

THE EARLY LIFE OF ATANACIA SANTA CRUZ DE HUGHES, 1850-1870:

A CASE STUDY OF ANGLO-HISPANIC MARRIAGE IN TUCSON

By

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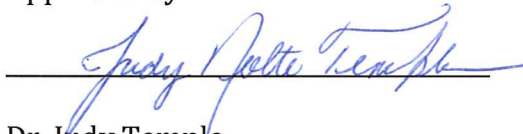
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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the childhood and teenage years of Atanacia Santa Cruz, born in Tucson in 1850, and considers the possible motivations behind her 1863 marriage to Samuel Hughes, a Welsh-American entrepreneur twenty-one years her senior. Atanacia and Sam's union is indicative of the unique period of cultural blending and exchange that took place in Tucson in the mid-nineteenth century. Anglo-Hispanic marriages could be mutually advantageous, potentially offering economic, political, and social benefits—as well as love and companionship—to both parties. Utilizing archival materials, oral history interviews, and scholarly texts, I have pieced together a biography of Atanacia's first two decades in order to better understand her circumstances in the years leading up to her marriage and the ways in which her life changed in the years following. Atanacia and Sam's relationship is analyzed from within the context of intercultural marriages in the American Southwest. Although Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes is more visible in the historical record than most Tucsonense women, only rarely is she the focus of the discussion; often, her own legacy is blended with or overshadowed by that of her Anglo husband. This paper is an attempt to give young Atanacia the voice she deserves.

## Introduction

I first became aware of Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes while looking for a subject for my history capstone paper in the fall of 2012. I read a short biography of her in Jan Cleere's *Amazing Girls of Arizona: True Stories of Young Pioneers* and was intrigued. The content and depth of Atanacia's chapter were suitable for a children's book, but it seemed that there must be more to her story. After spending a semester researching what life was like for girls and young women in 1850s and 1860s Tucson and writing a paper about Atanacia's early life, I still had many questions. I seek to answer these questions in this paper.

Atanacia Santa Cruz was married in 1863 at the age of twelve to Sam Hughes, a Welsh-American entrepreneur twenty-one years her senior. The most common reaction I have gotten when describing my thesis to people is, "She was twelve and he was thirty-three? Yuck! Ah, but that sort of thing was okay back then." But *was* it okay back then, I wondered? Was it relatively common in Tucson at the time for adult Anglo men to marry young Hispanic girls or was such a couple unusual?<sup>1</sup>

Social acceptability of the age gap aside, why, I asked myself, would thirty-something Sam Hughes want to marry a pre-teen Atanacia Santa Cruz? Why did she agree

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<sup>1</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "Anglo" as: "A resident of the United States of English or other white European origin, esp. as distinguished from one of Hispanic origin," and "Hispanic" as "A Spanish-speaking person, esp. one of Latin-American descent, living in the U.S."<sup>1</sup> These definitions are in line with the usage of eminent scholars of Southwestern and Arizona history, so I will continue to use these terms. These terms are not without problems; for example, it is difficult to know with which population group or groups a person identified. This is not necessarily a question of "whiteness"; the censuses of 1860 and 1870, for example, classified both Anglos and Hispanics as "White". *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Anglo, n.2," and "Hispanic, n." Furthermore, see *OED*, "Anglo-American, n.": "An American of English or other white European origin, esp. in contrast to American Indians or (later) Hispanic Americans."

to marry him? (*Did she, in fact, agree to marry him?*) What were their early years together like? What role did their different cultural backgrounds play in the relationship? The questions piled up; as soon as I would find the answer to one, a new mystery would appear—an enigmatic quote, a puzzling census entry, or conflicting dates. I first started researching Atanacia with the hopes of seeing what life was like for girls and young women in mid-nineteenth-century Tucson and understanding Atanacia's character and experiences within this context. But two years later, the answers remain complicated and elusive.

When reading history books, it can be easy to forget that the people being discussed are not merely nebulous historical figures but three-dimensional people who lived and died and everything in between. When I think about history in this way, it becomes more meaningful to me, which helps me to be a more compassionate writer. Throughout my research and writing I have always tried to remember that I am not just dealing with names on a page but with real people—people with complex lives, complicated motivations, and messy feelings. Atanacia Santa Cruz was an actual person who lived—a child who never knew her father and lost her mother when she was eight years old, but still played with her friends and liked to sew. She married a man two decades older than her when she was just twelve and lost her first two babies in the year and a half that followed. Atanacia gave birth to her eighth child (of an eventual fifteen), four of whom did not survive infancy, when she was twenty-two, the same age I am now. Although it is impossible for a twenty-first century historian to know precisely how this young woman felt or what she thought, it is not much of a stretch to guess that Atanacia experienced fear and sorrow. Hopefully she also experienced joy and love.

A cursory look at the history of Tucson in the first half of the nineteenth century gives an idea of the environment and community into which Atanacia Santa Cruz was born, a dusty Mexican outpost on the brink of rapid growth. Historical background on intercultural relations in the Presidio provides some context for the influx of Anglo-Americans and Europeans in the latter half of the century, a phenomenon that obviously had a major impact on Atanacia's life.

Piecing together the events and details of Atanacia's early life from a variety of sources creates a more complete picture of her circumstances at the time of her marriage to Sam Hughes. Her family relations, social position, economic situation, and cultural background may all have been factors in her decision (or possibly her family's decision for her) to marry. It is also important to know where Sam was coming from, both literally and figuratively. The challenges he had faced earlier in his life, the wealth he had built, and his aspirations for a prosperous future in Tucson might have played a part in the match.

The union of Sam Hughes and Atanacia Santa Cruz is indicative of the cultural blending and exchange that were taking place in Tucson in the 1850s to 1870s. Between the time that the first Anglos arrived in Tucson and the coming of the railroad in 1880, the town experienced relatively peaceful mutual assimilation between the Tucsonenses and incoming Americans and Europeans.<sup>2</sup> Marriages between Hispanics and Anglos, most often Hispanic women and Anglo men, contributed to such cultural blending. Cross-cultural marriages could be mutually beneficial, oftentimes offering economic, political, and social benefits—in addition to love and companionship, of course—to both Anglo men and

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<sup>2</sup> Following Thomas Sheridan's example, I use "Tucsonense" as a synonym for "Hispanic Tucsonan."

Hispanic women. It is from within this context of intercultural marriage that I will examine Sam and Atanacia's courtship and marriage.

### Notes on Sources

Much of the scholarly research that has been done on late-Mexican, early-American Tucson is focused on the pioneering *men*, with only glimpses into the lives of women and girls. Oftentimes, even in otherwise excellent histories, women are only mentioned alongside their husbands as background information. Albert L. Hurtado, a leading Western historian, explains: "Historians have usually concentrated on the more adventurous stories of priests, missions, soldiers, and Indian wars set in the context of Spanish, French, and British and U.S. territorial competition...[while] the histories of borderlands women...received scant attention from historians."<sup>3</sup> Many scholars in recent decades have worked to change this trend, actually considering women as active players in history rather than side notes. Research by such historians has been invaluable to my work, informing my analysis of Anglo-Hispanic marriages and helping me gain a better understanding of gender roles and intercultural relations in the mid-nineteenth-century American Southwest.

Scholarly research on Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes herself is fairly sparse. Although she has a stronger presence in the historical record than most Tucsonense women, only rarely is she the focus of the discussion; usually she is mentioned alongside her husband as a supporting character, her own legacy blended with or overshadowed by

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<sup>3</sup> Albert L. Hurtado, "Spanish Borderlands," in *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Vicki L. Ruíz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 699-700.

his. Furthermore, Atanacia “often appears in the historical record of Tucson as a mere representational vessel...for talking about great men who founded the pueblo and fought to defend its existence.”<sup>4</sup> Historian Frank C. Lockwood used his interviews with Atanacia as a framework from which to tell the story of significant male Tucsonans in his 1943 book *Life in Old Tucson, 1854-1864: As Remembered by the Little Maid Atanacia Santa Cruz*. This book, in Mexican-American studies scholar Nicole Guidotti-Hernández’s opinion, uses Atanacia’s story “to compensate for the lack of source material about her husband...and other important men in the community” in an act of “epistemic violence.”<sup>5</sup>

Starting in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continuing well into the twentieth century, there was a concerted effort to record and preserve the stories of “Old Tucson.” The Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, now known as the Arizona Historical Society, was established in 1864.<sup>6</sup> Many longtime residents were interviewed, including Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes. Most interviewees were men, and the written work produced during this period tended to favor the male side of Tucson’s story, largely ignoring the part that women played in it. That Atanacia’s recollections were considered valuable and of interest by early Tucson historians is significant, because many women—and most Hispanic women—in Tucson were not afforded the same opportunity to share

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<sup>4</sup> Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández, “Embodied Forms of State Domination: Gender and the Camp Grant Massacre,” *Social Text* 104 (2010), 95. The same may be said for Petra Santa Cruz, wife of Hiram S. Stevens, another significant figure in Tucson history, although to a lesser extent. Stevens’s unfortunate end—a botched attempt at killing his wife and a successful attempt at killing himself—may have played a role in blemishing Petra’s historical standing. For a fascinating examination of Petra Santa Cruz de Stevens’s experiences and struggles, see Guidotti-Hernández’s recent article, “Petra Santa Cruz Stevens and the Sexual and Racial Modalities of Property Relations in the Nineteenth-Century Arizona-Sonora Borderlands,” *Cultural Dynamics* 26 (2014), 347-378.

<sup>5</sup> Guidotti-Hernández, “Embodied Forms of State Domination,” 114n13.

<sup>6</sup> “History of the Arizona Historical Society,” *Arizona Historical Society*, <http://www.arizonahistoricalsociety.org/ahshistory/>.

their stories. Guidotti-Hernández writes, “Santa Cruz de Hughes is of particular importance to Chicana and Mexicana histories of Tucson because she is one of the few native Tucsonense women who has oral testimonies preserved in historical archives at the Arizona Historical Society.”<sup>7</sup>

Interviews with Atanacia tend to focus on what she remembered about early Tucson and its notable (male) inhabitants. Her own experiences and feelings seem to be secondary, and her personal recollections are treated like charming anecdotes, tidbits to give readers a glimpse of life in the Old Pueblo. This is not to say that the Tucson historians of the 1920s and 1930s did not respect Atanacia or were dismissive of her feelings. Lockwood seems to have held her in high regard and to have been genuinely interested in what she had to say. During his “Conference with Mrs. Hughes,” in addition to a number of questions about entertainment and architecture in 1850s Tucson, he asked about her “earliest recollections as a girl” and whether she remembered “any particular emotions or experiences in [her] earliest girlhood.”<sup>8</sup> Atanacia’s answers as they appear in the transcript are not as long or descriptive as one might like and are sometimes enigmatic. Later in the interview, Lockwood asked, “Do you remember any other things that particularly interested you as a little child?” to which she replied, “There was that I know but I am not going to tell.”<sup>9</sup> Lockwood appears to have left it at that. To have no further explanation after such an enticing, cryptic response is very frustrating for the inquisitive modern historian.

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<sup>7</sup> Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 311n98.

<sup>8</sup> Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Conference with Mrs. Hughes,” n. d., MS 441, Francis C. Lockwood Papers, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson (hereafter, AHS), Box 7, F.60, 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.



The role of intermediaries in Atanacia's oral histories is difficult to quantify.<sup>10</sup> The typescript of "Conference with Mrs. Hughes" lists three participants: Lockwood, Atanacia, and Emma Leonhardt, one of Sam and Atanacia's daughters.<sup>11</sup> It is unclear in what language the interview was conducted, but while Leonhardt prompted her mother a few times and elaborated on some of her statements, there is nothing that suggests she was translating for her mother. In another interview, conducted by Lockwood and Donald W. Page, "Doña Atanacia conversed with the latter in Spanish," and her responses were translated into English and converted to a narrative format in the transcript.<sup>12</sup> It is impossible to know exactly what was lost in translation and editing in this instance. It is possible to get some idea of how Atanacia's words were changed in the case of another interview, "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer: Personal Experiences of Mrs. Samuel Hughes (Atanacia Santa Cruz-Hughes)," as it was later cut down and published in the

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<sup>10</sup> The editors' note preceding "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer," an essay in the *Arizona Historical Review* based on an interview with Hilario Gallego (not to be confused with the similarly-titled typewritten transcript of an interview with Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes), is illustrative of the many middle men that might be involved in the process of recording oral history and preparing it for publication: "Hilario Gallego came to the office of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, located in 1926 at the corner of Main and Congress, Tucson, asking assistance in getting a pension for Indian War Service. So interesting was he that we made an appointment with him and, through the courtesy of Charles Morgan Wood, were able to get a stenographer to take down his story. What he said was interpreted by his friend C. J. Powers and taken down in shorthand by Mrs. Effie L. Scott. In transcribing Mrs. Scott's notes we found it necessary to re-group some of Mr. Gallego's statements and, for the sake of smoothness, to add or omit certain words. We also, in most cases, expanded into sentences his short answers. But as a whole the story stands as he told it and would lose its quaintness by being further edited.—The Editors." He was interviewed by Edith Stratton Kitt and Charles Morgan Wood on April 22, 1926. Hilario Gallego, "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer," *Arizona Historical Review* 6 (1935): 75.

<sup>11</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Conference with Mrs. Hughes," 1.

<sup>12</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Data on Tucson in the Late Fifties and Early Sixties of the Nineteenth Century, as Remembered by Mrs. Sam Hughes," interviewed 23 January 1929 by Frank C. Lockwood and Donald W. Page, MS 441, Lockwood Papers, AHS, Box 7, F.60.

*Arizona Historical Review*.<sup>13</sup> A comparison of the transcript, which itself had already been edited into a continuous narrative, and the subsequent journal article shows that several passages were omitted from the interview before publication; some were stories about other Tucsonans and some about the ongoing conflict with Apaches (though even after editing, much remained on this topic), but a number of the omitted sentences and paragraphs were more personal comments, relating to family and friends.

Aside from the issues of the interviewers' interests and biases and the degree of editing carried out, Atanacia's oral histories themselves are a bit problematic. She was interviewed in the 1920s, toward the end of her long life. Even if her memory was sharp, which it seems to have been, her perspective surely would have changed and adapted, shaped by the intervening years. Her worldview was undoubtedly different at seventy-eight than it was at eight, when her mother died, or twelve, when she married Hughes. There are many things Atanacia did not talk about in her interviews: she mentioned the deaths of her parents and going to live with her sister and brother-in-law, but she did not elaborate on the situation; she talked about her feelings on her wedding attire, but said nothing about her emotions on her wedding day; she described the new buggy and horses purchased in Los Angeles, but did not mention that she gave birth to a child while visiting the city.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer: Personal Experiences of Mrs. Samuel Hughes (Atanacia Santa Cruz-Hughes)," interviewed 19 November 1926 by Charles Morgan Wood and Edith Stratton Kitt, MS 881, Charles Morgan Wood Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.22. Santa Cruz de Hughes, "As Told by the Pioneers: Mrs. Samuel Hughes, Tucson," *Arizona Historical Review* 6 (1935), 66-74.

<sup>14</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "As Told by the Pioneers: Mrs. Samuel Hughes, Tucson," *Arizona Historical Review* 6 (1935), 70.

## Historical Context

With Mexico's declaration of independence from Spain in 1821, local Mexican forces assumed control of the Spanish Presidio de San Agustín del Tucson. The eleven-year battle for independence had taken its toll on Mexico's finances and infrastructure, however, and consequently the government did not have resources to spare for the small presidio, far away from the Distrito Federal. The Tucson garrison fell into disrepair and the *convento* was neglected. Frequent Apache raids and the subsequent flight of a number of settlers contributed to further dishevelment. Nevertheless, Tucson survived and, "for the next three decades the community carried on much as before, but the flag of Mexico flew above the walls..."<sup>15</sup>

Tensions over the Mexico-United States border heightened throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and came to a head in 1846 with the Mexican-American War. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848, in which Mexico ceded a vast part of its North American holdings to the United States.<sup>16</sup> This huge portion of the continent only included Arizona as far south as the Gila River, however, and thus, through the war and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Tucson remained in Mexico's possession.

When the Mormon Battalion, led by Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, marched through Tucson in December 1846, it was the "first important face-to-face

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<sup>15</sup> Andrea Boardman, "U.S.-Mexican War," in Vol. 3 of *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 777; C. L. Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times of an American City* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 30.

<sup>16</sup> Boardman, "U.S.-Mexican War," 776.

encounter in Tucson of Mexican and *Yanqui*, and kindness and courtesy prevailed.”<sup>17</sup> Tens of thousands of people, mostly Anglo men, followed the route charted by Cooke and his men, a large proportion travelling via Tucson, to join in the booming California gold rush in 1849 and 1850.<sup>18</sup> Gradually, a small colony of American settlers began to develop in the pueblo. Although the town was relatively isolated, it served as a waypoint between California and points east, and the presidio walls offered travelers protection from Apache hostility.

Tucsonenses’ relations with the nearby Papago (now Tohono O’odham) and Pima Indian tribes were generally good, but a decades-long struggle with bellicose Apache tribes continued. A common fear of Apache depredations—or, perhaps more accurately, a common enemy—helped unify the increasingly diverse population of Tucson. One historian wrote that “the isolated and hostile environment of the Santa Cruz Valley fostered interfamilial and interethnic cooperation,” and called the “external hostility” of the Apaches an “integrating factor” in the area.<sup>19</sup> Southern Arizona historian James Officer contrasts the hostility between Hispanics and incoming Anglos in California and New Mexico with the relatively peaceful cultural mixing that took place in Tucson. He argues that Apache attacks had so weakened Southern Arizona’s wealthy Mexican families that “the impoverished Mexican aristocracy of Tucson welcomed American annexation.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times*, 33.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Jacob Ernest Cooke et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies*, (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1993), 2:381, 434.

<sup>20</sup> James E. Officer, “Historical Factors in Interethnic Relations in the Community of Tucson,” *Arizoniana* 1, no. 3 (Fall 1960), 13.

### Atanacia's Early Years (1850-1870)

Atanacia Santa Cruz was born on August 14, 1850, to Juan María Santa Cruz and Manuela Bojorquez de Santa Cruz.<sup>21</sup> She had an older sister, Petra, born June 21, 1844, and an older brother, Filomeno, born January 22, 1846.<sup>22</sup> The Santa Cruz family had been living in Tucson for several decades by the time of Atanacia's birth; her great-grandfather, a Spaniard born in Sonora, moved to the Tucson Presidio circa 1778.<sup>23</sup> Atanacia's mother's

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<sup>21</sup> There are a few variations on the spelling of Bojorquez; it was spelled "Borquez" in Petra and Filomeno's baptismal records.

<sup>22</sup> Magdalena Catholic Church Records, University of Arizona Library Microfilm 811, Reel 1, Book 1, p. 120, no. 155 (Petra), and Book 2, p. 170 (Filomeno).

See also Homer Thiel, *Pioneer Families of the Presidio San Agustín del Tucson*, 277-278. There is some uncertainty as to how many children Juan and Manuela had; Thiel cites evidence that they may have had two more daughters, Luisa and Ignacia, between Filomeno and Atanacia, but this is as yet unsubstantiated. I have been unable to access the 1848 source which says that, at that time, Juan and Manuela lived with their daughters Petra and Luisa in Tucson (Thiel 276). I have not found any baptismal records for a Luisa Santa Cruz, and her name does not appear in subsequent censuses. If Juan and Manuela did have a daughter named Luisa, she must have died.

Thiel bases the idea of another possible daughter, "Ignacia," on the 1860 Census, which lists a Finacio/Finacia Lopas/Sopas/Jopas (readers cannot agree on what it says), aged twelve, living with Hiram, Petra, and Filomeno. I suspect that this is merely a misspelling and mis-aging of Atanacia. Hiram and Petra Stevens, twenty-eight and sixteen, are recorded as Horace and Petra Stephens, thirty-five and nineteen, and Filomeno, fourteen, is Filomeno Lopas/Sopas/Jopas, fifteen. It appears the enumerator was having a rough day.

There is also some question as to Petra's birthdate. She was baptized September 2, 1844, and the record states that she was a "niña de d—s meses once días". If one reads that as "dos meses, once días" and counts backwards, as Thiel evidently did, one will get June 21, 1844, for Petra's birth-date. I think it looks more like "dies [diez] meses, once días", which would be October 22, 1843.

<sup>23</sup> Thiel, *Pioneer Families*, 282. Juan María Santa Cruz's paternal grandfather, Modesto Hilario Santa Cruz (1752–1802), considered a Spaniard by social class (as opposed to a Coyote, Morisco, or Mulatto; see Henry F. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson: A Demographic History* [Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976], 153), was born in Real del Mortero, Sonora. He was married circa 1775 to Mariana (or Guadalupe) González (1753–c.1797) and moved from the Tubac Presidio to the Tucson Presidio shortly thereafter. Their sons,

family is harder to trace, but Manuela is believed to have been a Pima Indian or possibly of mixed Spanish and Pima ancestry.<sup>24</sup> Atanacia arguably embraced the Spanish side of her ancestry more than her indigenous heritage.<sup>25</sup>

The Santa Cruz family lived on Calle del Correo (Post Office Street, later called Pearl Street, no longer exists) a hundred feet west of the Calle Real (King's Street, today Main Street), just southwest of the old Puerta del Presidio (Presidio Gate). Their house was almost square, measuring some sixty feet along Calle del Correo, with a great portal entrance and a *zaguán* leading into an inner courtyard which measured some thirty to forty feet on a side. There was a smaller entryway leading from the courtyard out to the back to a large fenced area and several outbuildings. Behind the buildings grew tall thick shade trees, common in the neighborhood because of the proximity of an *acequia* and abundant water.<sup>26</sup>

Juan María Santa Cruz, Atanacia's father, died in the summer of 1851, in the outbreak of cholera that swept across Sonora.<sup>27</sup> It was reported that 122 Tucsonenses died that year (of cholera and otherwise), nearly a quarter of the town's total population.<sup>28</sup>

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Juan (c.1776–c.1823) and Ignacio (c.1780–?) were born in Tucson, and the latter was, like his father, a soldier at the Tucson Presidio (Thiel, *Pioneer Families*, 276).

<sup>24</sup> Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence*, 98. According to *Pioneer Families*, Manuela's father, Ildefonso Bojorquez, "had light brown hair, dark eyes, a large nose, a round face, and a light ruddy complexion" (Thiel, 23). Whether this describes someone with only Pima ancestry or someone of mixed heritage is perhaps impossible to know.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas H. Peterson, Jr., "The Buckley House: Tucson Station for the Butterfield Overland Mail," *The Journal of Arizona History* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1966), 155. See also Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times*, 43.

<sup>27</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer," 1. She said, "I was only ten months old when my father died with the cholera," putting his death around June.

<sup>28</sup> Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 251-255, 387n26.

Interviews with Atanacia in her later years give some idea of what her childhood was like in Tucson in the 1850s. According to Lockwood, “the little girls were carefully trained and guarded by their good Mexican mothers, or some older person, and were not allowed to go out much.”<sup>29</sup> Still, Atanacia remembered having some freedom to explore the pueblo with friends. She played with dolls, jumped rope, and played games like hide-and-seek and ring-around-the-rosy.<sup>30</sup> Atanacia told Lockwood, “In those days we didn’t go and play as much as they do today, and I was very much for sewing.”<sup>31</sup> Even as a little girl, she “sewed more than she played,” and in time, she became an expert seamstress.<sup>32</sup> She had some schooling, although to what degree and in what form is unclear. Other than what Atanacia herself remembered in interviews, little is known about childhood in 1850s Tucson, least of all how girls experienced it.

In 1854, James Gadsden negotiated the purchase of land south of the Gila River, including Tucson, for the United States of America. Shortly after Congress approved what came to be known as the Gadsden Purchase on June 29, 1854, “hundreds of Americans moved into the territory to improve their fortunes.”<sup>33</sup> Tucson was the largest town in Arizona at that time.<sup>34</sup> The Mexican garrison remained in Tucson to maintain order for two years—Atanacia remembered them marching up and down what is today Alameda Street

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<sup>29</sup> Frank C. Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson, 1854-1864: As Remembered by the Little Maid Atanacia Santa Cruz* (Tucson: Tucson Civic Committee, 1943), 8.

<sup>30</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Conference with Mrs. Hughes,” 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 15.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

every morning and evening to the music of drums and bugles—until United States troops took control of the Presidio de facto.<sup>35</sup> Lockwood describes March 10, 1856:

Atanacia stood in her own doorway, across from the great city gate and saw twenty-six ragged Mexican soldiers march out and proceed southward along the Camino Real, and at the same time observed with fascinated eyes four troops of United States Dragoons in bright uniforms and mounted on fine horses, ride in to take their place.<sup>36</sup>

Charles D. Poston arrived in August 1856, with an “outfit of young Texas adventurers,” intending to organize a mining and exploring company.<sup>37</sup> They happened upon Tucson just before the annual Fiesta de San Agustín. Lockwood quotes Poston as saying that he gave his men “two weeks furlough to attend the *fiesta*, get acquainted with the *señoritas*, confess their sins, and dance their boots off.” Atanacia watched the festivities from her doorway and windows every year, but she remembered, according to Lockwood, that it was “a more spectacular sight this year than usual, with all these lively daring young American men on hand enjoying themselves at the top of their bent.”<sup>38</sup>

Americans had been trickling in from the East since 1854, but from 1856 on this small American population grew rapidly. Although Anglo-Hispanic relations were good overall, some prejudices still developed on both sides. Meeks describes the lives and identities of the regional population as being “in a state of constant flux...defying the neat classifications made by Euro-Americans.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Data on Tucson,” 2.

<sup>36</sup> Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-58.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>39</sup> Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 18.



The Mexican lifestyle was seldom viewed with approval. The adobe house—comparatively cool in summer and warm in winter and well suited to the desert climate—became a symbol of Mexican backwardness and degeneracy...Women washing clothes beside the irrigation ditches and carrying water in *ollas* on their heads reminded some travelers of the Holy Land and its customs.<sup>40</sup>

Mexicans harbored prejudices and negative impressions towards the Americans, too. “The Americans at their worst were loud-mouthed, rude, domineering, and unclean—savages with a superiority complex.”<sup>41</sup> Still, upper- and middle-class Mexicans held a significant degree of political and economic power in Tucson. “Partly because of diversity within the elite class, it would be inaccurate to suggest that there was a clear racial order between Anglos, Mexicans, and Indians before 1880.”<sup>42</sup>

Response to the new arrivals was mixed. Western historian and folklorist C. L. Sonnichsen quotes Carmen R. Lucero, a Tucsonense woman interviewed by Arizona Pioneers Historical Society secretary Edith Stratton Kitt several decades later:

I have often heard my mother say that the coming of the Americans was a Godsend to Tucson, for the Indians had killed off many of the Mexicans and the poor were being ground down by the rich. The day the troops took possession there was lots of excitement. They raised the flag on the wall and the people welcomed them with a fiesta and they were all on good terms. We felt alive after the Americans took possession and times were more profitable.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times*, 39

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 25.

<sup>43</sup> “Reminiscences of Mrs. Carmen R. Lucero, as Interpreted by Miss Maggie Brady to Mrs. Geo. F. Kitt, 1928,” Hayden File, AHS, in Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times*, 40.

Atanacia recounted her own family's experience to Kitt, which Kitt recorded in her notes: Atanacia's aunt Guadalupe, her father's elder sister, was less confident when the Mexican *presidiales* began to pack up their belongings on carriages bound for Imuris, a municipality in northern Sonora to which the Sonoran governor had ordered them.<sup>44</sup> Guadalupe was afraid of the American troops, but she did not want to leave Tucson; everything she had was there, and she feared she would not be able to make a living elsewhere. However, John G. Capron, who was driving one of the carriages to Imuris, told Doña Guadalupe, "If your door was made of paper and you did not give the Americans any cause to tear it, it would never be torn."<sup>45</sup> Atanacia's aunt was very relieved and remained in Tucson.

Atanacia was always very close to her aunt. Guadalupe was a widow with no children of her own, and she took an active interest in the lives of her nieces and (although seemingly to a lesser extent) nephew. She became especially important to Atanacia and Petra when their mother, Manuela Bojorquez de Santa Cruz, died in 1858.<sup>46</sup> After Manuela's death, some of the family property was sold. "Guadalupe, as the senior survivor, apparently fell heir to the family home and lands. It is her name which appears on all the recorded transactions."<sup>47</sup> Guadalupe seems to have played an important role in orchestrating the marriage of her elder niece, teenaged Petra. It is unclear exactly when Petra was married to Hiram S. Stevens, a leading Tucson citizen and Anglo pioneer, but most evidence suggests they were married shortly before her mother's death in 1858,

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<sup>44</sup> Handwritten account, written down by Edith Kitt from an interview with Atanacia Hughes, June 1931, MS 366, Samuel Hughes Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.1.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Most sources say she died circa 1858, and Atanacia said she was eight when her mother died ("Reminiscences," 1).

<sup>47</sup> Peterson, Jr., "The Buckley House," 156-158n9.

when she was about fourteen years old and he about twenty-six.<sup>48</sup> Atanacia said that, following the death of her mother when she was eight years old, “the rest of the time up until I was married I made my home with my sister, Mrs. Hiram Stevens,” which would suggest that Hiram and Petra were already married at this time.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the 1860 census says Hiram and Petra lived in the same house with the same surname, but the “Married within the year” box is not checked. The Stevenses lived close to the Santa Cruzes’ house, probably on the west side of Main Street, along the periphery of the old presidio wall.<sup>50</sup> The large extended family provided something of a safety net when a relative was in trouble, and it seems that family members moved between households quite fluidly.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> No marriage records from this period in Tucson are known to survive, and as the first American newspaper was not established until 1859 and coverage was spotty even then, there are no marriage notices either.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps Manuela was ill for an extended period of time before her death, which would explain why Guadalupe seems to have held so much authority in Petra’s life and principally negotiated the girl’s marriage to Hiram Stevens. Manuela would only have been forty-five or forty-six when she died (in comparison, Guadalupe, her sister-in-law, lived to be eighty-four); she did not die in childbirth, and there was no major outbreak of disease in 1858, so a protracted illness is possible.

<sup>50</sup> I am not certain where exactly the Stevens family was living in 1858. Atanacia stated that she and Sam lived with Hiram and Petra after their marriage in 1863, and Sam traded Hiram a plot of land in exchange for the Stevens house a week later (“Reminiscences,” 3). Pima County deed records, as compiled in Thiel’s *Pioneer Families*, cast some doubt on some details of Atanacia’s story. According to *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, Hiram Stevens built his house, known today as the Hiram Stevens-Duffield House, at 151-163 North Main Avenue in 1865; however, based on its alignment and location, parts of the Stevens-Duffield House may in part date back to the original Presidio. The house today known as the Sam Hughes house at 221-223 North Main Avenue was begun c. 1864, and Atanacia says that she and her family moved into it in 1868. According to Thiel, other relatives may have been living with the Stevens family in the late 1850s-early 1860s. R. Brooks Jeffrey and Anne M. Nequette, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 56.

<sup>51</sup> Thiel, *Presidio Families*.

Although Tucson lacked an inn or hotel, the pueblo served as a stopping point for travelers and gold-seekers on their way to and from the west coast. One such traveler was Samuel Hughes. Born in Wales, August 10, 1829, Hughes immigrated with his family to America in 1837. He attended school for the first time in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, in 1841. The other children teased him about his English—perhaps he had a thick accent (a child who had already lived in America for four years was bound to have picked up some English)—and he left school after three days, never to return. He did learn to read and write at some point, although spelling and penmanship were never his strong suit, and it seems likely that he at least knew basic arithmetic, since he was such a successful businessman. Later in life, Sam became a champion of public education in Tucson; he called the town’s first public school “the pride of my life.”<sup>52</sup>

Hughes worked a variety of jobs in his younger years, eventually gaining notoriety as a skilled riverboat cook and securing passage to California.<sup>53</sup> He remained in northern California and Oregon for several years, prospecting and investing wisely. In March 1858, Sam, on his way to Texas with friends to buy cattle, decided to remain in the little town of Tucson. He was very ill, suffering from tuberculosis, and had injured his chest lifting a deer onto his horse while out hunting in Yreka, California, the previous winter.<sup>54</sup>

Hughes’s first encounter with the womenfolk of Tucson took place on his first morning in town, as he later recounted in a notebook. He and his traveling party, joined by

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<sup>52</sup> Samuel Hughes, “Samuel Hughes Notebook 1,” n. d., MS 366, Samuel Hughes Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.4a, 74.

<sup>53</sup> Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 203-204; Edith Stratton Kitt, “Mr. Sam Hughes: A talk given by Mrs. Geo. F. [Edith Stratton] Kitt at the dedication of the Sam Hughes School, March 12, 1928,” MS 366, Samuel Hughes Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.1.

<sup>54</sup> *The Arizona Daily Star*, “End Comes to Sam’l Hughes,” June 21, 1917, p. 8, col. 2.

a new acquaintance, Anglo Tucsonan Palatine Robinson, were taking their “daily antidote,” as they called it, for scorpions, tarantulas, and centipedes.

About this time the women commenced coming [to the acequia] for water for the day. They carried all they [would] use in ollas on their heads. The ollas were of all sizes from [one] pint to five gallons, and [we saw] about 250 or 300 women coming and going with ollas on their heads. But the worst of all, we could not see any of the women’s faces as they all wore *rebozos* or pieces of *manta* over their faces and only had one eye [exposed] so they [could] see, and they all looked as cunning as a fox.<sup>55</sup>

That evening, the travelers heard a fiddler and drummer going from place to place. “Asking what it meant,” Hughes wrote, “We was [sic] told we was to have a reception in the shape of a *baile* that evening, so off we all started and put on our Sunday clothes so we could see those curious faces that we had been looking at all day.”<sup>56</sup> It seemed to Sam that the whole town was in attendance, so that “it looked more like a big family gathering than a dance.”<sup>57</sup>

According to him, old men and women, children, Papago, and Apaches “turned out in full

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<sup>55</sup> Samuel Hughes, “Samuel Hughes Notebook 2,” n. d., MS 366, Samuel Hughes Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.4b, 37-39. For the sake of intelligibility, I have gone against my preferred practice of leaving the text as close to the original as possible; I have cleaned up spelling, modified verb tenses in a few cases, and added punctuation. The original notebooks cover a fairly random smattering of topics and are very difficult to read, due to Hughes’s poor spelling and penmanship. Donald Page typed up faithful transcripts of the notebooks, for which I am most grateful; I have used these transcriptions here. The original excerpt from Sam’s notebook, via Page, reads as follows:

As we had been accustom to tack antidote about that time in the morning for the Skorpin & Terantel & Sentapeads I asked him [Pamar Robbison; presumably Palatine Robinson] to join us and he did about this time the weman comenc coming for wattr for the day they carrid all they use in oies on their head the oies were of all sices from pint to 5 gallons & to sea about 250 or 300 weman coming & goin with oies on their head but the worst of all we could not sea ennie of the weman faces as they all wore Revoises of peac of manto ovr ther face & only had one ey so they can sea & they all look as cunn as a fox.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

force.”<sup>58</sup> The musicians sat on a log, the ladies sat on poles and boxes, and the older people sat on sheep skins and rawhide. “At last the music started up and all took part in the dances and [a] more pleasant time could not have [been] had. We got acquainted with all the Tucsonans.”<sup>59</sup>

Whether Sam Hughes met young Atanacia Santa Cruz at the dance his first night in town is uncertain. She later told Lockwood, “I danced when I was quite a little girl,” but said she did not attend public dances. “We didn’t go to dances without an invitation.”<sup>60</sup> If Sam and Atanacia did not meet then, they must have become acquainted shortly thereafter.

In 1912, a Tucson newspaper recounted the story of Hughes’s arrival in the pueblo:

And now [March 12, 1858, when Sam Hughes arrived in Tucson] comes the romantic turn to Mr. Hughes’s remarkable life, for it was during the first year of his life on the desert that he met his wife. She was at that time only seven years old, a dainty little dark-eyed girl, who talked in her pretty Spanish tongue of the things of interest to children. But Mr. Hughes, then 29, was interested in the charming little girl, and being a man who had learned patience in the school of hard experience, he waited for the little girl to grow into girlhood.<sup>61</sup>

Arizona’s desert air did Sam good and his health improved, and before long he befriended and went into business with another Anglo entrepreneur, Hiram Stevens, Atanacia’s brother-in-law. Hughes quickly established himself as a pillar of the Tucson

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Conference with Mrs. Hughes,” 5. See Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Arizona Star*, “Golden Wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hughes,” May 28, 1912. See Effie Leese Scott, “Bride Recalls Romantic Trip for Wedding: Matron of Old Tucson Tells Story on her Anniversary,” *The Tucson Citizen*, 27 May 1812.

community. As soon as he was well enough, he opened a successful butcher shop.<sup>62</sup> “In addition to butchering, government contracting, and buying and selling real estate, he ranched, and owned mines, and grubstaked prospectors.”<sup>63</sup> Sam said of his diverse interests, “I had a spoon in every soup.”<sup>64</sup>

Despite its relative remoteness, Tucson felt the effects of the Civil War taking place in the eastern states. Confederate President Jefferson Davis claimed Arizona as a Confederate Territory in February 1862, and Confederate troops soon marched into town. Sam Hughes, who firmly supported the Union, temporarily fled to California to avoid being required to pledge allegiance to the Confederacy on pain of death. Sam left his business affairs in the care of Stevens and another partner, Alphonse Lazard, and bided his time in San Bernardino and Los Angeles before he was able to return to Tucson in early 1863. The Confederate occupation of Tucson was short lived, as Union troops promptly arrived in May of that same year to force the Confederacy out.<sup>65</sup>

In the spring of 1863, shortly after returning from his self-imposed exile, Sam Hughes proposed marriage to Atanacia Santa Cruz, his business partner’s young sister-in-law. “Then his suit for her hand was looked upon with favor, and there occurred in the territory one of the most romantic marriages of that period.”<sup>66</sup> She was not quite thirteen years old (but had apparently grown into girlhood), and he was thirty-three.

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<sup>62</sup> “A Pioneer of Pioneers,” *Arizona Sentinel*, March 23, 1911.

<sup>63</sup> Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 215.

<sup>64</sup> Kitt, “Mr. Sam Hughes.”

<sup>65</sup> *The Arizona Daily Star*, “End Comes to Sam’l Hughes.”

<sup>66</sup> *Arizona Star*, “Golden Wedding.”

Sam and Atanacia were married at the Misión San Xavier del Bac, just south of Tucson, on May 27, 1863.<sup>67</sup> The couple rode out early in the morning in a surrey with a white top, accompanied by Hiram, Petra, and Mr. and Mrs. Fritz Contzen.<sup>68</sup> As Atanacia later remembered, she wore a black taffeta gown and black lace mantilla at the behest of her aunt Guadalupe, who insisted, “a wedding was a serious thing and just as solemn as a funeral. So I respected her wishes and wore black, though I did not want to.”<sup>69</sup> In 1912, the *Arizona Star* published a description, perhaps a bit romanticized, of Sam and Atanacia’s wedding day:

San Xavier mission was the scene of the wedding, Padre Rosales performing the ceremony in the beautiful and quaint old mission a half-century ago. An interesting feature in connection with this is the fact that the great-

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<sup>67</sup> There is some long-standing confusion as to the date of Sam and Atanacia’s marriage. Although the Hughes family Bible says the couple was married in 1863 and Atanacia confirmed this in at least two interviews, some sources persist in claiming the couple was married in 1862. In Lockwood’s “Conference with Mrs. Hughes,” he asked her, “You were married in ’67?” To which she replied, “No. ’63.” In “Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer,” the transcript of a 1926 interview, she clearly stated, “I was married in 1863” (2). The version of that interview published in the *Arizona Historical Review* nine years later has inexplicably changed the marriage year to 1862 (“As Told by the Pioneers,” 66). Further support for an 1863 wedding is Atanacia’s comment in “Reminiscences” that she and Sam had to go out to San Xavier because they wanted to be married on a Wednesday and the priest only came to Tucson on Saturdays; May 27, 1863, was, in fact, a Wednesday, whereas May 27, 1862, was a Tuesday. Plus, Sam is supposed to have been in California in May 1862. But just to complicate matters further, even though the Hugheses observed their tenth anniversary in 1873 (*Arizona Citizen*, May 31, 1873, p. 3, col. 2), they appear to have celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in 1912, which would have only been their forty-ninth anniversary if Atanacia, the entry in the family Bible, and a number of other sources are to be trusted.

<sup>68</sup> According to Thiel, Fritz Contzen married sisters María and Margarita Ferrer consecutively (141). As Atanacia stated that Mrs. Contzen was the only person living who attended her wedding, I would guess this was Contzen’s second wife, Margarita Ferrer. If the 1870 census is accurate, Margarita was a good seventeen years younger than Fritz and would have only been about sixteen in 1863.

<sup>69</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer,” 4.



grandfather of the bride was one of the artists who painted the interior walls, which are today so much admired by the visitors to the quaint old cathedral.

Time has obliterated more or less the faces of the saints on the old walls, but when Mr. and Mrs. Hughes stepped over the threshold as bride and groom fifty years ago, the paintings were much more distinct and an ideal setting for a marriage.

It was a strange-looking bride who took her place at the alter [sic] a half century ago, for she was gowned in wedding garments of black throughout, wearing a long veil of black; her attendants also wearing garments of the same somber color. However, there were flowers, not many to be sure, but still flowers, and the gayety of the wedding party fully compensated for their black garments, which was the costume of the bride in those days in Arizona; also the beauty and grace of the bride could not be concealed by the garments of that day.

After the wedding, the party returned to Tucson and an elaborate wedding dinner was served in the new home, which the groom had prepared for his bride, and which is the same house in which the golden anniversary was celebrated Sunday.<sup>70</sup>

Atanacia gave birth to her first child, Juan Baptiste, in Tucson on January 14, 1864, when she was just thirteen years old. He either died the same day or was stillborn. Her second child, Theodore, was born November 9, 1864—just ten months after the first—and he did not survive either. A year later, on November 5, 1865, Atanacia gave birth to a daughter, Isabel. The little girl, known as Elizabeth or Lizzie, lived to be seventy-one years old.

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<sup>70</sup> *Arizona Star*, "Golden Wedding."

In 1866, Sam and Atanacia, accompanied by their infant daughter, as well as Hiram and Petra, set off on a two-year-long “wedding journey.”<sup>71</sup> Atanacia’s description of this trip is noteworthy, as it is one of the longest continuous narratives in any of her interviews and actually gives details on her own feelings as a young woman. The party traveled by wagon and stagecoach through Mexico to Guaymas and from there took a steamer—Atanacia’s first time at sea—to San Francisco, where they arrived on the fourth of July. Atanacia later recounted: “I’ll never forget it. The town seemed pretty big to me and there was lots of shooting going on and it seemed as though everybody was out celebrating. In the evening they had fireworks and I had never seen any before and I think they were the nicest fireworks I have ever seen in my life.”<sup>72</sup> The party stayed at the Ross Hotel, which was, in Atanacia’s words, “a very swell place in those days,” for six weeks.<sup>73</sup> Then they made their way to Santa Barbara, the Hugheses by steamer and the Stevenses by stagecoach.

Atanacia’s first impressions of Santa Barbara were quite different from her recollections of San Francisco. She remembered:

When we got there they [Hiram and Petra] came to meet us with a gentleman in a little old wagon. I looked at that wagon and said, “Is that the best you can afford down here?” You see, I had been used to the hacks in San Francisco. When I said that about the wagon, Sister pinched me. As we drove up to the hotel the dogs began to bark. So I said, “I haven’t heard dogs bark for a long time...what is this place, a ranch?” Then Sister pinched me again. You see, Santa Barbara was just a mission then and there was only this one hotel in

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<sup>71</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Reminiscences of an Arizona Pioneer,” 4.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

the place, and the man driving that wagon was the owner of the hotel. That is why Sister kept pinching me—she wanted me to stop making fun of things.<sup>74</sup>

Atanacia should not be judged too harshly for her bad manners; she was, after all, only about sixteen at the time and was not well acquainted with travel etiquette. It is fascinating to see how traveling affected Atanacia's perception of the world around her. Santa Barbara was probably not unlike contemporary Tucson, but after spending time in a metropolis like San Francisco, it seemed to her like a shabby, dull backwater town.

The party left Santa Barbara and took the stage to Los Angeles, where they stayed for several months, until February 1868. Some time during their stay in Los Angeles, Hiram, Petra, Sam, a visibly pregnant Atanacia, and young Lizzie sat for a series of portraits. Atanacia gave birth to a daughter, Margaret, on December 3, 1867 in Los Angeles. Interestingly, Atanacia did not mention this when recalling her long stay in the city. The party finally returned to Tucson in early 1868. A final anecdote about the epic trip is worth including, as it shows something of the dynamic between Sam and Atanacia and of their attitudes towards wealth:

While we were in Los Angeles, Mr. Hughes did a lot of buying. He got two teams of fine mules—you know, we drove the eight-mule teams in those days. He also got a pair of fine white driving horses and a new buggy. We drove all the way back to Tucson with this outfit and it took us thirty days to get here. I knew that as soon as Mr. Hughes got those things home they would be turned into cash. I wanted to use that driving team a little—I wanted to drive around town and show it off—it was nice and new. Mr. Hughes left me home then went right down to the corral and came back in just a little while [later], and I said, "Where's the team?" He laughed and said, "In my pocket!" He sold everything just as soon as he got down there. He

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

said the men were waiting for him with their money and when they offered it to him, he took it.<sup>75</sup>

Atanacia's honeymoon trip was filled with firsts—first time seeing and sailing on the ocean, first time witnessing fireworks, first visit to a major city—and she wanted to share (and flaunt) her new sophistication with her friends and family back in the Old Pueblo. It seems Sam was more focused on business than indulging his wife's perhaps indecorous braggadocio.

Sam and Atanacia, along with their two young daughters, moved into their house at 223 North Main Street in 1868, where they would remain for the rest of their lives.<sup>76</sup> Main Street, with the fine Stevens and Hughes houses, would not have fit at all with the picture Irish-American travel writer J. Ross Browne painted the same year:

[T]he most wonderful scatteration of human habitations his eye ever beheld—a city of mud-boxes, dingy and dilapidated, cracked and baked into a composite of dust and filth; littered about with broken corrals, sheds, bake-ovens, carcasses of dead animals, and broken pottery; barren of verdure, parched, naked, and grimly desolate in the glare of a southern sun. Adobe walls without whitewash inside or out, hard earth-floors, baked and dried Mexicans...<sup>77</sup>

Tucson in the 1850s and '60s was not New York or Boston, but it was certainly not “what Sodom and Gomorrah must have been before they were destroyed by the vengeance of the Lord.”<sup>78</sup> Such unsympathetic descriptions of Tucson and its inhabitants did not take into

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>76</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “As Told by the Pioneers”, 67; Jeffrey and Nequette, *Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 55.

<sup>77</sup> J. Ross Browne, *Adventure in Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 132-133.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 131.

account the hardships which the inhabitants of the fairly isolated desert settlement faced daily, nor were they cognizant of the citizens' efforts to improve (and in many cases Americanize) their pueblo.

On March 25, 1869, Atanacia gave birth to a third daughter, Manuela. The child lived just a few months, dying June 21, 1869. Nine months later, on March 31, 1870, nineteen-year-old Atanacia bore her sixth child, Samuel Hughes, Jr. Young Sam died from malarial fever on May 6, 1870. Atanacia gave birth to nine more children over the next twenty-one years, eight of whom survived to adulthood. She did not mention the births or deaths of any of her children in her interviews, but each one of them is carefully noted in the family Bible.<sup>79</sup>

### **Anglo-Hispanic Marriages: Research and Analysis**

It was quite common on the frontier for Anglo-American and Anglo-European men to marry the daughters of local Mexican families, and such marriages between Hispanics and Anglos played a major role in the cultural blending of the American Southwest. Intermarriage could be mutually advantageous, potentially providing political, economic, and social benefits to both parties. Anglo politicians who married into the Hispanic community had an advantage when seeking votes, and wealthy Mexican families had some protection from loss of extensive landholdings.<sup>80</sup> Alliances between Anglos and Hispanics facilitated business deals and real estate transactions and were "good foundations for

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<sup>79</sup> Samuel Hughes family Bible, record pages, MS 366, Samuel Hughes Papers, AHS.

<sup>80</sup> Jane Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process," in "Intercultural and Interracial Relations," vol. 14 of *History of Women in the United States: Historical Articles on Women's Lives and Activities*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (Munich: Saur, 1993), 172-173.

commercial relationships.”<sup>81</sup> Intercultural marriages brought Anglo men into the complex kinship networks of the local community and arguably gave their Hispanic wives more power, both in society and on a personal level. Any or all of these potential benefits might have been factors behind the marriage of Atanacia Santa Cruz and Samuel Hughes.

As with settlement in other frontier regions, Anglo immigration to the American Southwest was mostly male, and thus, “intermarriage as well as informal sexual unions almost exclusively involved Mexican women and Anglo men.”<sup>82</sup> There were not very many Anglo women in the Southwest in the 1850s to 1870s, least of all single women, and therefore far fewer marriages occurred between Anglo women and Hispanic men. Arizona historian Thomas Sheridan states that only two such marriages were recorded in Pima County in the 1870s, which he attributes to the “paucity of potential Anglo brides.”<sup>83</sup> James Officer claims that, in the Tucson area specifically, the sexual imbalance amongst Anglos stemmed in part from the instability caused by the continued Apache threat, which discouraged Anglo women from moving to the area.<sup>84</sup> The cross-cultural links forged between Hispanic women and Anglo men played a major role in maintaining relatively good relations between Tucsonenses and Anglo settlers—at least, until the railroad arrived in 1880, bringing more Anglo-American brides out West.<sup>85</sup>

In her study of mid-nineteenth-century San Antonio, Jane Dysart found that both Anglo and Hispanic families attended dances and parties, and such “frequent social contacts coupled with a surplus male population promoted intermarriage between Mexican

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<sup>81</sup> Hurtado, “Spanish Borderlands,” 697.

<sup>82</sup> Dysart, “Mexican Women in San Antonio,” 167.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 146-147.

<sup>84</sup> Officer, “Historical Factors in Interethnic Relations,” 13.

<sup>85</sup> Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 146; Officer, “Historical Factors in Interethnic Relations,” 14.

women and Anglo men.”<sup>86</sup> In Tucson, there were often dances and festivals, as well as picnics and moonlight bailes on patios.<sup>87</sup> As Sam Hughes attested in his notebook, Tucson’s dances were attended by Anglos, Mexicans, and Native Americans alike, so there was plenty of opportunity for intercultural social interactions.<sup>88</sup>

Marriage to a Hispanic woman was a way for an Anglo man to become a part of local society and gain a wide circle of kin and social connections, which in turn could be his entrée into local business, politics, and land ownership. Anglo men valued their Hispanic wives “as helpmates, links to powerful Hispanic families, and as mothers, companions, and lovers.”<sup>89</sup> Although both Hiram Stevens, the husband of Atanacia’s elder sister Petra, and Sam Hughes were certainly successful on their own, it is likely that their ties to the Santa Cruz family helped them gain footing and widen their spheres of influence in Tucson.

Although the Santa Cruz family was well-established in Tucson, having served at the Presidio and lived in the pueblo for several decades, it does not appear that Atanacia’s immediate family was especially wealthy. The family owned some real estate, including land along Calle del Correo and a field west of the old Presidio, much of which was sold off piecemeal throughout the 1850s to 1870s.<sup>90</sup> Atanacia and her elder brother, Filomeno, were each listed as possessing \$250 of real estate in the 1860 census.<sup>91</sup> It is likely this was their portion of the Santa Cruz family estate, inherited from their deceased parents.

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<sup>86</sup> Dysart, “Mexican Women in San Antonio,” 173.

<sup>87</sup> Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 7-8.

<sup>88</sup> Hughes, “Samuel Hughes Notebook 2,” 37-39.

<sup>89</sup> Darlis A. Miller, “Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience, 1846-1900,” in Cott, *History of Women in the United States*, 37.

<sup>90</sup> Thiel, *Pioneer Families*, 270-280.

<sup>91</sup> 1860 census, New Mexico Territory, Arizona Territory, Tucson, p. 12, lines 39-41. Petra was not listed as having any assets of her own, perhaps because her individual wealth was subsumed by her husband’s on their marriage.

Wealthy, successful men like Stevens and Hughes would probably have been appealing matches for socially prominent—but not necessarily financially well-off—young women like Petra and Atanacia Santa Cruz.

In Tucson, “intermarriage between Anglos and Mexicans was common, and Anglo men who were parties to these marriages—both formal and common law—were often the social, economic, and political leaders of the community.”<sup>92</sup> Describing a few instances of Anglo settlers who married into the New Mexico Territory’s elite Hispanic families and grew to prominence, Darlis A. Miller writes, “These marriages tied an intruding foreign population to the ruling class of New Mexico and smoothed transition to American rule.”<sup>93</sup> Many of the wealthiest, most prominent Anglos in Tucson, including Governor Anson P. K. Safford, Pinckney Randolph (P. R.) Tully, Peter R. Brady, Fritz Contzen, William Oury, and John Sweeney, married Hispanic women.<sup>94</sup> According to Officer, the women these men married were often members of longtime northern Sonoran families, who were thus well-established and well-connected in the area. “Through these women...the most prestigious Anglo men in Tucson entered the complex kinship network which bound together the Tucson Mexican colony.”<sup>95</sup> By Officer’s count, there were seven Anglo-Hispanic unions listed in the 1860 census and forty-three unions ten years later. “The male partners to

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<sup>92</sup> Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, 311. A Hispanic wife was not the sole factor in wealth building, though. John Clark, a carpenter from Pennsylvania, married to a Mexican woman named Concepción, declared \$5,000 in real estate and \$5,500 in personal assets in 1860. By 1870, however, his fortune was down to \$300 real estate and \$100 personal, in spite. 1860 census p. 19, lines 12-14; 1870 census, Arizona Territory, Pima County, Tucson, p. 52a, lines 27-31.

<sup>93</sup> Miller, “Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest,” 39.

<sup>94</sup> Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 146.

<sup>95</sup> Officer, “Historical Factors in Interethnic Relations,” 13.



these marriages included the most prominent Anglos of the period.”<sup>96</sup> In some cases, the wife died and the husband married another Mexican woman. Peter R. Brady was married first to a Sonoran woman, Juanita Mendibles, and then, after Juanita’s death, to Mary Antonia Ochoa of Florence, Arizona.<sup>97</sup> Fritz Contzen married two sisters, María and Margarita Ferrer, in succession. This helped cement Contzen’s position as an important figure in the community. As Sonnichsen put it, “In 1862 he married into an old Spanish-Mexican clan and started a family which is still represented among the public-spirited citizens of Tucson.”<sup>98</sup>

Dysart found that, in San Antonio, almost half of the Anglo-Hispanic unions that took place between 1837 and 1860, “involved women from high status families,” and “at least one daughter from almost every *rico* family in San Antonio married an Anglo.”<sup>99</sup> It seems likely this would hold true in Tucson as well. Unfortunately it is very difficult, if not impossible, to tell the women’s pre-marital economic and social status from census data alone in most cases, and a deeper inquiry is beyond the scope of my research at this time. Many factors together contributed to the financial success of Anglos in Tucson, so it is difficult to say to what degree intercultural marriages were actually responsible for the men’s wealth and success. Most, if not all, of the very wealthy Anglo men had some assets when they arrived in Tucson.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid. My own tally of the records was slightly different, but I will yield to Officer’s findings; I trust that he was better versed in the ins and outs of nineteenth-century territorial censuses than I am and probably had more refined, accurate methods of identifying relevant Anglo-Hispanic marriages.

<sup>97</sup> Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times*, 49. The Brady family still has a strong presence in Florence.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 50; Thiel, *Pioneer Families*, 141.

<sup>99</sup> Dysart, “Mexican Women in San Antonio,” 171-172.

Still, many of the rich Anglos married to Mexican women got substantially richer. Hiram Stevens is listed as having no real estate and a personal value of \$6,000 in 1860 (after approximately two years of marriage to Petra Santa Cruz) and \$10,000 of real estate and a personal value of \$100,000 in 1870. In 1860, Sam Hughes possessed real estate valued at \$250 and had a personal value of \$1,000. Ten years later, having married Atanacia and firmly established himself and his business in the community, Sam had \$4,000 of real estate and \$21,000 of personal wealth.<sup>100</sup>

Real estate transactions reveal a complicated network of business relationships, both inter- and intracultural. Land was sold and exchanged between relatives and with people outside the family. On July 14, 1864, Hiram Stevens sold his brother-in-law Sam Hughes a house along the Overland Mail Route.<sup>101</sup> Exactly four years later, Hughes gave his wife's aunt Guadalupe \$200 "for her portion of a field she inherited from her father" and paid Filomeno, Atanacia and Petra's brother, \$300 "for a field west of Tucson."<sup>102</sup> It is impossible to be certain without carefully examining the original records, but it seems plausible that Hughes might have been purchasing adjacent lots in an effort to reunify the Santa Cruz family estate, which was presumably divided up after the deaths of Juan Santa Cruz and, later, his son Juan María Santa Cruz. With Atanacia's portion of the field, Sam would probably have had a sizeable piece of real estate to sell later. Hughes's ties to the Santa Cruz family clearly aided his acquisition of formerly Mexican-owned real estate.

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<sup>100</sup> If "Finacia" in the 1860 census is actually Atanacia (see n22), she had \$250 of real estate to her own name in that year.

<sup>101</sup> Thiel, *Pioneer Families*, 271.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 275, 277. Real estate changed hands between Tucsonenses and Anglos alike. Guadalupe Santa Cruz received a house and lot from Anglo settlers Bill and Granville Oury in exchange for a lot on the west side of the Calle del Correo in 1862. In 1871, she sold a house and lot (possibly the same property that she received from the Ourys) to Alejandra Elías (Thiel, 274-275).

Marrying local women could help Anglo men ease into local politics and business circles, but it was also meaningful on a personal level. These men were typically outsiders, thousands of miles from their own hometowns and kin. “Many Hispanic families welcomed Anglos into their homes, thus filling a void for the newcomers caused by loss of intimacy and family life.”<sup>103</sup> Sam Hughes left home as a very young man and for many years traveled around the country on his own, never completely settling down. A few of his siblings eventually joined him in Tucson, becoming notable local figures themselves, but when Sam came to town in 1858, he was alone. The Hispanic concept of community was based on *la familia*, which consisted of a large extended family and a wide circle of relatives across several households; “an intricate web of kinship fused village members into a cohesive and supportive folk society.”<sup>104</sup> Atanacia’s close relatives—her brother, sister, brother-in-law, and aunt—provided Hughes with the comfortable and steady home life he had so long been without, while her greater familia—including cousins, distant relatives, and fictive kin created through godparentage—offered him support and a place in the community.

Marriage to Anglo-American or European men could also be socially beneficial for Hispanic women. It has been argued that, because both Anglo and Hispanic cultures were “masculine in orientation” and patriarchal, “the wife’s function was child care and home management, while the husband assumed primary responsibility for making decisions affecting the family’s relationship to the society.”<sup>105</sup> However, while marriage to Anglo men may not have forced Hispanic women to greatly alter role expectations, Miller suggests that Hispanic women married to Anglos generally had more freedom than those who had

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<sup>103</sup> Miller, “Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest,” 41.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>105</sup> Dysart, “Mexican Women in San Antonio,” 168-169, 177.

married Hispanic men. Although Anglo husbands expected their wives to be subservient to some extent, they also wanted them to be their partners and helpmates. “These Anglo-oriented values may have placed subtle pressures on women to modify traditional behavior and indeed may have increased their power and independence.”<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, according to Sheridan, “Mexican women in Tucson clearly exercised more economic and social responsibility than the traditional model of the patriarchal Mexican family suggests.”<sup>107</sup> Perhaps this was the result of Tucson’s location: far-removed from the center of Mexican and American civilization.

Through the financial success and social prominence of her husband, Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes was able to achieve a higher status and take a more active role in Tucson’s increasingly Anglo upper class. In analyzing the *testimonio* given by Atanacia about her husband’s and her own participation in the Camp Grant Massacre, Guidotti-Hernández “examine[d] how this woman had access to state power at a time in history contemporary readers might think of as prohibiting such a thing because she was non-Anglo and female.”<sup>108</sup> Atanacia’s obituary published in the *Arizona Historical Review* described and praised her participation in American empire building:

Hers was the lot of a pioneer mother and wife who shared fully her husband’s life throughout the early period of Arizona history-making. She shared his every confidence. Plans for an attack on Camp Grant Indians who had grown overly bold in cattle stealing, which resulted in the famed Camp Grant Massacre of 1871, were made in the Hughes home; and, with others, Mrs. Hughes made bullets for use by civilians on the expedition. She was hostess to Generals Miles and Lawton, General Crook and other soldiers and

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<sup>106</sup> Miller, “Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest,” 48-49.

<sup>107</sup> Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 143.

<sup>108</sup> Guidotti-Hernández, “Embodied Forms of State Domination,” 91-92.

civilians who conferred with her husband on ways and means of subduing the Indians who were so bold as to venture to the very doorsteps of the settlers.<sup>109</sup>

Atanacia appears to have considered herself an active player in history, rather than a mere bystander. Playing off of Sam Hughes's quip that he "had a spoon in every soup," Guidotti-Hernández writes, "It seems as if Mrs. Atanacia Hughes had her husband's complete confidence and quite a share in the 'soup.'"<sup>110</sup>

Education was another variable in many Anglo-Hispanic marriages. Sam Hughes was not well-educated by today's standards, but he could read and write, which put him ahead of many in mid-nineteenth-century Tucson. According to census records, many Tucsonenses were unable to read or write. This corresponds with Miller's assessment of educational levels in territorial New Mexico, which she calls "abysmally low." However, she goes on to note that "New Mexican women who formed cross-cultural unions with Anglos generally were slightly better educated than their sisters who married endogamously."<sup>111</sup> Atanacia appears to have attended school of some sort in Tucson, presumably before her marriage. In an interview, she explained where she attended school and that there was also a private school, and she mentioned "learning to speak in school."<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the 1860 census notes a schoolhouse and says Jesus Garcia was schoolmaster and Teresa Siquerrez schoolmistress, and the "Attended school within the year" box was checked for almost all boys and girls between the ages of about five and sixteen.<sup>113</sup> If "Finacia Jopas" in

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<sup>109</sup> "The Last Frontier: Mrs. Samuel Hughes," *Arizona Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (April 1935), 84.

<sup>110</sup> Guidotti-Hernández, "Embodied Forms of State Domination," 96.

<sup>111</sup> Miller, "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest," 45.

<sup>112</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Conference with Mrs. Hughes," 1.

<sup>113</sup> 1860 census, p. 9, line 29; p. 9, line 31; p. 11, line 37.

the 1860 census does indeed refer to Atanacia, she was recorded as having attended school within the year, as was her brother Filomeno. Atanacia's education was not confined to academic subjects. According to Lockwood, the most fortunate children in Tucson received private instruction from Miss Rosa Ortíz, and some even learned to play the harp.<sup>114</sup> A photograph of an aged Atanacia playing a harp suggests she was one of these privileged children, and her grandmother reportedly played the harp too.<sup>115</sup>

Atanacia certainly read and wrote Spanish, as is evidenced by personal letters written to one of her granddaughters.<sup>116</sup> Based on her research, Miller asserts, "If sociologists are correct in citing ability to read and write as an index of power and social standing, it is apparent that women who married into the Anglo community enhanced their opportunity for social and economic mobility."<sup>117</sup> This is an interesting point to consider if one compares Atanacia's writing with her husband's. Although Atanacia's letters contain some minor spelling errors, her writing is overall very legible and intelligible. This stands in contrast to Sam's notebooks, which are nearly impossible to read and understand due to poor spelling, grammar, and penmanship. It seems that, at least with regard to literacy, Atanacia was better educated than her Anglo husband.

The Hugheses' youngest child, Mary Hughes Dietrich Sheean, remembered her mother speaking Spanish to her older sisters but not to her. Atanacia was learning to speak English and wanted to practice and improve her vocabulary, so she always spoke to Mary in English, "excepting when she was dissatisfied with conduct and so forth, why, then she

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<sup>114</sup> Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 8.

<sup>115</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, "Conference with Mrs. Hughes," 10.

<sup>116</sup> Letters from Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes to her granddaughter Elizabeth Treat Fladung, MS 174, Corbett Family Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.7.

<sup>117</sup> Miller, "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest," 45.

would always talk in Spanish...in giving us instructions, you know, to do certain things and all about religion mostly.”<sup>118</sup> In an interview with Frank Lockwood and Donald Page in 1929, Atanacia conversed with Page in Spanish and her responses were then translated into English.<sup>119</sup> How much English she knew at the time of her marriage is unknown. It is likely that she picked some up through her interactions with Anglo settlers and during her years living with her American brother-in-law. It is also uncertain how well Sam spoke and understood Spanish, but it seems probable that he would have learned at least some during his five years living and doing business in Tucson. The alternative—that Atanacia spoke no English and Sam no Spanish when they were married—is difficult to fathom today.

There was clearly ample reason for Mexican women and Anglo men to marry in Tucson in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Still, the question of Atanacia’s age remains. Unfortunately, a lack of scholarly research on the matter has made it difficult to ascertain how common such a young bride and such a large age gap were during this period. A cursory study of the 1860 and 1870 censuses and Thiel’s *Pioneer Families of the Presidio* suggests that Atanacia Santa Cruz was not the only young Mexican girl married to a significantly older Anglo man, but a more careful examination and statistical analysis of census records and other materials are needed.

In his article “Honor Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690-1846,” historian Ramón Gutiérrez suggests that “daughters of the nobility were a potential liability on the marriage market,” and therefore “every attempt would be made to dispose of nubile females as quickly as possible and at minimal

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<sup>118</sup> Mary Sheean, oral interview, May 27, 1985, AV 0392, AHS. Mrs. Sheean was 98 at the time of this interview. She died in 1988 at the age of 101.

<sup>119</sup> Santa Cruz de Hughes, “Data on Tucson,” 1.

expense.”<sup>120</sup> It is a pretty cold turn of phrase, but this may well have been the reality of Atanacia’s situation. At the time of her marriage, Atanacia was a preteen orphan, dependent on her sister and brother-in-law, aunt Guadalupe, and other relatives. As has been discussed, the Santa Cruz family was socially prominent and well-connected with the rest of the Tucson community but was rather “cash-poor.” Perhaps an offer of marriage from a wealthy, respectable Anglo—the friend and business partner of Hiram Stevens, no less—was too good to turn down. Maybe Atanacia’s relatives worried that she would be unlikely to receive another offer from an equally prominent suitor later, or thought it would be best to keep the Stevens-Hughes partnership and its proceeds in the family.

Although Sam quickly sold the fine driving team upon their return from California, Atanacia was able to keep the new Singer sewing machine they had purchased. It was the first sewing machine in Tucson and caused quite a stir. As Atanacia remembered, “Whenever I would use it the people would gather around to watch me. They would also bring me all kinds of things to sew and it did not matter to them whether I sewed with coarse thread or fine.”<sup>121</sup> This anecdote is illustrative of the many ways in which the young woman’s life was impacted by her marriage to Sam Hughes. Hughes could offer Atanacia things of which many Tucsonense women could only dream: financial security, a comfortable home, opportunities for education and travel, and a position of power in the “new” Tucson upper class.

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<sup>120</sup> Ramón A. Gutiérrez, “Honor Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690-1846,” in Cott, *History of Women in the United States*, 22.

<sup>121</sup> Kitt, “Reminiscences about Mr. Sammie Hughes – As told at Pioneers’ Meeting, Dec. 29, 1926,” MS 366, Samuel Hughes Papers, AHS, Box 1, F.1.



## Conclusion

Atanacia Santa Cruz de Hughes is but one Tucsonense woman, and her marriage to Sam Hughes is but one example of an Anglo-Hispanic marriage in the nineteenth-century American Southwest. In order to develop a broader and more detailed picture of both intercultural relations and the female experience in Tucson, historians must examine other Anglo-Hispanic marriages from this time period. The sparse source material on Tucsonense women will likely prove a challenge, but the results of diligent research on the topic would give great insight into Hispanic women's lives and marriages. The issue of "typical" marriage age in the mid-nineteenth-century American Southwest certainly warrants further study. There has been little research on this topic, which unfortunately makes discussions of childhood, women's agency, and other such topics difficult. Following the example set by Sheridan in *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941*, a careful examination and statistical analysis of census records would be an excellent first step.

Dysart looked at patterns of Americanization and Hispanicization in the families of San Antonio Anglo-Hispanic couples, and such a study of Tucson families would be valuable in developing a more complete understanding of such patterns in the greater Southwest.<sup>122</sup> Sam and Atanacia ultimately had fifteen children, ten of whom lived to adulthood. All who married took Anglo spouses. Comparing the marriage patterns of Hispanic women with those of Hispanic men would also be interesting and likely enlightening. Both Petra and Atanacia Santa Cruz were quite young when they married substantially older, wealthy Anglos. In contrast, their brother, Filomeno, was thirty-one years old when he married

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<sup>122</sup> Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio," 174.

Petra Ruelas, a twenty-three-year-old Tucsonense.<sup>123</sup> Filomeno and his wife had nine children: five daughters married Anglo-surnamed men, one daughter married a member of the Telles family, prominent Tucsonenses, and one son married a Spanish-surnamed woman.<sup>124</sup> Tracking and analyzing such patterns of exogamous and endogamous marriage could tell historians a lot, not only about intercultural relations and American empire-building, but also about related topics, including how societal expectations differed for sons and for daughters.

When setting the parameters for my research, I decided to make 1870 the approximate cut-off, not only because 1850 to 1870 is a concise date range, but also because the Camp Grant Massacre took place in 1871. The topic of Atanacia's involvement in the Massacre is very complex and deserves far more than a passing glance, which is why I chose to exclude it from this paper. It is hard to reconcile the generous, warm-hearted grandmother that many remembered with a young woman who helped make bullets and supported the massacre of dozens of Apache women and children. For a thorough analysis of Atanacia's participation in the Camp Grant Massacre, see Nicole Guidotti-Hernández's article "Embodied Forms of State Domination: Gender and the Camp Grant Massacre" and book *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries*.

I cringe today at some of the things I wrote in my capstone paper two years ago. The most egregious error comes with the opening words: "Wife of Tucson pioneer Sam Hughes..." The identification of Atanacia first by her well-known husband and not by her own life and legacy is precisely what I wanted to combat. After decrying the use of Atanacia's reminiscences to tell the story of Anglo male pioneers, I went on to do the very

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<sup>123</sup> Thiel, *Pioneer Families*, 277.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

same thing. Although my own methods of research and writing have certainly evolved since then, there is still plenty of room for further improvement. The same may be said for Western history in general. In the last few decades, the historical lens has shifted from a focus primarily on wealthier Anglo men to a broader view of history that incorporates previously under- or unrepresented demographic groups, including people of Hispanic, indigenous, and mixed heritage and, of course, women in general. This change is immediately apparent if one compares Lockwood's *Life in Old Tucson, 1854-1864: As Remembered by the Little Maid Atanacia Santa Cruz*, published in 1943, with Guidotti-Hernández's recent research, which treats women like Atanacia and Petra as individuals with their own motivations, desires, and agency, rather than solely as the wives of important men.

Ultimately, we cannot know exactly why a twelve-year-old Tucsonense girl married a thirty-three-year-old Welsh-American entrepreneur in 1863. We can only consider their respective situations and imagine the possibilities. Atanacia Santa Cruz was an orphaned daughter of a well-connected but likely financially-poor family, and Sam Hughes was a wealthy Anglo businessman and community-builder of growing local prominence. There are myriad conceivable motivations—social, economic, and otherwise—behind their marriage, and it is likely the couple decided to marry based on a combination of many such factors. While the respective ages of the bride and groom may make us deeply uncomfortable today, there is no evidence in extant source material that Sam and Atanacia's marriage was controversial at the time or in the ensuing years. Whatever the pair's reasons for marrying may have been, there was certainly mutual affection between them, eventually, if not at the time of their marriage. They apparently supported each

other in their endeavors, raised ten children together, and were married for fifty-four years, until Sam's death.

Edith Stratton Kitt made a speech at the dedication of the Sam Hughes School in 1928 in which she told the audience, "Mr. Hughes was married in 1862 [sic] to a black eyed, vivacious Spanish girl, a native of Tucson, and their life was most happy. I wish you might know Mrs. Hughes and talk to her and get her to tell some of the intimate details of their married life."<sup>125</sup> I do, too, Mrs. Kitt. I do, too.

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<sup>125</sup> Kitt, "Mr. Sam Hughes." She continues, "They would bring out so clearly the kind, thoughtful, affectionate qualities of the man."

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