusion that the women of the de la Guerra house "surrounded themselves with the latest in American Victoriana."

However, this contradicts Pubols'assessment that women (more so than the men) were cultural transformers in that it is Pablo, and not Josefa, who refers to fashion trends. Evidently cultural transformation was an ongoing negotiation. What's more, Pubols describes this arrangement as "clumsy" and, by implication, Pablo as a bumbling incompetent.[99] By managing the interior design of the house, Josefa affirmed her tastes for goods which were in contrast to Pablo's, indicating that Pubols'conclusion did not consider the complexities of Pablo and Josefa's relationship.

On several occasions, Pablo requested information from Josefa to purchase luxury goods for her. Sometimes this consumption was unsolicited and resulted in unfavorable circumstances. The letters reveal that Josefa and the children solicited goods, and at times, Pablo initiated consumption. He once wrote "*mandame a la subida del vapor… un zapato tuyo para llevarte algunos sí encuentro buenos y sí no puedes mandarme un zapato, mandame aunque sea una medida dentro de la carta que me escribas del largo y grueso de tu pie,*"[100] [Send me one of your shoes aboard the next steamer so that I can take you some if I find some good ones, and if you can not send me a shoe, send at least a measurement of the length and width of your foot inside the letter that you write me]. Thus, he attempted to encourage her to write to him by combining letter writing with the purchase of shoes. This was not successful however. Fifteen days later, he chided Josefa, "*te pedí en una carta anterior medida para buscarte zapatos pero ní siquiera me la has mandado, demodo que la culpa será tuya si no te los llevo,*"[101] [In a previous letter, I requested your shoe size, but you have not even sent it, it will be your fault if I do not take them to you]. Pablo's volunteering to buy Josefa shoes resulted in her noncompliance, perhaps because she did not need nor want shoes, or perhaps because she was too preoccupied with managing the household to be able to write him back. In either case, he blamed her for sabotaging his efforts to buy her shoes, which she may never have requested in the first place.

The purchase of paintings and shoes were not crucial to subsistence. However, they demonstrate that other practices, crucial to maintaining a particular ambiance and demeanor, were important to the sustenance of the de la Guerra image as social elites. Subsequently, Josefa's complaints of the paintings imply a partnership with Pablo in sustaining that image. Her lack of response to Pablo's request for her shoe size demonstrates that Pablo's role of provider (in this case) was less one of providing essentials for subsistence to the family and more one of providing items the family could do without. The example of Pablo sending money did not seem to draw protest. Depending on the purpose of consumption, the cultural economy of patriarchy in Pablo's discourse was at times dictated by the decision to fulfill social needs more than biological ones.

In times of economic depression or distress, money use and consumption patterns by the de la Guerras were selective. After José de la Guerra's death, his general stores either were no longer functioning or were not patronized by members of his family. According to historian Albert Camarillo, the late 1850's saw the gradual decline of the pastoral economy due to a variety of issues. Among them, land squatting was so severe that in June 1850, the land agent Drury P. Baldwin encouraged Pablo to sell land at an undisclosed location advising to "send all the papers requested together with a power of attorney," as well as instructions of whether he should sell "in small tracts or large or the whole as it stands."[102] Baldwin attributed the inevitability of land loss to squatters who came seeking gold, but found they had

to turn to other means. This resulted in an increasingly diversified economy about which Baldwin warned, "as all persons must live and all can't live by mining, a large portion will necessarily turn thus to agriculture."[103] Such implications resulted in the growing demand for land beyond the direct proximity of mining regions. By September of 1850, the establishment of a new ship line connecting California with San Blas and Mazatlán, along with the already established ship lines, increased access for farmers and others to prospective markets outside their immediate locality. The regularity of a stagecoach through California, though at times on a bi-monthly basis, also provided transportation for taking goods to market. Although more research is needed to determine the extent to which these prospects encouraged investment in non-mining industries by Euroamericans and other miners, Juan Antonio Aguirre from San Diego remarked of "*…la facilidad que presenta la nueva linea de vapores* [the ease that the new line of steam boats presents]" for nonmining industries.[104]

The loss of range land was complimented in part by the decreased demand for California range beef and the substitution of Texas cattle. Camarillo states that 1862 was a watershed in the intensified depression of the economy. The market forces, which resulted in decline of the industry, were further complicated by the extensive flooding in the winter of 1862 which destroyed property and drowned cattle. These floods were followed by prolonged drought which resulted in the decline of cattle in Santa Barbara County from 300,000 before 1862 to just 7,000 by 1865.[105] The de la Guerra holdings decreased from 152,000 acres in 1861 to 24,000 acres in 1871.[106] The impact on the household life was inescapable. In 1862, Pablo wrote to Josefa, "*problablemente ten - dran que acostumbrarse á beber pura leche por que el azucar, chá, café, y todo comestible está tán caro como jamas se ha visto en California*,"[107] [You will probably have to get used to drinking solely milk because sugar, tea, coffee, and everything edible is so expensive like we've never seen in California]. The changing economic circumstances in California during these years thus resulted in a shift in patriarchal practice, which manifested itself in a modified consumer culture and the unintelligible role of the male provider in particular.

Pablo instructed Josefa and their family to become more conservative and did not offer to send money. Although from a distance, Pablo's reference to the expensive nature of edible products signified his attempt to play a hand in determining the family diet. Judging from letters after 1862, the absence of Pablo's references to Josefa's dislike for products as in earlier times of economic prosperity suggests that the changing economy assisted in bringing about a more cohesive relationship between Pablo and Josefa, where consumer choice was concerned.

In February of 1865, Pablo wrote two letters which accompanied and described edible goods. In the first he wrote, "*con Miguel que llegará alla mañana mando 1/2 lb. azucar, 1 cajeta de higos, 1 bolsita de confites de los que daras sú porción á José pues me dio con que le comprara, y 2 repollos. …Las naranjas irán en la diligencia del viernes*,"[108] [with Miguel, who shall arrive tomorrow, I send 1/2 lb. sugar, 1 box of fig jam, 1 small bag of sweets of which you should give José his portion, since he gave me money to buy him some, and two cabbages. …The oranges should arrive in Friday's stagecoach.] Twelve days later, he addressed a shortage of citrus in Santa Barbara by writing, "*he mandado por la Dili - gencia 2 cajones de naranjas sin contar con las que llevó Miguel… Yo les hubiera mandado verdura mas, pero la diligencia no quiere llevar. Dile á la Guila que con Cuchichito va otro cajón con naranjas para los puros chiquitos, pues los grandes ya estarán har - tas, y que en él van los limones que me encargó*,"[109] [I sent two boxes of oranges by stagecoach without counting the ones that Miguel took… I would have sent more vegetables, but the stagecoach would not take them. Tell Guila that with Cuchichito I am sending another box of oranges just for the children, since the grown-ups must be fed up, and in it are the lemons she asked for]. What this shortage was attributed to is uncertain. One would almost have to rule out foul weather as a reason, since Pablo sent this produce from nearby Los Angeles. If bad weather was a factor in this shortage, then one must assume that the Los Angeles port or other mercantile centers provided this fruit from another place. Another possibility was that the de la Guerra house did not grow such fruits and vegetables or had already exhausted them. If this was the case, it might point to a decline in household employees and perhaps further economic decline.

Josefa provided Pablo and others with goods on occasion. She wrote to Pablo during a time which he was ill, "you can see then it will be very good if I give you payliano. I'm glad that this [medicine] will help you with your cold, but it is necessary that the visits that you do until midnight should be done earlier… [and] you must not get tired writing letters."[110] Hence, Josefa responded to Pablo's nagging about a perceived lack of writing on her part, by warning him that writing too much would worsen his condition.

Pablo referred to her sending him cider, though he gave it away to his aunt, the wife of his tío Vallejo.[111] On a different occasion Pablo wrote, "*te agradezgo el envio de las aceitunas á mí compadre quien dices te mando las gracias,*"[112] [I am grateful to you for sending the olives to my compadre whom you say sent you thanks]. This along with Pablo's request for underwear indicates that Josefa provided goods and services for Pablo as well as others. Pablo's role as male provider, as he depicted it in his discourse, was at least a part of an exchange between Josefa and himself.

Pablo and Josefa's relationship was an on-going negotiation between patriarchal ideals and life experiences. In response to Pablo's request for underwear, Josefa instructed him to send the materials necessary in order to include bottoms. She wrote, "I sent you two pairs of underwear and I didn't send more because… the underwear doesn't have bottoms because I don't have (the materials to make them). Send me what I need so I can send you another two."[113] Pablo responded to Josefa, "I am sending [this letter] together with the items you ordered, sashes, silk, broaches, hooks, and eyes, and matches. Buttons are not among the items, for they are for my underwear and you can sew them when here, but if they are to be used on some other items, I do not know what particular kind you want."[114]

In spite of Pablo's and Josefa's separation and his underwear being "*tan mugrosos que me dan asco*" [so filthy they disgust me], Pablo preferred to wash his last pair until Josefa could make him more rather than visiting a local tailor. Historian Richard Griswold del Castillo in *The Los Angeles Barrio* points out that tailors and launderers, who could have tended to Pablo's needs, were abundant in Los Angeles at the time he wrote this particular letter.[115] The date of this letter [1865], the implications of Pablo's requests, and Josefa's compliance suggests that gender tasks and patriarchal expectations were couched in economic considerations on both their parts. In spite of their separation, Josefa continued to perform and Pablo continued to expect what could be considered a household task at a time when the de la Guerra fortune was quickly diminishing.

The letters discussed in this section reveal that consumption patterns were affected by the economy, consumer tastes, and the degree to which certain goods were accessible in the different markets. Prior to 1862, when the cycles of drought and floods decimated what remained of the pastoral economy, Pablo's letters addressed the consumption of luxury goods. Thus, patriarchy was associated with provisions for the maintenance of an elite social status. After the winter of 1862, his letters described the consumption of edible subsistence goods while discussion of luxury goods declined, becoming virtually non-existent. Josefa's responses to Pablo reveal that challenges to patriarchy occurred more regularly during good economic times than in bad ones. The lack of such complaints in Pablo's discourse after 1862, accompanied with the shift toward consumption of subsistence goods, suggests that economic decline resulted in a more harmonious interaction between Pablo and Josefa, so far as consumption was concerned. Another point to consider is that Pablo was in Los Angeles as a district judge after 1862, while he was in the more distant Sacramento legislature prior to 1862. Hence, the semblance of a "harmonious" relationship needs to be examined in economic as well as geographic terms. However, proximity alone did not account for harmony between Pablo and Josefa.

The letters I examined did not reveal much about the de la Guerras' concern with projecting a public image in the post 1862 years, as they did in previous ones. The births of daughters Delfina and Herminia in 1861 and 1862 respectively suggest that childrearing took precedence to hosting for Josefa as well. Because much of the parenting was deferred to Josefa, household management was delegated by Josefa to younger daughters and others. Josefa grappled with managing household activities through pregnancies, childbearing, and childrearing. This occupied much of her energy and time to the point that she was unable to write as often as Pablo would

have liked her to. Pablo consistently chided her as an ingrate for not responding to what he perceived as his loving devotion to her. This often resulted in another form of patriarchy, which took on the form of manipulation. The following section examines the patriarchy of "guilting" and "pleading," as Pablo often turned to these as tactics to persuade Josefa to write him and to affect other responses from her.

The Patriarchy of Manipulation, Guilting, and Pleading

According to Maria Linda Apodaca, patriarchy has been understood as a forceful, assertive, and often imposing experience by predominately white liberal feminists for whom "the primary antagonism is seen as that between women and men."[116] Antonia Castañeda writes that most women of color "who research and write the history of women of color look not to the women's liberation movement, but to third-world liberation movements."[117] Still, she reminds us that women of color "also struggled against the internal gender oppression of their own families, organizations, and communities and against a historical sexual exploitation rooted in the intersection of their gender with race and class."[118] With very few exceptions, the study of gender has focused on the experiences of women, their historical agency, and their articulations. Men who have studied gender have for the most part not moved beyond that central focus.[119]

The critical analysis of men and patriarchy is necessary to better understand the complexities of imbalanced gender and sexual relations. Far from a reactionary, "men's rights" taxonomy, a critical men's studies field, would allow for further investigation into not only what men do to effect the privileges bestowed on them by birth and the socialization of both men and women, but also how and why this gender imbalance exists.

The recent publication of the anthology *Muy Macho: Latino Men Confront Their Manhood* centralizes Latino men and their perceptions of the social constructions of their gendered lives.[120] However, it remains a literary text and provides no historical contexts for its musings. Moreover, while it claims to be "the first book by Latino male writers to address how they see themselves within the concept of what it means to be 'macho'"; it fails to critically assess the ethnocentric, if not racist, connotations of "machismo." While many of the essays in this collection provide sharp criticism and heart felt reflections on manhood, few examine the universality of male chauvinism, deferring instead to the cultural deficiency model which encapsulates machismo as a predominant Latino endeavor. Because our general understanding of machismo is relegated to an overbearing Latino male who overtly expresses and acts on his socially constructed privilege, we fail to see the more subtle and at times misleading ways in which patriarchy is manifested. These intangible cultural behavioral patterns of patriarchal privilege, I would argue, reflect the universal experience of male privilege. Thus, this section and the one that follows attempt to critically assess, and thus centralize, Pablo's manifestations of patriarchy — of what he demonstrated as his understanding of his own manhood. Specifically, I examine the manner in which his discursive tone shifted from domineering to inculpating and subsequently to pleading, in efforts to solicit the type of response he wished to receive from his counterparts. Whereas the previous section addressed the functionalist perspective of the male provider role and the presumptions of privilege that are associated with it, and whereas childrearing practices and household management, as discussed in the first section, suggest that patriarchy was a dialogue between Pablo and Josefa that proved more elaborate than the "dominant-male/submissive-female" bipolarity, the remaining two sections examine Pablo's behavioral impulses amidst conflict, contestation, and resistance from Josefa and their children.

Power, and patriarchal power in this case, was illustrated in Pablo and Josefa's relationship by the frequent incompatibility between socio-cultural ideals and actual behavior. A major theme of Pablo's letters was his constant complaint regarding what he perceived to be Josefa's failure to answer his letters. As Geiger writes, "internal evidence" in Pablo's letters demonstrates that Josefa did write to Pablo. One of the consequences of patriarchy, as shown by Pablo's discourse, was his attempt to assert a perceived social domination over Josefa and their children through the use of manipulatives such as "guilting" and "pleading." "Guilting" refers to Pablo's attempt to shame Josefa by implying that he was more committed to their relationship than she was. "Pleading" refers to Pablo's favorable responses to his patriarchal discourse. In these letters, Pablo's appeal fell short of supplication. Thus, patriarchy did

not always present itself through a forceful demeanor, but included attempts to induce guilt and pity in order to stimulate the responses Pablo seemed concerned about, namely, receiving letters from his family and attempting to effect behavioral responses that were favorable to him. Pablo's shift from a directive tone to one of pleading exemplifies his efforts to affect Josefa's behavior first by demanding, then by soliciting her attention and response. Nonetheless, as much as he tried to affect Josefa's behavior, her actions affected Pablo's written tone as well.

Pablo's accommodations for his family (Josefa in particular), and the sense of neglect he perceived in return resulted in his constantly nagging at Josefa's infrequent writing. Gieger and Cassidy portray Josefa as Pablo did. She appears as an unappreciative, lazy, and generally dysfunctional wife. While Pubols does describe Josefa as an agent and an active participant in history, she does not analyze the sex-gender power dynamics in Josefa's relationship with Pablo. She describes Josefa as "not a letter writer." On the lack of letters by Josefa, Geiger writes, "[Josefa] was not a letter writer, a fact that irked [Pablo] much, for nothing pleased him more than to be the recipient of her letters."[121] Geiger and Cassidy present Pablo as an unappreciated, overworked, and lonely husband. However, this reading of the situation depends on taking entirely at face value Pablo's constant complaints regarding his perception of Josefa's disregard for him, and his repeatedly expressed undying devotion to her. But closer analysis of these exchanges often reveal a manipulative, rather than devoted husband. On one occasion, Pablo chided, "*por fortuna tuya llegó tú carta en momentos antes de comprometerme á casarme con una joven, púes te consideraba muerta*,"[122] [fortunately for you, your letter arrived moments before I was to commit myself to marry a young woman, well I considered you dead.]

On her Saint's day in 1851, Pablo wished Josefa well while suggesting that he cared more for her than she cared for him. He attributed this to her perceived laziness and unwillingness to make sacrifices. On this occasion, he toasted to her health, writing:

> He tomado un prado de champaña á tú salúd púes me he acordado mucho de tí, lo que tú quien sabe si lo hagas de mí… yo bien se qué eres bastante floja para escribir pero creía qué harías algún sacrificio para darle este gusto a tú viejo."[123]
>
> [I have toasted a glass of champagne to your health for I have remembered you much, who knows whether you have thought the same of me… I know very well that you are too lazy to write but thought that you'd make a sacrifice to please your old man].

Josefa's household management, which included childrearing and overseeing chores, has already been discussed and revelas much of the daily activity which impeded her correspondence. In spite of his criticism of Josefa for not writing him, Pablo's own discourse addressed Josefa's occupations. Antonio María, Pablo's brother, advised Pablo of Josefa's pregnancy and that as of April 10, 1857, "*no había habido aún aumento en la familia*,"[124] [there had not been an addition to the family]. Several years later, Pablo noted, "*por Antonio María se qué tú panza te impedia escribirme, pobre vieja, cuán gorda debes de estár*!, [through Antonio María I know that your stomach impeded you from writing me, poor old lady, how fat you must be!] Pablo suggested to Josefa that he too was not feeling well, yet he was still able to write her, "*yo también estoy sufriendo mucho del estomago pués hace más de veinte días que nada puedo comer sín agriarseme demodo que lo que á tí te sobra á mí me falta porque con tanta dieta estoy desbarrigado*," [I also suffer a lot from my stomach, well it has been 20 days that I can not eat anything without it turning sour in such a way that what you have in excess, I lack because with such a diet I am bellyless]. In her absence, Pablo relied on other women to care for his medical needs. He wrote, "*pobre yo estoy muy desmayado y nada agusto, quizás cuando vea juntas a mís comadres puede qué me reponga con el caldo. ¿No creés qué me aliviaré con eso*?"[125] [poor me, I am very faint and uncomfortable, perhaps when I see my comadres I will get better with their soup. Don't you think I

could get better with that?] Thus, Pablo addressed his discontent with her inability to write by relaying his own writing in spite of discomforts. It can be concluded that in doing this he attempted to induce guilt on Josefa for not having done the same.

Pablo was clearly unsympathetic to Josefa's plight at times. In February 1857, Pablo wrote that through a letter from Antonio María he was made aware that Josefa had not written him because their daughter Paulina was sick. Still, Pablo chastised Josefa for not writing regarding Paulina's condition. In spite of his daughter's illness, Pablo complained, "*al paso qué yo deseo ver tús letras mas que cua - lesquiera otras, siempre es mí desgracia el que tú tienes alguna causa qué te impide hacerlo,*"[126] [at the rate I long to see your letters more than any others, it is always my misfortune that you have an excuse that impedes you from writing them]. Pablo's dismissal of Paulina's illness as an excuse for Josefa's lack of correspondence sought to place his misery in the center of a much more complex situation: he demonstrated a lack of consideration for Paulina and Josefa's own misery.

On another occasion, his lack of compassion and understanding for Josefa's laborious childrearing was evident. When daughters Erminia and Deflina were approximately three and two years of age, he wrote, "*siento muchos los malos ratos que te han dado Erminia y Delfina pero como ya están sanas tu estarás descansada pero yo no tengo aquí descanso casi ni de noche… cuando te vea que será a fines de este mes o principios del que entra te contaré un lance que hace tres días me paso con una muy linda moza,*"[127] [I sympathize that you have endured bad times with Erminia and Delfina, but now that they are healthy you should be well rested while I don't get any rest, not even at night… When I see you, which should be at the end of this month or the beginning of next, I shall tell you of an event that I had with a very pretty young woman about three days ago]. Because he did not witness Josefa's work or perhaps because he underestimated its value, Pablo was certain that he worked harder than her. He wrote that he could not even get rest at night, while not taking into account several "intangibles" such as Josefa possibly having to wake up in the middle of the night to tend to their two and three-year-old daughters while he was away.

The sexualization of his discourse was evident in his reference to an encounter with "u*na muy linda moza,*" which may have been made to badger Josefa. Yet, on another occasion, he wrote in more explicit terms from San Luis Obispo, "tell Chonita [an unidentified woman who may have been the servant "Chinita"] that there is an Indian woman here who is old and who has an infallible secret remedy for fattening the legs and enlarging the breasts, but who also wants to be paid. So if she is interested in the matter and wants to use it, I can pay for the treatment here and she can pay me there with a certain thing, which if now she is not very stout, I can make her stout with the secret I have and which I believe is good not only for the legs and the breasts, but also for… the certain thing with which she could repay me for so useful a secret."[128] Regarding the exchange of the "infallible" leg and breast enlargement remedy for sex as described in this letter, Geiger ascertains that after consulting an unnamed Spanish-born physician practicing psychiatry in Southern California, it was the physician's opinion that "Pablo is writing in jest, and that his remarks fit very well with a Spanish sense of humor with regard to the matters touched upon."[129] What made the physician an authority other than his racial and cultural background remains unclear. The Spanish-born physician's apologist assessment dismisses Pablo's use of sex in a manipulative manner to attempt to affect Josefa's behavior in a manner favorable to Pablo or risk the possibility of his infidelity. Further, the physician's and ultimately Geiger's assessment dismissed the sexualization of this text as a "cultural" practice, which because it entailed a "sense of humor" accepted the cultural deficiency model. Thus, Pablo's cultural background was utilized as an explanation for his flawed behavior, whereas mainstream sexism and patriarchy, such as that reflected in Geiger's own assessment of the text, is made to appear distant, objective, and pure.

Pablo's complaints were sometimes accompanied by sincere queries which were intermingled with manipulative statements meant to induce guilt and pity. Regarding his desire to be with Josefa, he wrote "*si supieras las ganas que tengo de estar contigo me tendrías hasta lástima. No sé porque pienso que cuando vaya y te vea á mí lado (ojalá fuera ahorita) voy á pasar un buen rato,* [if you only knew the desire I have to be with you you would even pity me.

I don't know why I think that when I go to see you and have you at my side (I wish it were now) I am going to have a good time]. This passage revealed the sincerity of a man who was lonely and longed for his wife's company. He continued, "*cuentame algo ¿Por qué no me escribes? parece que siempre que viene el vapor se te antoja enfermarte de la cabeza. ¿Qué no puedes escribir uno o dos días antes y tener tu carta lista con anticipación? Vamos: tu no me quieres a mí, como yo a tí. ¿No es verdad?*[130] [Tell me something, Why don't you write? It seems that every time the steamer comes it occurs to you to get sick in the head. Can't you write one or two days before and have the letter ready with anticipation? Well, you do not like me as I like you. Isn't this true?] On another occasion, Pablo excused his brevity on his own headache, writing "*el otro día te puse dos renglones que apenas pude escribir por lo que me dolia la cabeza pero ahora estoy mejor gra - cias a Dios…*"[131] [The other day I barely wrote two lines because I had a headache, but now I feel better, thank God…]

Her lack of response often frustrated Pablo. In another letter, he complained to Josefa, "*llegó el vapor pero no trajo carta tuya ¿Porque, dime, te olvi - das tanto de este tú pobre y aflijido viejo? Porque tan ingrata dejas de escribirme ya que solo cada 15 dias puedes hacerlo*?"[132] [The steamer arrived, but it did not bring your letter. Why, tell me, do you forget this poor and heartbroken old man so much? Why do you so ungratefully refrain from writing me now that you can only do so every two weeks?] His reference to being a poor and heartbroken old man, as well as his appeal to her to write ahead of time followed by his assessment that "*tu no me quieres a mi como yo a tí,*" [you don't like me as I like you] implied his attempt to induce pity and guilt in order to get Josefa to write.

Pablo's accusations of Josefa's perceived ungratefulness demonstrated his belief that he contributed more both materially and emotionally to their relationship. However, he failed to recognize Josefa's contributions, which included raising their children and managing the household. Even still, he extended his discontent at not receiving attention from his children. He wrote, "*parece que tu y tus hijas se hán propuesto á nunca escribirme si yo primero no escribo. ¿Porque hacen esto? Tu debias escribirme y cuidar que tus hijas también,*"[133] [it seems that you and your daughters have proposed to never write me if I do not write first. Why do you do this? You should write me and take care that they do too]. Thus, he expected Josefa to include in her duty, as a mother and caretaker, the assurance that her daughters write to their father. The detachment from his daughters in his reference to "tus hijas" [your daughters] implied his association of their non-writing to Josefa's perceived ungratefulness.

On another occasion, Pablo wrote:

> *No hay duda que tengo una mujer y unas hijas tan amorosas, que si yo no les escribo, tampoco ninguna se acuerda de mí, ní menos toman empeño en saberlo. Hoy hace 25 días que no las veo pero como yo no escribí tampoco de nadie he tenido carta. Yo no había escrito por que no sabia adonde, pues esperaba que me avisaras donde estabas, si en Simí ó Sta. Barbara.*[134]
>
> [There is no doubt that I have a wife and some daughters that are so loving, that if I do not write them, then none will remember me, who don't even take obligation in knowing it. It has been 25 days since I have seen you, but as I did not write, neither did I receive letters from any of you. I had not written because I didn't know where, well I expected you to let me know where you were, if in Simí or Santa Barbara].

Although Pablo complained about what he considered to be a lack of Josefa's letters, his own lack of writing was apparent in his discourse. By his own admission, lack of time did not permit him to write his sister and an unidentified woman to whom he asked Josefa to relay the message, "*que tengan esta [carta] por suya y que me dispensen que no les escriba apartamente porque ya es muy noche,*"[135] [to take this (letter) as theirs and that they excuse me for not writing them their own letter because it is too late]. On many occasions, Pablo indicated that he did not have an opportunity to write or that certain factors caused him to be brief. In spite of various obstacles, it appears that his constant writing was due in part to homesickness.

His homesickness was evident in his reference to social events such as his father's saint's day. "*Supongo que hoy estarán gozando de placer y buena comida por ser día de los Josés pero yo aquí lo pasaré como todos los demas, triste y solo,*"[136] [I take it today you will enjoy the pleasantness and good food during this day of the Joses (referring to el día de San José or Saint Joseph's Day), but I will spend it here like all the rest, sad and lonely]. Lack of funds prohibited Pablo from addressing such homesickness at times. In a letter dated Dec. 22, 1860, he wrote to Josefa, "*espero que se diviertan bién la pascua mientras yo aquí me aburro en mí cuarto por que ní a donde ír tengo en razón que la bolsa esta vacia,*" [I expect that you will enjoy your Christmas, while I am here bored in my room because I don't even have a place to go since my pockets are empty].[137] The following month he referred to Josefa's bad Christmas but quickly followed that due to illness, "*yo no las he pasado mejores porque las pase en cama de un fuerte catarro y fonquera y como llovió tanto ese día no quise empe - orarme y me quede todo el día en cama,*" [I did not pass it much better because I was in bed with a severe cold, and since it rained so much that day, I didn't want to make it worse so I stood in bed]. However, his illness did not keep him from attending mass, in which "*varias veces durante la Misa me acorde de tí y de los demas,*"[138] [a few times during Mass, I remembered you and the others].

The dependence on streamers and stagecoaches, despite their apparent regularity, hindered the degree of communication because they were usually on weekly or bi-monthly schedules. Given the physical detachment, the slow pace of mail delivery frustrated Pablo even more. Reflective of this, Pablo complained in April 1851, "*estoy muy enfadado y abur - rido, pero no he podido salír de este diablo de lugár,*"[139] [I am fed up and bored, but I have not been able to escape this devil of a place]. Such boredom helped explain his constant nagging of Josefa to write. Upon receipt of letters from Josefa, Pablo greeted them with "*recibí tú muy deseada cartita… tú cartita me ha llenado de placer,*" and "*recibí tús apreciables renglones,*" ["I received your much desired little letters… your little letter has filled me with pleasure," and "I received your valued lines"]. In such cases, his use of diminutives to describe the objects he longed for, the "cartitas," indicates that these letters had taken on a life of their own as they were one of the few methods of communication available. The letters became a tangible representation of Josefa's words and ideals which he could hold onto for a duration of time.

Indeed, Pablo's desire to be with his family was genuine. His longing was evident in his letters and was used as collateral in an effort to solicit responses from others that were favorable to him. His reference to lack of cash on hand provides a glimpse into the enhanced frustration of being alone and not having the means to socialize. Yet, on occasions when he did have cash, Pablo attempted to address his loneliness through various means.

In spite of his loneliness, Pablo once ably found four friends in Sacramento with whom to celebrate his 13th anniversary, though in Josefa's absence, writing, "*siento que no pudiste celebrar nuestro 13 aniversario de union,*" [I'm sorry that you could not celebrate our 13th anniversary]. Reassuring her that not all was lost, he continued, "*…yo fui más feliz porque dos días antes me puse a jugar ventiuno y gane $40 con los que costie una comidita de 4 ami - gos y brindamos a tú salud,*"[140] […I was most happy because two days before, I played Twenty-one and won $40 with which I bought some food for four friends and we toasted to your health].

Pablo found other social events in northern California provided an opportunity for leisure. Such was the case when he received an invitation from the Sacramento Pioneer Association to "participate in the festivities of the… anniversary of the admission of the State into the Union."[141] Aseries of letters in the de la Guerra Collection – SBMAL from various individuals, Californios, and Euroamericans alike, suggest that his presence and favor was in high demand.[142]

Pablo's absence from home was necessitated by political and economic considerations for his family. He withstood deprivation and loneliness in order to look out for such interests. Likewise, social and political events affected the mood in his discourse. Geiger and Cassidy concluded that Pablo rarely discussed public affairs with Josefa while Pubols addressed this sharing of public space between Pablo and Josefa with regard to hosting. But closer examination reveals that Pablo did indeed share discussion

of his non-domestic, "public" endeavors with Josefa. The sharing of private and public space between Pablo and Josefa took on a sexualized character at times. When this occurred, Pablo limited and belittled the public and professional experiences he shared with Josefa.[143] The following section examines the intersection of "public" and "private" space in Pablo's discourse.

The Intersection of "Public" and "Private" Space

Historian Cynthia Orozco writes that feminists argue that "men have subjugated women to the domestic sphere – the home – where the major societal decisions are not made."[144] The feminists to whom Orozco refers rely on the emphasis by traditional historians on institutional history as the primary field of analysis. Power here is determined by that space in which public policy, or "major societal decisions" are made and not made. Thus, the creation of mutually exclusive, sex-specific spheres for scholarly purposes has been done as much for convenience in organizing data, as for the emphasis on the existence of difference and conflict between men and women. To suggest that the home connotes "private" space and that any and every activity outside the home connotes "public" space does not do justice to our attempts at understanding the dynamics of negotiation for power along gender, race, and class lines. Indeed, the intersection of these spheres, provided they exist as rigidly as has heretofore been documented in the first place, has been addressed by various scholars.[145]

In her essay "Creating Community: Mexican American Women in East Los Angeles," sociologist Mary Pardo demonstrates that Mexican women's efforts to improve quality of life in East Los Angeles during the 1980's influenced conditions in their neighborhoods and at times changed household arrangements. Pardo writes that "women's community activism can either change the traditional domestic division of labor or reinforce 'traditional' gender expectations."[146] Thus, the division of public/private and male/female realms is problematic because they are often intersected.

The construction of public and private space in Geiger, Cassidy, and Pubols'treatment of Pablo's letters to Josefa suggests that public space was male-dominant, while private space was the realm of "mistresses of the house." Although reference is made to women taking part in hosting public and private functions in the house, the functions themselves remained male-dominant. The evidence demonstrates that Pablo rarely shared public experiences with Josefa, and the times he did, he curtailed their importance by his use of sarcasm, or by belittling or sexualizing the text. In doing this, Pablo created a superficial exchange that emphasized his work as a politician and judge rather than a true political conversation.

On one occasion as a judge, Pablo wrote, "I am writing this [letter] during today's session while I am listening to declarations of witnesses, so that I hardly know what I have written nor what I am writing, so who knows if I can read or understand this."[147] Pablo's admission that he wrote to Josefa while sitting on the bench, listening to eyewitness testimony, indicates his disregard for his duty as a judge, and for his correspondence with Josefa in this instance. Moreover, Pablo's act of incorporating Josefa into what he may have perceived as his "public life" was done in such a manner that his demeanor toward Josefa was unlike the demeanor he may have expressed in front of others. For instance, spectators and parties in court the day he wrote this letter were mislead to believe that perhaps Pablo was taking notes of testimony. This facade afforded Pablo the opportunity to maintain a modicum of professionalism to those observers. Yet, to Josefa, Pablo lacked undivided attention and failed to engage Josefa in some form of thoughtful discussion regarding his duties as a judge.

Pablo wrote to Josefa that when he was named "*Teniente Gobernador*" [lieutenant governor], she acquired "one more title" by her association to him. Jokingly he wrote that she now had so many titles that she should in turn delegate some among other female members of the family.[148] The significance of these titles reveals Pablo's attempt to include Josefa in the public life he enjoyed by projecting a privileged social status onto her. He attempted to reinforce his perceived centrality in relation to Josefa and other women of the family by implying that as an extension of the illusionary male-provider role, he provided elite social status as well. The absence of Josefa's written record notwithstanding, literary critic Genaro Padilla argues that Josefa's sister-in-law, Angustias de la Guerra, provided a critical assessment of Cali-

fornio men, whom she believed misjudged Euroamerican intentions in California prior to the conquest. The idea of men providing elite social status to women seems outlandish to Angustias, who described an incident in which she and several other women chose to hide a Californio, by the name of José Antonio Chávez from Euroamerican troops. While she was subjected to a search of her home and had a gun pointed to her head by the Euroamerican soldiers, Angustias (and the other women) successfully hid the man under a pile of blankets upon which her infant slept.[149] Thus, Pablo's attempt to intersect public and private domains through his suggestion that others – women in particular – received their social status through him demonstrated his emphasis on male privilege as determining hierarchy in public and private space. Angustias' recollection, however, demonstrated that during war time, she and other women became the "public" actors.

Upon his return to Los Angeles from San Bernardino in 1863, Pablo proclaimed that he was "*muy satisfecho porque los Yankes se prendaron de mí patriotismo y las Yankes de mí buena presencia, demanera que tu corres riesgo allí,*" [very satisfied because the Yankees were won over by my patriotism and the (Yankee) women by my fine appearance, in such a way that you run a risk there].[150] Patriotism was the subject of his winning over a group of unidentified, yet politically worthy, male Yankees. Pablo added that the Yankee women in the group were won over by his "*buena presencia"* in such a way that Josefa is left to ruminate on the possibility of his infidelity once more. Thus, Pablo ascertained that Euroamerican men were attracted to him politically, while Euroamerican women were attracted to him sexually. On the surface, it appears that Pablo did not perceive an intersection of politics and sex along "public" and "private" spheres. However, what he perceived as the public and private spheres of politics and sex as well as his suggestion of infidelity reveal that his use of sexual politics resulted is an attempt to affect Josefa's behavior as well.

His use of sexuality in various letters reveals two patterns. He referred to the interests of women, whether real or imagined, in a way that he hoped to incite Josefa to respond to him. The application of these innuendos to political affairs demonstrated that Pablo's political and private lives were not exclusive of one another. Because Pablo was away and Josefa was in the presence of family members, these innuendos further suggested that Pablo believed his public life gave him leverage by which he could impact Josefa's behavior. In this capacity, his public life was used, not only to negotiate, but to attempt to administer his perceived authority within the family.

Construction of mutually exclusive bi-polar spheres is misleading when examining how Pablo introduced public affairs into his private conversations with Josefa. Josefa's testimony in the murder case involving the Indian servants in the de la Guerra kitchen demonstrated that she, too, was present and significant in deciding judicial matters, where "major societal decisions" were made. These quarters remained male-centered and controlled. As a widow in 1890, Josefa filed a lawsuit in superior court against the city and county of Santa Barbara for usurping a portion of the land she inherited upon Pablo's death. She claimed that on May 1, 1887, the City of Santa Barbara "wrongfully and unlawfully" ousted her from her property and withheld compensation in the sum of $5,000. Losses included rents and profits at approximately $100 per month from the property on the northeast corner of de la Guerra Street at State Street.[151]

In response to the complaint, attorneys for the City of Santa Barbara countered that in the years 1875 and 1876, a City Hall was erected at a cost of over $12,000 with Josefa's full knowledge and assent.[152] Josefa ultimately lost the suit and the land on which de la Guerra Plaza and City Hall are now situated. She persisted and filed an appeal which was also denied. While ultimately defeated, this suit demonstrated Josefa's active participation and resistance to government agencies in a public forum. Although she did not testify in this particular case, her prosecution demonstrated that, in spite of socially imposed public and private spheres, she chose to pursue compensation for her lost land.[153]

Conclusion

"Historical writing in the 20th Century," writes Lloyd Kramer, "has evolved through institutional and intellectual patterns that have produced a perennial historiograpical tension."[154] Indeed, the incorporation by historians of non-historical disciplines to aid their interpretations "has led to the expansion and redefinition of the political orientation of traditional histori-

ography."[155] One field that has had a profound impact on historical interpretations is literary criticism. Scholars who combine history with literary criticism engage themselves in a discourse which recognizes the power of language as an active agent. The production of historical knowledge has occurred in at least four phases, in which language performs an active, subjective task: primary sources, secondary "conventional" and revisionist scholarship, and critical analysis (or subaltern studies). When searching for the "true" meaning of words, one finds it necessary to not take at face value the various phases in the production of historical knowledge. Instead, the participants and investigators in each of these phases become subject to interpretation themselves.

In his essay "'Yo Sola Aprendí': Contra-Patriarchal Containment in Women's 19th Century California Personal Narratives," literary critic Genaro Padilla presents five narratives by Californianas and two by Californios while acknowledging that of the 150 Californiana/o narratives compiled by Hubert Bancroft and his research assistants, fewer than 40 were women's. Given the dependency of history as a discipline on written documentation as "hard evidence," such imbalances have resulted in a male dominant perspective of history which portrays men as actors, while women's narratives were "considered either supplemental to the men's or as a source of information for what Bancroft referred to as the "woman's sphere."[156] This study examined the discourse of one Californio elite and attempted to turn his monologue, as represented by other historians, into a dialogue between Pablo de la Guerra's written discourse and Josefa Moreno de la Guerra's actions, as described in this same discourse.

The problems encountered by this study point to the need to reexamine written documents and to reanalyze qualitative data within contexts provided by theoretical questions of race, class, and gender. However, the focus on physical, material, and biological categories of analysis need to be augmented by an understanding of cultural and ideological manifestations in one's quest for social positioning. Early scholars of the Chicano/a family argued that as the patriarchs' control of wealth eroded in the post-conquest era, so did their control over family behavior. Other scholars concluded that capitalism was not the saving force for women and children from patriarchy. However, for the latter, most of their arguments have been based on economic conditions, which have described occupational space and its impact on shifting gender roles in a transforming family and economy. The family was but one of many institutions which were transformed in the second half of the 19th Century. This paper addresses material as well as non-material factors, such as the differences between perceived ideals and expected social behavior.

The cultural economy of patriarchy, during the period examined, was one in which ideology and behavior revealed inconsistencies between socially constructed beliefs and actions during the transformation from pre-industrial capitalism to a market-oriented industrial capitalism. This resulted in a negotiation of differences between Pablo and Josefa in which his illusion of patriarchal authority was consistently challenged by Josefa. Her refusal to correspond on his terms and her unique responses to his words and actions within the context of a shifting economy lead one to investigate and reconstruct her activities and examine more closely the reasons why she appears to be a less avid letter-writer and has been subsequently labeled "lazy" and "selfish." With this in mind, I addressed four themes in Pablo de la Guerra's discourse that examine the cultural economy of patriarchy, which was not static in the de la Guerra marriage, but persisted nonetheless.

The section entitled "Paternity, Maternity, Childrearing, and Household Management" addressed the intricacies of Pablo and Josefa as parents and household managers. It described the complexities which Josefa undertook, which may have prohibited her from writing as often as Pablo would have liked. In re-examining her household management and Pablo's attempt to assert his patriarchal domain in spite of geographic dislocation, this section portrayed their relationship as a rather complex one. Social expectations of a "proper" change of command were consistently upset by the behavioral patterns of Josefa and their children. Josefa's role as a household manager calls into question the need to further examine her contributions as a historical actor.

The second section "Demystifying the Male Provider Role" examined the social constructions of women's expected roles as material dependents on men. This perceived dependency was 'demystified'

by dissecting the various tones of discourse and by contesting the illusions of complete economic dependency of women and children on patriarchs. This was done within the context of shifts in consumption patterns, as dictated by an unstable economy and the de la Guerras' power and desire as consumers. The purchase of luxury and subsistence goods by Pablo, who was physically detached from the family, reveals that physiological and social needs were maintained, but that Josefa had much to do with the choice of consumption, as demonstrated by her rejection of non-perishables.

The third section "The Patriarchy of Manipulation, Guilting, and Pleading" examined a passive-aggressive attempt by Pablo to assert patriarchal privilege, by imposing guilt and attempting to provoke an accommodating response from Josefa. This section examined the complexities of patriarchy and the fluidity of domination. While James C. Scott has written of *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, this section in effect inverted Scott's idea and reconstructed Josefa's resistance and Pablo's arts of domination by looking at Pablo's passive-aggressive behavior.[157] Thus, while Scott writes of arts of resistance, this examined arts of domination. Still, further study is needed to ascertain how people in power maintain their power, in current and historical contexts.

The last section, "The Intersection of 'Public' and 'Private' Space" examined the devaluation and sexualization of Pablo's references to public events in his private conversations with Josefa. Pablo did indeed intersect public and private considerations with Josefa, but what is telling is the manner in which he chose to do so. On some occasions in which he shared his public life with Josefa, he sexualized the experiences. This reveals his attempt to reassert his domain over that particular part of their life.

Together these four sections critique the conclusions of historians Geiger, Thompson, and Pubols, namely that Pablo de la Guerra was a unidimensional historical actor and that Josefa Moreno de la Guerra was less of a historical agent because she was not "a letter writer." Although Josefa complied with the "traditional" gendered task of providing underwear for Pablo, their relationship marked a departure from socially constructed and expected behavior along class and gender lines. With the decline of the de la Guerra family and the economic turmoil which precipitated it, patriarchy asserted itself in multiple forms. However, their relationship was much more complex than what has been described by previous scholars. It has been my attempt to begin to scratch beneath that surface. Indeed, as Californios and Californianas meted out responses to the consequences of Euroamerican conquest, they had not only *estranjeros* [foreigners] to deal with in the new power structure; they also had one another to contend with within the local-native, socio-political hierarchy. The struggle for favorable social positionality saw many lives inverted in unforeseen ways. The complex relations of Pablo and Josefa de la Guerra were particularly symbolic of this inversion. Pablo's letters were characterized by the appropriation of privilege by immigrating Euroamericans. Reflective of the plight of Californios, who saw their world crashing upon them, Pablo was left *con sus calzones al revés*, [with his underpants on inside out].

Endnotes

1. See article, Father Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., "Selected Letters of Pablo de la Guerra to His Wife, Josefa Moreno, 1851-1872," *Noticias: Santa Barbara Historical Society*, Vol. XX, No. 3, Fall 1974, pp. 1-23; Joseph E. Cassidy, "Life and Times of Pablo de la Guerra, 1819-1874," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1977; and Helen Louise Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra: Family and Community in Nineteenth Century Santa Barbara," MA thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1991.

2. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 2.

3. Ibid.

4. Cassidy, "Life and Times of Pablo de la Guerra," 200.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 201.

7. Ibid.

8. To the contrary, evidence exists that Josefa Moreno de la Guerra was indeed an active historical agent. See *Josefa Moreno de la Guerra vs. The City of Santa Barbara, 1890*. Special Collections, Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara. In this lawsuit, filed in Superior Court, Josefa sought damages from the City of Santa Barbara for having usurped her land. For further discussion of this case, see Gabriel Gutiérrez, "Mexican and U.S. Gender and Land Values in Conflict: *Josefa Moreno de la Guerra vs. The City of Santa Barbara*." Paper Presentation, 10th Annual Conference, California Studies Association, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, February 1998.

9. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 15.

10. See introduction in Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra." Historian Joseph Thompson estimates that the house was under de la Guerra ownership for 115 years. See Thompson, "Casa de la Guerra - Santa Barbara," in *Noticias*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, Spring 1972, 6. Pubols' study, while informative, lacked critical analysis perhaps because it was ultimately used as a piece to promote tourism and commerce by the Santa Barbara Trust for Historical Preservation.

11. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 6; Cassidy, "Life and Times of Pablo de la Guerra," 200-203, describes this situation as "Pablo's one-sided correspondence with Josefa,"; Geiger, "Selected Letters," 2, describes Josefa as "not a letter writer."

12. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 146-147.

13. Ibid., 49.

14. Ibid.

15. See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers, 1971 the various functions and consequences of hegemony.

16. Early intellectuals who raised these foundational questions include Frantz Fannon, *Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press, 1963; Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Continuum, 1971; Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, International Publishers, 1971.

Scholars have built on these early foundations and have generated various fields that include cultural studies, critical pedagogy, and critical legal studies. In the field of cultural studies we see: 1) The fields of of critical pedagogy and cultural studies have seen prolific scholarly production in recent years. Among the most thought-provoking, see Rodolfo Acuña, *Sometimes There is No Other Side: Chicanos and the Myth of Equality*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998; Antonia Darder, *Culture and Power in the Classroom: A Critical Foundations for Bicultural Education*. Westport: Bergin and Garvey, 1991; Henry Giroux, *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*. New York: Routledge, 1992; Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press, 1984; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997; and George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

In the field of critical legal studies, see Derrick Bell, *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice*. New York: Basic Books, 1987; Richard Delgado, *The Rodrigo Chronicles: Conversations About Race and America*. New York: New York University Press, 1995; and Jean Stefancic and Richard Delgado, *No Mercy: How Conservative Think Tanks and Foundations Changed America's Social Agenda*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.

17. Hooks, *Feminist Theory*, p. ix.

18. See Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989; and Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.

19. Hunt, *The New Cultural History*, 7.

20. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 12-13.

21. Rodolfo Acuña, in *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*, recently addressed this phenomenon among Chicano/a Studies scholars. He argues that neo-liberal scholars uncritically accept the "American paradigm," which in effect produces a narrow and positivist vision of the Chicano/a experience.

22. Gloria J. Romero, "'No se raje, chicanita': Some Thoughts on Race, Class, and Gender in the Classroom," *Aztlán*, Vol. 20, 1-2, Spring/Fall 1991, 207.

23. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984; — "Chicano Family History – Methodology and Theory: A Survey of Contemporary Research Directions," in National Association for Chicano Studies, *History, Culture and Society: Chicano Studies in the 1980's*. Ypsilanti: Bilingual Press, 1983, 95-106; Alex Saragosa, "The Conceptualization of the History of the Chicano Family," in Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomás Almaguer, eds., *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy*. Stanford: Stanford Center for Chicano Research, 1983, 111-138.

24. Lea Ybarra, "Empirical and Theoretical Developments in Studies of the Chicano Family," in Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomás Almaguer, eds., *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies*, 91-110. In particular Ybarra refers to the following studies: Aniceto Aramoni, "Machismo," *Psychology Today*, January 1972, 69-72; Ari Kiev, *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Psychiatry*. New York: The Free Press, 1968; William Madsen, *Mexican Americans of South Texas*. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1964; Nathan Murrillo. "The Mexican American Family," in Nathaniel N. Wagner and Marsha J. Haug, eds., *Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives*. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby, Colo., 1971; Arthur J. Rubel, *Across Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966; and Evelyn P. Stevens, "Machismo and Marianismo," *Society*, Sept.-Oct., 1973.

25. Lea Ybarra, "Empirical and Theoretical Developments," 92-94. Indeed, studies by Patricia Zavella, Adela de la Torre, and Beatriz Pesquera provide a new context for this topic. See Patricia Zavella, *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987, and Adela de la Torre and Beatriz Pesquera, *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

26. Ybarra treats the following works: Octavio Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican American History." *El Grito*, Fall, 1968; Miguel Montiel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family," *El Grito*, 1970; Alfredo Mirande, "The Chicano Family: A Reanalysis of Conflicting Views." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1977; and Rita Temple-Trujillo, "Conceptions of the Chicano Family." *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, November 1974.

27. See in particular the works of Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979; Mario T. Garcia, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981; Richard Griswold Del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979; Griswold Del Castillo, *La Familia*. Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1948 to the Present. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984.

28. See Garcia, *Desert Immigrants*, 74-79. This particular citation is taken from p. 200.

29. Ibid., 201.

30. For discussion of religion and patriarchy, see Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia*, 25-39.

31. Further discussion of this type of ideological warfare that results in internalized colonialism, though in a different context, is found in Joel Spring, *Images of American Life: A History of Ideological Management in Schools, Movies, Radio, and Television*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992, and Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

32. Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia*, 129.

33. Patricia Zavella, *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University, 1987, 3.

34. See Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

35. Ibid., 21-39.

36. For the most recent of these works see Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in Adela de la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; "Women of Color and Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. LXI, No. 4, November 1992; "The Political Economy of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes of Californianas," in Adelaida R. del Castillo, ed., *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*. Encino: Floricanto Press, 1990; "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California," in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol XI, No. 1, 1990; — "Comparative Frontiers: The Migrations of Women to Alta California and New Zealand," in Lillian Schissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk, eds., *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989; and Deena J. González, "La Tules of Image and Reality: Euro-American Attitudes and Legend Formation on the Spanish Mexican Frontier," in Adela de la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building With Our Hands*; "The Widowed Women of Santa Fe: Assessments on the Lives of an Unmarried Population, 1850-1880," in Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds., *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*. New York: 1990; "Commentary," in Lillian Schissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk, eds., *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*; Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990; "They Didn't Call Them 'Padre' for Nothing: Patriarchy in Hispanic California," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo, ed., *Between Borders*; Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

37. See Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away.*

38. For a critique of Western feminism, Castañeda, "Women of Color and Western History," 513-514.

39. Ibid., 514.

40. Ibid., 526.

41. Deena J. González, "La Tules of Image and Reality: Euro-american Attitudes and Legend Formation on a Spanish Mexican Frontier," in Adela de la Torre and Beatriz Pesquera eds., *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 75-90.

42. See Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest,"; "Women of Color and Western History,"; "The Political Economy of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes of Califor-

nianas,"; "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California,"; — "Comparative Frontiers: The Migrations of Women to Alta California and New Zealand,"; and Deena J. González, "La Tules of Image and Reality,"; — "The Widowed Women of Santa Fe: Assessments on the lives of an Unmarried Population, 1850-1880,"; "Commentary," in Lillian Schissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk, eds., *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*.

43. González, "La Tules of Image and Reality," 86.

44. Castañeda, "The Political Economy of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes of Californianas," 213.

45. See Geiger, "Selected Letters,"; Cassidy, "Life and Times"; and Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra."

46. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 21, note 2.

47. Castañeda, "Gender, Race, and Culture," 7-20. See in particular p. 20, note 93; Genaro Padilla, *My History, Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993; "'Yo Sola Aprendí': Contra-Patriarchal Containment In Women's Nineteenth Century California Personal Narratives," in *The Americas Review: A Review of Hispanic Literature and Art of the USA*, Vol. 16, No. 3-4, Fall-Winter, 1988, 91-109; and Rosaura Sanchez, *Telling Identities: The California Tesimonios.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

48. Gloria E. Miranda, "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara," *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. LXV, No. 4, Winter 1983, 309.

49. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. March 4, 1857. de la Guerra Collection—Santa Barbara Mission Archives Library [Hereafter DLG-SBMAL]. See also, Geiger, "Selected Letters," 7.

50. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, State Senate. March 28, 1856. DLG-SBMAL.

51. Besides Los Angeles and San Luis Obispo, Pablo also held court in San Bernardino as part of his duties as District Judge.

52. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 68.

53. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San José. Apr. 7, 1851. DLG-SBMAL.

54. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 67.

55. Letter of Alfred Sully to his sister, Apr. 30, 1851, cited in Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," fn. 202.

56. The age of Angustias'child is estimated at one year based on Pubols'Appendix 1 which lists a genealogical survey of the de la Guerras. A child born to Angustias' is listed as being born in 1850. No exact date is given, nor are there dates listed for Angustias' set of twins which were born after. Historian Gloria Miranda writes that Angustias had twelve children from her first marriage to Manuel Jimeno. By her second marriage to James L. Ord, she had one daughter. See Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 163, and Miranda "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices," 308.

57. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Aug. 24 and 28, 1861. DLG-SBMAL. See also, Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 165.

58. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Aug. 28, 1861. DLG-SBMAL.

59. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 77.

60. Miranda, "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices," 310.

61. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 75.

62. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Eight and Ninth Census*, 1860 and 1870 as cited in Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," Appendix.

63. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 70.

64. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, L.A. Apr. 30, 1865. DLG-SBMAL.

65. Thompson, "Casa de la Guerra," 5.

66. Miranda, "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara," 308.

67. United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census*, 1850, as cited in Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra." I estimate that as many as nine rooms could have been used as bedrooms from two diagrams. The first diagram is from a recollection of Mercedes Dibblee Poett of the household from 1886-1910, in which five rooms are used to board people. A second diagram numbers the rooms as 10 including what is described by Dibblee Poett as a "guarda." The diagram shows a subdivision of the rooms in the first one, thus, indicating that in the least, nine rooms were capable of serving as bedrooms.

68. United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census*, 1860, taken from Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra."

69. This information is taken from Pubols, Appendix 1, "The Progeny of José Antonio Julián de la Guerra and María Antonio [sic] Carrillo," 160. The two children were Santiago and Cleotilde aged 22 and 20 respectively.

70. Joseph A. Thompson, O.F.M., *El Gran Capi - tan: José de la Guerra*. Los Angeles: Cabrera and Sons, 1961, 226-230.

71. The Corral de Quatí grant in Santa Barbara County measured 13,322 acres and the Zaca grant 4,458 acres. Dates for these land grants were not given. The ranchos in Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties she acquired as a result of the death of her husband listed as Cuyama No. 1 and Cuyama No. 2 totaled 22,193.21 and 48,827.5 acres.

72. Further evidence of the unequal distribution of land grants by acreage among the de la Guerras is seen in Joseph A. Thompson, *El Gran Capi - tan: José de la Guerra*. Los Angeles: Cabrera and Sons, Appendix I, 226-230.

73. Thompson, "Casa de la Guerra," 5.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., 4.

76. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 58-59.

77. Ibid., 146-147.

78. Ibid., 194.

79. Ibid.,192, 195.

80. Miranda, "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices," 316.

81. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 14-15.

82. Ibid., 16-17. See also Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 72.

83. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno la Guerra*, State Senate, Mar. 28, 1856. DLG-SBMAL.

84. Ibid.

85. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Jan. 3, 1861. DLG-SBMAL.

86. "Juego"could also be interpreted as a set of something as in a set of furniture. Owing to Francisca's age at the date of the letter (12 yrs.). I interpret it here as a "game" of some sort.

87. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Los Angeles. Feb. 4, 1866, cited in Geiger, "Selected Letters," 14.

88. Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 126-140.

89. Cynthia Orozco, "Chicana Labor History: A Critique of Male Consciousness in Historical Writing," *La Red/Net*, No. 77, 1984, 2-5.

90. See Robert R. Alvarez, *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987; Maxine Baca Zinn, "Qualitative Methods in Family Research: A Look Inside Chicano Families," in *California Sociologist: A Journal of Sociology ad Social Work*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer 1982, 58-79; "Chicano Men and Masculinity," in *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1982, 29-44; —"Ongoing Question in the Study of Chicano Families," in Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomás Almaguer, eds., *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies*, 139-148; Teresa Cordova, et. al., *Chicana Voices: Intersection of Class, Race, and Gender.* Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies Publications, 1986; Richard Griswold Del Castillo, *La Familia*; "Patriarchy and the Status of Women in the Late-Nineteenth Century Southwest," in James E. Rodriguez O. ed., *The Mexican and Mexican American Experience in the 19th Century*; — "Only for my Family…" Historical Dimensions of Chicano Family Solidarity – The Case of San Antonio in 1860," *Aztlán*, Vol. 16, No. 1-2, 1987, 145-176; — "Chicano Family History – Methodology and Theory: A Survey of Contemporary Research Directions," in *His - tory, Culture and Society: Chicano Studies in the 1980's*, National Association for Chicano Studies, 1983, 95-106; — "A Preliminary Comparison of Chicano, Immigrant and Native-Born Family Structures, 1850-1880," *Aztlán*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1975, 87-96; Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*; Gloria E. Miranda, "Hispano Mexican Childrearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara," 307-320; Douglas Monroy, "They Didn't Call Them 'Padre' For Nothing': Patriarchy in Hispanic California,"; Genaro Padilla, "Yo sola aprendí': Contra-Patriarchal Containment In Women's Nineteenth Century California Personal Narratives," 91-109; Beatríz M. Pesquera, "'In the Beginning He Wouldn't Lift Even a Spoon': The Division of Household Labor" in Adela De la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building With Our Hands*; Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*; Alex Saragosa, "The Conceptualization of the History of the Chicano Family," in *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies*, 111-138; Lea Ybarra, "Empirical and Theoretical Developments in Studies of the Chicano Family," in *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies*, 91-110; Patricia Zavella, *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987.

91. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Feb. 4, 1857; and *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Feb. 18, 1857. DLG-SBMAL.

92. Thompson, "Casa de la Guerra," 4.

93. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 43.

94. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 13.

95. See Thompson, "Casa de la Guerra" and Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra."

96. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 111.

97. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Jan. 28, 1860. DLG-SBMAL.

98. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. March 16, 1860. DLG-SBMAL.

99. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 49.

100. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno la Guerra*, Sacra. Mar. 4, 1857. DLG–SBMAL.

101. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacr. Mar. 19, 1857. DLG–SBMAL.

102. *Drury P. Baldwin to Pablo de la Guerra*, San Francisco. June 1, 1850. DLG–SBMAL

103. Ibid. Further discussion of the diversified economy in mining areas, particularly a shift to agriculture, is found in Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986; Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farm -*

workers. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981; and Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.

104. *Juan Antonio Aguirre to Pablo de la Guerra*, San Diego. Sept. 15, 1850. DLG-SBMAL.

105. Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 35-37.

106. Cassidy, "Life and Times of Pablo de la Guerra," 66-67.

107. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Jan. 25, 1862. DLG-SBMAL.

108. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, L.A. Feb. 7, 1865. DLG-SBMAL.

109. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Los Angeles. Feb. 19, 1865. DLG-SBMAL.

110. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 75.

111. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento, Mar. 19, 1857. DLG-SBMAL.

112. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Los Angeles, May 17, 1864. DLG-SBMAL.

113. Pubols, "The Casa de la Guerra," 45.

114. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 11.

115. Griswold Del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio*. See in particular tables 10 and 12 and Appendix B, pages 53, 59, and 186-187, respectively.

116. Maria Linda Apodaca, "A Double Edged Sword: Hispanas and Liberal Feminism," *Crit - ica*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Fall 1986, 97.

117. Castañeda, "Women of Color and Western History," 505.

118. Ibid., 506.

119. See in particular Genaro Padilla, "'Yo sola aprendí': Contra-Patriarchal Containment in Women's Nineteenth-Century California Personal Narratives," *The Americas Review: A Review of Hispanic Literature and Art of the USA*, Vol. 16, No. 3-4, Fall-Winter 1988, 91-109; Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Neither Activists Nor Victims: Mexican Women's Historical Discourse - The Case of San Diego, 1820-1850," *California History*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 3, Fall 1995, 230-243; and, Douglas Monroy, "'They Didn't Call Them 'Padre' For Nothing': Patriarchy in Hispanic California," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo, *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*. Encino: Floricanto Press, 1990. See also Robert L. Griswold "Anglo Women and Domestic Ideology in the American West in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Lillian Schissel, et. al., eds., *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988, 15-33.

120. Ray González, ed., *Muy Macho: Latino Men Confront Their Manhood*. New York: Anchor Books, 1996.

121. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 2.

122. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Los Angeles. May 17, 1864. DLG-SBMAL.

123. *Pablo de La Guerra to Josefa Moreno de La Guerra*, San Jose. Mar., 1851. DLG-SBMAL.

124. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Apr., 1857. DLG-SBMAL.

125. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Jan. 20, 1861. DLG-SBMAL.

126. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Feb. 1857. DLG-SBMAL.

127. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Los Angeles. May 1864. DLG-SBMAL.

128. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 17.

129. Geiger, "Selected Letters," fn. 60. Whether it was humor or not, the sexualization of text is also apparent in other less "humorous" occasions as will be examined below with regard to the transcendence of public and private space.

130. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Jan. 31, 1862. DLG-SBMAL.

131. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Sept. 3, 1861. DLG-SBMAL.

132. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Mar. 19, 1857. DLG-SBMAL.

133. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, L.A. Sept. 2, 1863. DLG-SBMAL.

134. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, L.A. Sept. 25, 1864. DLG-SBMAL.

135. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Jose. Mar. 19, 1851. DLG-SBMAL.

136. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Mar. 19, 1857. DLG-SBMAL.

137. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Francisco. Dec. 22, 1860. DLG —SBMAL.

138. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Jan. 3, 1861. DLG-SBMAL.

139. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, San Jose. Apr. 7, 1851. DLG-SBMAL.

140. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Mar. 16, 1860. DLG-SBMAL.

141. *A.A.H. Ball to Pablo de la Guerra*, Sacramento. Sept. 3, 1861. DLG-SBMAL.

142. Pablo was one of a few Californios who acted as mediators between Mexicans and Euro-Americans. He was courted by both groups to run for office and intercede on their behalves. Examples of these letters include: *José Abrego to Pablo de la Guerra*, Monterey. Aug., 1848, which treats the occupation of California and land loss; on Feb., 1854, John Bidwell wrote to Pablo "…You have long been in public service - your interests are closely connected with the country and your sympathies cannot but be for her welfare. How important then that a certain class who have already legislated so much to the great injury of the State - as examples may be enumerated the 'Vallejo Capital question states prison contract Water… schemes, etc.' and a vile attempt to defeat the confirmation of land titles in this State. The Devil would blush at acts so vile. True democracy requires no such villainy. This vital question may be contested so closely that its success or defeat may depend upon a single vote. I hope then, that one so deeply impressed with the welfare of the country as yourself will use his great influence to break down so vile a scheme." On Jan. 14, 1857 from San Miguelito, Miguel Avila wrote to Pablo, *"…he sabido que antes de irce el diputado Graves para la Asamblea le blieron de el una porción de individuos de los vecinos de San Luis para que reprecentara en la leges - latura y conciguiera el que una casa y un per - cante que esta en la cueba de mí propiedad conciguiera el que dara aveneficio del pueblo, le supluó yo a v. como representante del Senado que haga en mí fabor por mí parte y se oponga a que esto no se verifique por que es un grande perjuicio que se me hace a mi y a mí familia…"*

143. See Cassidy, "Life and Times of Pablo de la Guerra" for a discussion of Pablo's sharing of public experiences predominately with men.

144. Cynthia Orozco, "Chicana Labor History: A Critique of Male Consciousness in Historical Writing," *La Red/The Net*, No. 77, 1984, 2-5.

145. Feminists scholars, particularly women of color, have documented the multiple forms of feminisms that exist. See Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill, eds., *Women of Color in U.S. Society*. Philadelphia: Temple

University Press, 1994; Teresa Córdova, et. al., eds., *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990; Alma M. García, *Chicana Thought: The Basic Historical Writ - ings*. New York: Routledge, 1997; and Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Cen - ter*. Boston: South End Press, 1984.

146. Mary Pardo, "Creating Community: Mexican American Women in East Los Angeles," *Aztlán*, Vol. 20, No. 1 and 2, Spring and Fall, 1991, 40. See also, Pardo, "Identity and Resistance: Mexican American Women and Grassroots Activism in Two Los Angeles Communities," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990, and "Mexican American Women Grassroots Activists: 'Mothers of East Los Angeles'," in *Frontiers*, 1990.

147. Geiger, "Selected Letters," 17.

148. Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra, San Francisco. Jan. 20, 1861.

149. Padilla, "'Yo sola aprendí'," 97.

150. *Pablo de la Guerra to Josefa Moreno de la Guerra*, Los Angeles. Sept., 1863. DLG-SBMAL.

151. *Josefa M. de la Guerra vs. The City of Santa Barbara*, 1890. For more detailed analysis of this case see Gutiérrez, "Mexican and U.S. Land and Gender Values in Conflict."

152. *Josefa M. de la Guerra vs. The City of Santa Barbara*, 4-5.

153. For further discussion, see Gabriel Gutiérrez, "Mexican and U.S. Gender and Land Values in Conflict: *Josefa M. de la Guerra vs. The City of Santa Barbara*," unpublished paper.

154. Lloyd S. Kramer, "Literature, Criticism, and Historical Imagination: The Literary Challenge of Hayden White and Dominick LaCapra," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, p. 97.

155. Ibid.

156. Padilla, "'Yo Sola Aprendí'," 91-109. For further discussion of the use of Californio and Californiana testimonios during the 19th Century, see Rosaura Sanchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonies.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

157. See James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

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