

# THE QUEST FOR POWER: HISPANIC COLLECTIVE ACTION IN FRONTIER ARIZONA

David L. Torres and Melissa Amado

We, too, become institutions unto ourselves and often forget the needs and desires of the whole pueblo in our own scrambling to maintain position and status.

Armando Rendon in *Chicano Manifesto*, 1971<sup>1</sup>

The majority [of social theories] are based on the absurd assumption that well-being is dependent on economic individualization; as if money and possessions are sufficient to save us from the austere circumstances that daily confront us. Deep blasphemy: economic independence, badly understood, merely fuels the exaltation, the erroneous belief, of personal superiority, egoism, and ultimately leads to isolation, desolation, and misery.

Professor M. Castillo Martinez, 1932<sup>2</sup>

Every generation brings with it new interpretations of the realities of class struggle. With time, some interpretations become symbolic representations of ideals, such as the many adventures of Pancho Villa as told by *ancianos* who experienced Mexico's days of revolution.

---

This research was made possible by a grant from The Small Grants Program of the University of Arizona to the senior author. Both authors acknowledge the able assistance of Dina Robles, the staff of the Arizona Historical Society, and several sons and daughters of Tucson's Hispanic pioneers.

Note: Dina Robles and Melissa Amado, undergraduate students at the time of data-gathering for this research, have strong roots in Tucson. Their steadfast devotion to discovering the soul of their heritage enabled the project to come to successful fruition.

Other interpretations become symbols of undesirable attributes, such as *la malinche*, the Indian woman who betrayed her kind and sided with the Spaniards in their conquest of Mexico. At the core of all historical interpretations is truth—if they are increasingly garnished with elements of extraordinary heroism, evil, or tragedy, it is because these historical events tend to solicit such emotional reactions from a culture that places great significance on relational behavior.

We mention class struggle, symbolism, and *la malinche* because they are elements we attempt to understand in our study of the role of the Mexican elite. We focus on this elite's struggle against cultural domination by the United States in the town of Tucson, Arizona, at the turn of the century. According to Barton, elites are "a body of people holding positions of authority or influence in a major institution."<sup>3</sup>

As the opening quotes illustrate, Mexican-based culture has consistently recognized the primacy of *el pueblo*, the community, over individual rights and freedoms. While this collectivist ideology is philosophically based on Catholicism, and perhaps even on ancient cultures that preceded invasion by the Spaniards, it has been buttressed by historical praxis. The masses have consistently had to band together in their struggles against one or another set of elites. Elites in Mexico have tended to be associated with treacherous oppression. At least symbolically, therefore, elites have become the antithesis of *el pueblo*.

The tendency to cast a wary eye at the elite remains, even in contemporary times. Especially shunned are those who "sell out" to the system in the name of personal success. In the United States, the act of "selling out" takes on special significance. Not only is it possible to abandon the cause of the community and become a member of the elite, it is also possible to abandon Hispanicity altogether, in an attempt to become a part of the Anglo culture. The latter act is apt to conjure up images of *la malinche*. Though many times subtle, negative feelings toward those who go "too far" in assimilating are quite pervasive, affecting fields as diverse as politics and literature.<sup>4</sup>

Entrepreneurs, professionals, and politicians are especially vulnerable to being viewed as traitors to the common cause. Entrepreneurs examined by Torres, for example, were careful not to be seen as straying away from the Mexican American community, although most of them recognized that the resources needed to build their businesses resided elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> To be sure, all social groups deplore acts of betrayal or perceived betrayal (e.g., Benedict Arnold in the U. S., Thomas Sowell

in the black community). For our purposes, it is sufficient to recognize that loyalty to *el pueblo* is ubiquitously and intensely compelling. It cuts across many facets of Mexican and Mexican American life.

Because of the collective sentiment and the resulting precarious role of elites in Mexican society, the focus of this paper examines both during a unique period in history. When Arizona territory was fast succumbing to the "manifest destiny" of the United States, there was a struggle between the Mexican bourgeoisie and proletariat (that is, between *el pueblo* and the elite). However, there was an even greater struggle involving U. S. versus Mexican forms of capitalism. We intend to show that the latter conflict actually resulted in unifying rather than splitting the two classes in Mexican society.

The conditions that gave rise to the historical events of the late 1800s and early 1900s are likely never to occur again. Nevertheless, the values and behavior patterns elicited by these events are more institutionalized in Mexican culture. These patterns can be expected to re-emerge whenever the U. S. and Mexico are forced to address each other in more-than-superficial fashion. Recently, the two countries have discussed the establishment of a free trade agreement and there is growing interest in further development of the *maquiladora* program. Whenever cultural differences necessitate give-and-take, as these events are likely to do, it is better to understand the mind-set of each party that comes to the table. U. S. businesses are more apt, however, to consider only their view of capitalist praxis.

United States ideology, which emphasizes individualism and a need for personal achievement, has dominated the conventional world view of what entrepreneurship is all about. However the cult of individualism is foreign to—and often unacceptable in many countries of the world.<sup>6</sup>

The purpose of this study is to go beyond recounting historical events and to begin to unravel the socio-cultural praxis of frontier Arizona. Through such analyses, a better understanding of the social/cultural tools that Mexicans and Mexican Americans have vis á vis their engagement of capitalism may emerge. Culture and its effects on entrepreneurial performance have been a traditional area of scientific investigation, with Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* being one of the most noted.<sup>7</sup> Japanese, Asian-American, Greek, Black and Jewish influences on capitalism have also been

investigated.<sup>8</sup> There is no similar focus on Mexican Americans, save for an excellent, but generalized synopsis offered by Abalos.<sup>9</sup>

The history of Tucson, Arizona, is similar to that of many southwestern cities with historical ties to Mexico. Like many other cities of the Southwest, Tucson served as a protective outpost from which the early settlers, the Spaniards, carried out their colonization of previously Native American territory. Once freed from the Spanish Crown, settlements like Tucson, San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles and San Diego gave rise to their own class structures. Only further research in other cities will enable us to gauge the generalizable nature of Mexican-based class formation in the Southwest. However, insofar as the evolution of selected cities in the Southwest are linked to one country and its social/political influence, Tucson promises to share many dynamics with its sister cities.

Tucson does have some unique characteristics. It remained fairly isolated from the outside world, resulting in delayed Anglo immigration into the area. As a result Tucson elites had more time to develop a distinct class structure.<sup>10</sup>

### *Capitalism: Class versus Systemic Struggle*

Reactionary collective action against exploitation is part of the evolution of capitalism. The Mexican case has been duly examined by historians and other social scientists.<sup>11</sup> Marx considered reactionary activity to be an evolving process that would culminate in revolution leading to communism.<sup>12</sup> Thus far in the United States, such a revolution has not occurred and, perhaps, never will because the state has responded to the demands of labor at critical periods. The best examples are the federal programs begun in the 1930s and again in the 1960s.<sup>13</sup> Keynesian economic policy, the Social Security Act of 1934, the War on Poverty, and a varied assortment of other social programs have all been responses to labor strife and have marked the progress of labor vis á vis the propertied class.

In the United States, the values of an unshackled free market and individual freedom have remained strong because of the strategic ability of the propertied class, along with its instrument, the state, to respond to eminent challenges. However, that has not been the case in many other countries. In contrast to the United States, a direct confrontation between the classes did occur in Mexico, culminating in the Revolution

of 1910. Even before the Revolution, intermittent civil and foreign wars wreaked havoc on Mexico's political infrastructure of the mid-to-late 1800s.<sup>14</sup> The propertied classes, led by General Porfirio Díaz in the period before the Revolution, subscribed to Spencerian positivism. Operationally, this theoretical ideology dictated that peace and order had to be restored at any price before Mexico could develop economically. In the end, economic development was given priority over freedom of speech and other civil liberties. In essence, "the *bourgeoisie* replaced the *caudillo* as the governing class of the Mexican people."<sup>15</sup> The resulting social reality brought the masses into direct confrontation with the Mexican bourgeoisie and its instrument, the Mexican state under Díaz. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 can be seen as the climax to a struggle that in large part was a reaction to the rigid class formation and practices of the Mexican elite. Thus, Mexico's civil war dealt *directly* with the issue of *class*, in contrast to that of the United States, which dealt with slavery, states rights, and other related issues.

Mexican elites, as a result of this direct confrontation, were forced to make important concessions to the proletariat. These concessions were moralistic in nature because they reflected the core of the Mexican community's philosophy for living: conduct as an important criterion for evaluating human worth, as opposed to "manifest destiny" and its emphasis on ends rather than means;<sup>16</sup> emotion as an important guide to action, as opposed to a major emphasis on objective evaluation;<sup>17</sup> and collectivism, as opposed to individualism.<sup>18</sup>

In summary, both Mexico and the United States subscribed to the main tenets of capitalism. Unique experiences with class struggle, however, led to major systemic differences. So long as the two systems remained separated, their points of discordance did not have to be directly addressed. With the encroachment of Anglo capitalists into Mexican territory, however, clashes between the two systems were inevitable. What follows is a synopsis of the ideological and behavioral reactions to such encroachment.

### *Tucson's Hispanic Elite: Origins and Background*

The Spanish government, in cooperation with the Catholic Church, established an efficient method of racial classification during its control of Tucson. Under this hierarchal caste system, over twenty racial classifications existed. A person's place in society was defined at birth

and was maintained throughout his or her lifetime. The classifications of *peninsular* (an individual born in Spain) or a *criollo* (an individual born in the New World to Spanish parents) were linked to special privileges, such as land titles, governmental posts and positions within the Catholic Church. The various classifications became the core of a rigid class system. In Arizona, the linkages among prominent families were so strong that they “soon became so interrelated that they often had to seek permission from church authorities to wed individuals who were already their close relatives.”<sup>19</sup>

For the most part, the elite were not native Tucsonans.<sup>20</sup> For example, Sheridan’s research showed that thirty-four of sixty-two Mexican Americans with property valued at \$1000 or more were born outside of Arizona, twenty-seven of them in Sonora.<sup>21</sup> “Many of the town’s Mexican immigrants were educated men—lawyers, doctors, journalists, and politicians,” notes Sheridan. Carlos Velasco, the editor of *El Fronterizo*, a prominent Spanish-language newspaper, was raised as a member of the Sonoran elite.<sup>22</sup> He was considered a friend of Porfirio Díaz and the ruling triumvirate of General Luis Torres, Rafael Izabel, and Ramón Corral.<sup>23</sup> Most intellectuals “affirmed the positivist doctrines of ‘order’ and ‘progress,’ accepting the exploitation of labor, Mexican or otherwise, as a necessary step in the advancement of society on both sides of the border.”<sup>24</sup>

Díaz’s positivist doctrine became firmly entrenched among Hispanics in Tucson. For example, the Porfirio Díaz Club, which included many of the elite, existed as late as the 1950s. But it must be remembered that the positivist doctrine had, by this time, been tempered by the revolutionary activity of the masses. Fresh in the minds of many of Tucson’s capitalists, many of whom had fled the dangers of community revolt, were the principles laid down by el pueblo.

Shades of *la malinche* begin to color this analysis with the recognition that the elite’s new role after the Gadsden Purchase was all too often that of intermediary between the Mexican and Anglo communities. Not that they lost power entirely. Indeed, they remained heavily influential in the shaping of pioneer Tucson. Table 1 lists the many political offices held by Mexican Americans from the years 1864 to 1930, the period that begins right after the Gadsden Purchase. Most of these people were from recognized elite families.<sup>25</sup>

**TABLE 1: Arizona's Hispanic Legislators and Elected Community Officials, 1864-1930**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Year Elected</b>
Filiberto Aguirre	Pima County Assessor	1892
Pedro Aguirre	Pima County Board of Supervisors	1878
Jesus M. Elias	Council (Senate)	1864, 1868, 1875
Juan Elias	Council	1873
Perfecto Elias, Jr.	Tucson City Council	1927
Francisco Esparza	Tucson Marshall	1873-1875
Lucas Estrella	Tucson Marshall	1893-1896
Wenseslao Felix	Tucson City Treasurer	1892
N. Gonzalez	House	1899, 1903
Joaquin Legarra	Tucson City Treasurer	1899-1904
Francisco S. Leon	Council Pima County School Board	1864, 1865, 1871 1867
Estevan Ochoa	Pima County School Board Council Mayor of Tucson Tucson Justice of the Peace	1867, 1875 1868, 1871 1875-1879
Nabor Pacheco	Constable of Tucson Sheriff of Pima County Tucson Chief of Police	1900-1904 1904-1908 1909-1910
Jose M. Redondo	Council House Yuma Prison Board Mayor of Yuma	1864, '73, '75, '77 1875 1875 1878
Ramón Romano	House	1871
Federico Ronstadt	Pima County Board of Supervisors	1890s
Jose Maria Ronstadt	Pima County Board of Supervisors	1927
Alfred Ruiz	Council	1905
Mariano Samaniego	House Tucson City Council & Pima County Supervisors Arizona Board of Regents	1877, '81, '91, '95 1880-1900 1886
Carlos Tully	Tucson Public Schools Superintendent	1891-1895
Felipe Villaescusa	Tucson City Council	1903, 1905

Elite families controlled a respectable portion of the city's economy. Table 2 lists some of the entrepreneurs and their lines of business.<sup>25</sup>

**TABLE 2:**  
**Prominent Business People in Tucson: Circa 1850 to Early 1900s**

---

<b>Entrepreneur</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Business</b>
Estevan Ochoa	Chihuahua	Freight, Retail, Dry Goods, Smelting, Mining, Sheep
Mariano Samaniego	Sonora	Freight, Ranching, Saddle, Harness Shop
Leopoldo Carrillo	Sonora	Freight, Ranching, Ice Cream Parlor, Saloon, Bowling Alley, Feed Stable, Real Estate, Recreation Park
Aguirre: Epifano, Pedro, Conrado, Yjinio	Chihuahua	Freight, Ranching, Stage Line
Federico Ronstadt	Sonora	Carriage Shop, Hardware, Car Repair, Ranching
Carlos Jacome	Sonora	Department Store
Bernabe Robles	Sonora	Ranching, Real Estate, Saloon, Grocery Store, Dairy, Stage Line
Perfecto Elias, Jr.		Jewelry/Watch Repair
Carlos Velasco	Sonora	Newspaper
Ramón Soto		Ranching, Dairy
Hilario Urquides	Tucson	Saloon Keeper, Hotel
Jose Maria Ronstadt	Tucson	Rancher
Felipe Villaescusa		Saddle Making
Brena Rosario, Ramón	Sonora	Saddle Shop, Soap Factory, Grocery Store, Wholesale
Teofilo Aros		Cattle
Amado: Antonio, Manuel		Cattle, Real Estate, Bottling
Otero: Sabino, Teofilo	Tubac	Ranching, Freight, Real Estate
Fernando Laos	Sonora	Barber Shop, Tobacco Shop Billiard Parlor

---



The data presented in the tables shows the elite did maintain significant power and prestige, at least for the relative short run. Surprisingly, there is no record of increasing animosity between its members and the rest of the Mexican American community. Instead of expanding cleavages between the elite and non-elite, there was a growing dependence on the power of the elite by el pueblo. Such power could, and did, defend the rights of the non-elite. To be sure, pre-revolutionary resentment must not be forgotten. However, the elite, it seems, did internalize the lessons of the Mexican Revolution, which centered on human rights and dignity which Spencerian positivism had denied them. Therefore, this study now turns to an examination of how such an amicable relationship was developed.

It becomes important to begin to examine the ideology and behavior of the elite during this important period. The period was transformative in two ways. First, the great upheaval of 1910 and its promise of a new beginning was still fresh in the minds of all. Second, the region was fast becoming settled by the Anglo pioneers.

In the following section, we attempt to delve into the society and social philosophy of the Mexican American elite of Tucson. We invoke the basic tenet that our sources, being for the most part products of the elite themselves, are likely to afford only a biased reflection. However, if we toss aside the accolades of greatness and benevolence the elite bestow upon themselves, and of which there are many, the *substance* of the recorded evidence, that is to say, *what* was covered and *why* it was deemed significant, tells much about the ideology and praxis of these people.

### *A Perceived Moral Gap Between U. S. and Mexican Capitalism*

There was a growing awareness by the elite that Anglo capitalism, which they had so admired from a distance, was in reality not a true fit in terms of moral philosophy. In one passage from *Las Dos Republicas*, cited by Tom Sheridan in the book *Los Tucsonenses*, the following observation was made:

The . . . article, written by an author who called himself Quivira, argued that while the United States may have been a giant of industry, its lack of a strong moral system made it seem barbaric at times. Hispanic society, on the other hand, possessed a firm moral foundation based on Catholicism . . . In the war of cultures being

fought in Arizona, "Latin" civilization would eventually triumph because of its superior morality.<sup>27</sup>

Likewise, in an article in Velasco's paper, *El Fronterizo*, it was argued that:

in the United States, people had deteriorated into Protestant degeneracy, losing all religious sentiment and morality. The only thing Mexico required to achieve the highest level of culture on the North American continent was mechanical and scientific expertise. Spiritually she was more advanced than her northern neighbor.<sup>28</sup>

In an editorial that covers the entire half of a newspaper page, and which effectively illustrates the elite's sense of losing the battle of morality in frontier Tucson, community leader Ramón Soto wrote:

In the life of a community, dramas unveil which stand apart because of their pleasurable qualities, and which upon remembering them after the passage of many years, bring back to the person who remembers them or to the person who recounts them, a reliving of the days of youth, and of past romanticism which is gone and will never return, and in those remembrances we encounter the essential essence of dreams: that forever will be triumphant those who dream of the difficult situations [encountered]; and in this manner, in the memory of our youth, we see ourselves forever strong, intrepid and arrogant and always victorious in all the difficult passages of life, and nothing of today is as good or as pleasurable as then, and in part there is a fundamental reason: for civilization simplifies and perfects things, robbing them of their mystery which in their natural state the things possess.<sup>29</sup>

Soto described the many festivals and rituals that the Mexican American community celebrated, and of the unity of spirit which these events wrought. He concluded:

These times have passed, others will come, they have already come, they are here; yes here today is the new Tucson, the modern society of traffic and commerce, the modern society which thinks more of how to seek another peso than how to spend it advantageously.<sup>30</sup>

The significance of the foregoing article, which appeared twice in a prominent Spanish-language newspaper, is that it was in commemora-

tion of Cinco de Mayo, which compares with the Fourth of July in patriotic importance. The central theme is that something of great value is being lost—hegemonic harmony with the community—and a source of that loss is attributed to the chasing of money without regard to spending it “advantageously”. To spend money “advantageously,” in the eyes of the Hispanic elite, was to invest in the symbolic continuance of the community, in the many rituals that added mystery and romanticism to the otherwise lonesome pursuit of money. In contrast to the capitalist of the U.S., described by Sumner as “in a certain sense, an isolated man,” the Mexican capitalist ideal was to be anchored to the community.<sup>31</sup>

An acknowledged source of the morality of the Mexican community was the Catholic Church. The Tucson elite buttressed the strength of the church with generous donations. Sabino Otero, for example, was a patron of the Sisters of St. Joseph, not only in Tucson but in Phoenix, Prescott and Los Angeles. He “practically built the Catholic church at Tubac and was a heavy contributor to churches built in this diocese.”<sup>32</sup>

The moral core of the elite was passed on to later generations through club activity. The most active of these clubs was the Club Latino, which was organized and maintained by male descendants of the elite. Aside from being noted for “good times” and for sponsoring successful dances, an explicit fundamental principle of the club was the inculcation of morality. In 1926, Genaro Manzo, son of a prominent Tucsonan and member of the Club Latino, wrote in *El Tucsonense*:

The culture of men and of communities, should be measured not by its measure of external showiness [of goods, riches, etc.], but instead by its measure of morality, because a community with whatever level of showiness, if it does not impart morality, will degenerate quickly and without orientation; it is a ship without a rudder that sooner or later will become shipwrecked.<sup>33</sup>

Two years earlier, Salvador Peña, another prominent Tucsonan, had noted that the “North Americans” were not well enough aware that they were dealing with “an advanced society, which aspires to high ideals, and furthermore with communities of innate qualities and nobility.”<sup>34</sup>

Final tributes to respected, and very successful, capitalists of the Old Pueblo indicate that the social worth of a man was measured in terms of capitalistic achievement and activities for the betterment of the collective. The final tribute to Carlos Tully is a good example:

A man of merit such as Mr. Tully could have reaped, through his active intelligence and his vast networks, great wealth, if he had appraised his services in monetary value constantly. But because of his generosity, he not only disdained recompenses at times justified, instead he became an advisor to the major part of the resident Hispanics, with the love of a father and the application of an apostle, he imparted his advice and his services without compensation, or in some cases, one so modest that none would have believed it to be true. His knowledge of law saved many residents of the Old Pueblo from incurring misdeeds or preserved them from complications that ignorance of the law may bring.<sup>35</sup>

Similar recognition for providing legal assistance to the Hispanic community was given to Enrique Meyer in a final tribute to him.<sup>36</sup> Recognizing that final tributes may under or overestimate actual accomplishments, they nevertheless reflect the value system of a community. In essence, the value system of the Hispanic elite in Tucson emphasized sacrifice in the name of the collective. Moreover, such loyalties seem to have intensified after the onslaught of U. S. capitalism.

The best and most prominent example was the establishment of *La Alianza Hispano Americana* in 1884. Founded originally by Carlos H. Tully, who gave it its name and emblem, and Asunción Sánchez, who devoted much of his life to the founding of social clubs, the Alianza was disbanded in 1886. It was reorganized in 1894 through the efforts of Carlos Velasco (but again Tully, Sánchez, and others were present and influential at the initial meeting). Velasco was an attorney from a prominent family in Hermosillo who was forced to leave Sonora when he took the wrong side in a political struggle. He became the publisher of *El Fronterizo*, which operated from the late 1880s to 1914. Founding members of La Alianza read like a *Who's Who* of the elite in Tucson, as did the membership of most of the dozen or so clubs that existed during this era.

The Alianza operated as a mutual-aid society, offering disability, medical insurance and death benefits to its members. Lodges were established throughout the state and eventually extended as far north as Wyoming and the northern frontier states of Mexico.<sup>37</sup> The club became known for its efforts in promoting the culture of Mexican Americans and for its fight against discrimination. In 1930, for example, Alianza officers sponsored literary and musical events and proposed establishing libraries at each Alianza lodge, all in an effort to induce

children of Mexican-ancestry to learn about and truly appreciate their culture.<sup>38</sup> As late as 1958, the club's Civil Rights Department was recognized as a leader in the introduction of court cases involving discriminatory treatment of Mexican Americans.<sup>39</sup> According to *El Tucsonense*, the pinnacle of achievement in the area of benevolence was reached when the society's officers, during the Alianza's National Convention unanimously and with little debate voted to build a hospice center and orphanage for needy members of the association.<sup>40</sup> Only minutes after the decision was made, Carlos Jacome stood before the members and announced he was placing at the disposal of the club forty acres to be used for the project. The site was located only a mile from downtown Tucson, on what is now South Country Club Road.

Hispanic employers expressed a commitment to the betterment of the laboring class, and especially to union activity.

Every nail, piece of lumber, brick, ounce of plaster, stroke of the paintbrush, and all that goes into constructing a store, was handled by workers that were members of trade unions of Tucson (description of Carlos Jacome's new clothing store).<sup>41</sup>

Thus, although Mexican labor often worked for lower wages and under less desirable conditions than their U. S. counterparts, they were not without voice or assistance. In 1920, The *Club Commercial Hispano-Americano* made an important gesture to the community by establishing a free medical clinic for the working poor.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the value of education was foremost in the minds of some of the Hispanic elite. Chief proponent of education for workers and their families was Professor Cota Robles, educational director of *La Liga Protectora Latina* (The Latin Protectorate League).

[Professor Robles] proves that the working class is intelligent, honorable, and hard-working, and that they deserve a better place than the one that they have, but which, in order to arrive at a higher status, it is important that they first get educated, if not they will sink deeper into the fangs of vices and ignorance, forever being the slaves of capital.<sup>43</sup>

Mariano Samaniego was one of the first regents of the University of Arizona. Estevan Ochoa introduced bills to fund public schools and donated personal property and money to build them.<sup>44</sup> Sabino Otero

maintained a school at his general store in Tubac and helped the Sisters of Carondelet develop St Joseph's Orphanage.<sup>45</sup> Leopoldo Carillo sought help from the Pima County Board of Supervisors to establish Tucson School District One,<sup>46</sup> and Pedro Aguirre established a public school in Arivaca at this own expense.<sup>47</sup>

It becomes evident that the Mexican American members of the bourgeoisie formed an effective, if perhaps uneasy, alliance with their proletarian counterparts, and did much work on their behalf. Past hostilities did not prevent this from occurring. From the perspective of the bourgeoisie, at least two conclusions must have been reached for this to occur. First, ideological discordance between Mexican and U. S. capitalism must have been perceived to be so great that a consensual solution could not be envisioned. Second, despite their espoused positivist orientation, the serious socio-political concessions made to the proletariat by the elite must have been deeply engrained. That is, these commitments must have been so institutionalized that their violation must have been regarded as unthinkable or likely to cause a severe reaction from the proletariat were they be broken. Thus the Tucson elite adopted the ideal of U. S. capitalism as an economic order, but sought to temper it with the cultural values and experiences of Mexico. In essence, the Hispanic Tucson elite never abandoned its normative system. This tenacious adherence ensured their eventual demise.

Some might argue that it was the awesome power and discriminatory practices of U. S. capitalists, and the realization that the Mexican bourgeoisie was destined to lose hegemony, that caused the Hispanic elite to seek shelter among their own countrymen. There is no doubt this was part of the reality of the new order. Yet the evidence presented in Tables 1 and 2 shows that the elite enjoyed respectable degrees of political and economic power well into the 1900s. With that power, they could have attempted to negotiate with the Anglos in hopes of eventually being accepted. Some may have opted for this strategy. The vast majority of the Hispanic elite, it seems, opted to defend their own system to the end. Thus, perceived moral superiority, however illusory, prevailed over purely economic desires. This provides an ironic twist to the tale, for it was the lure of progress through economic development (garnered in large part from an understanding of U. S. capitalism) that compelled the Mexican bourgeoisie to impose a repressive government. But it was the repressed, that is to say, *el pueblo* and the revolutionaries,

that were instrumental in forming the morals to which the Tucson Hispanic elite now so tenaciously hung.

### *Summary and Discussion*

We have shown that the values and behavior of the Hispanic elite in Tucson were strongly linked to the affairs of the community as a whole. The elite supported education, labor, community rituals, the Catholic Church, and other activities that reflected a concern for the collective good. These activities intensified with the arrival of more and more Anglos into Tucson. The social worth of a Mexican, including the elite, was measured, not so much in terms of personal achievement, but in terms of contributions to the community. Some might argue that in any society the leisure class has the luxury of getting involved in benevolent activities. However, this is a matter of degree. In the Mexican case, the difference between Anglo and Hispano was enough to prompt reaction against what the Mexican elite considered immoral. Whether one system was more exploitative than another, or more "right" than the other, is beyond the scope of this, and perhaps, any other paper. The issue here does not revolve around rightness and wrongness, although such issues arise when comparing cultural systems. What is important is understanding that capitalism does not comprise technical aspects alone. Social and cultural behavior also must be considered. True appreciation of this makes it easier to understand the underlying difficulties of conducting business in a global economy. Outside academia, cultural and behavior issues are rarely addressed in the context of international commerce. For the United States, this has especially been the case in dealing with Latin American countries. The end effect is usually an attempt to impose both a technical and cultural way of "doing" capitalism in the manner of the dominant country. From the perspective of the less-dominant country, this may be perceived as the "taking" of goods from one country to another, rather than the "trading" of goods. To paraphrase Salvador Allende, the socialist President of Chile who was assassinated in the early 1970s, "After all of the 'trading' [mostly in the form of the exporting of raw resources] that we have done with the United States, all we have to show for it are the holes that pockmark our countryside." From the Latino perspective, it is important to debate not only the "whats," but also the "hows" and "whys" of trade.

The two ideological systems are still present in Tucson, although the

Mexican-origin orientation is limited to the Hispanic community and to those business persons who remain loyal to it. The ideological bifurcation stands as testament to the perseverance of culture, and its intricate links to the economic praxis of capitalism. Because of Mexico's proximity to the U.S., the Mexican ideological orientation is continuously being re-vitalized in major ports of entry into the United States.

The interface between culturally-differentiated capitalist systems can be compared to a fault line created by land masses moving in opposite directions. Everyone understands that sooner or later a major eruption will occur, and the reasons for it are well understood. However, the questions of when the eruption will occur, and how serious it will be, are not as readily predictable. Capitalistic discordance, spurred by cultural differences, affects societies in two ways. One includes the friction created by direct trade between countries, in this case Mexico and the United States. Mexico has been trading with the U. S. for many years, but has witnessed minimal effort by the United States to "do" business the Latino way. Instead, North Americans have expressed hopes that, someday, Mexico may "advance" to the level of the United States. What we imply with our analysis is that Mexico will never completely emulate the U. S., and that the reasons are not technical, but normative. As the U. S. prepares to go to work on the creation of a free trade agreement between the two countries, this message should not be forgotten.

The globalization of economic markets is forcing us to confront this same issue in other parts of the world. Who would have believed, at the beginning of the century, that the dynamics that took place in a small town of the Southwest were to become a microcosm of dynamics that are happening worldwide today? Capitalism in the 1990s is developing in areas thought inconceivable just a few years ago—Russia, East Germany, and China to name a few. The most obvious dynamics to be grappled with, at least from the perspective of U. S. capitalists, are those dealing with monetary exchange rates, tariffs, standardization of pricing, and other related issues. From the perspective of those countries going through major economic revolutions, however, the struggle is both technical and ideological. Those countries that can appreciate the significance of this fact stand to net significant strategic advantages. At this very moment, for example, Japan is making impressive headway in Mexico and within the small business community of the United States. Their strategy is to invest in creating an "understanding" between



Japanese companies and their new allies. Their form of investment is the sharing of knowledge and development of trust. Although a long-range project, their market share is already increasing.

The second major consequence of discordance created by the interfacing of two capitalist systems is the tension experienced by those people who find themselves straddling the line, in this case Mexican American capitalists, managers, professionals, and workers. Mexican Americans, especially those labelled as "successful," who are lured out of the often constrained markets of the ethnic economy, who prefer to work for Fortune 500-type companies, and others who assume the trappings of U. S. capitalism, are all-too-easily assumed to have abandoned the values of *el pueblo*. In most cases, this is not so. The Hispanic professional may find that she is "being 'pulled' in cognitively and emotionally opposed directions as the consequence of conflicting normative expectations, attitudes and behavior incorporated in one or more social statuses assigned to the same person."<sup>48</sup> The irony of viewing successful individuals as modern-day *malinches* is that they are the very people who have the power to work for the collective good of all. That being the case, *el pueblo* should be pulling back the cultural reins on such individuals and making them accountable to the Latino community, instead of disowning them and allowing them to drift into a state of alienation. Conversely, the Hispanic elite should be able to rely on the community for the spiritual/market/democratic support that will enable them to become successful agents of change. Only in this manner will the true sense of "Hispanic Community" become a reality.

Having argued that U. S. and Mexican capitalism differ in fundamental ways, we would be remiss if we did not address the issue of *what* those differences might be. This question remains to be addressed more thoroughly in future research. From our preliminary analysis, however, we have identified some rudimentary patterns.

The most striking difference between the U. S. and Mexican business mentalities of the period in question (and by extension, the present period), is that the U. S. elite were focused on *goals* and/or *ends*. The Hispanic elite, however, concentrated on *process*. This follows from the U. S. capitalists' subscription to the Calvinist ideology of individual gains as proof of divine destiny versus the Mexican capitalists' adoption of a collectivist ideology, based on Catholicism and the anti-positivism of the masses. In the course of everyday conduct, this means that U. S. business persons will tend to focus on getting the deal done while

Mexican business persons will be more inclined to assess the social worth of the venture and "size up" the sincerity of the other party as well as the business proposal.

A related issue, derived from the value for association and community unity, is the relationship of one company to another, or of one owner/manager to another. Whereas U. S. businesses view transactions as contractual matters that will end as soon as a given project ends, Mexican businesses tend to view business transactions as understandings of relational commitments. Thus, whereas a capitalist from the United States will often send out requests for proposals and seek to do business with the lowest bidder, with all specifications "spelled out," a Mexican business person will tend to propose a project to those companies with which it has already established amicable working relationships. Only after such compatibility has been established will discounts, privileges, and commitments be explained.

Finally, the relationship between workers and management deserves some mention. The evolution of Mexican culture revolves heavily around the issue of proletariat versus bourgeoisie rights and social obligations. Therefore, if only symbolically, Mexican workers have a voice in formulating company policy and strategy and the elite have a commitment to labor outside of the work place. This message is becoming clear to maquiladora plant managers, who erroneously believed that higher wages alone would attract and keep Mexican workers in their plants, plants that are at present experiencing phenomenal rates of turnover.

This brief and exploratory analysis has touched on only the most tangential aspects of business ideology in an old Mexican southwestern pueblo. Because we believe that the ideological core still remains, we attribute some of these same traits to modern Mexican-ancestry entrepreneurs. Much more research is needed. Inter-global competition is creating even larger numbers of partnerships and forcing cooperation among countries. Mexico and its Latin American counterparts have long been considered to be economic allies by the United States. However, a much better understanding of the social forces that drive their capitalist machinery is needed. Only in this manner will a synergistic and competitive partnership occur.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Armando Rendon, *Chicano Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), p. 87.
- <sup>2</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Fragmentos del Sociological y Organización," October 13, 1932.
- <sup>3</sup> Allen Barton, "Background, Attitudes, And Activities Of American Elites," in Gwen Moore, ed., *Research In Politics And Society*, (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc., 1985), p. 173.
- <sup>4</sup> M. De los Angeles Torres, "Latino Politics: The Focus Is On Foreign Policy," *The Nation*, 247 (1988): 59-61; Earl Shorris, "Fuentes: Myself With Others: Selected Essays," *The Nation* 247, 3 (1988): 99-101.
- <sup>5</sup> David L. Torres, "Dynamics Behind the Formation of a Business Class: Tucson's Hispanic Business Elite," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 12 (1990): 25-49.
- <sup>6</sup> Rein Peterson, "Understanding and Encouraging Entrepreneurship Internationally," *Journal of Small Business Management* 26, 2 (1988): 1-7.
- <sup>7</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by T. Parsons (New York: Scribners, 1930).
- <sup>8</sup> William Ouchi, *Theory Z: How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge* (New York: Avon, 1981); H. Kahn and T. Pepper, "Influence of Oriental Cultures," in C. Kerr and P. D. Staudehar, eds., *Industrial Relations in a New Age*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986); Ivan Light, "Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in North America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7 (1984): 195-216; Richard Thompson, "Ethnicity Versus Class: Analysis of Conflict in a North American Chinese Community," *Ethnicity*, 6 (1979): 306-326; L. A. Lovell-Troy, "Ethnic Occupational Structures: Greeks in the Pizza Business," *Ethnicity*, 8 (1981): 82-95; E. F. Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States* (New York: Collier, 1961); E. Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review*, 38 (1973): 583-594.
- <sup>9</sup> D. T. Abalos, *Latinos in the United States: The Sacred and the Political*, (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1986).
- <sup>10</sup> O. Martinez, "Hispanics in Arizona," in B. Luey and N. J. Stone, eds., *Arizona at Seventy-five*. (Tucson, Arizona: Arizona State University, Public History Program, and Arizona Historical Society, 1987), pp. 87-122.
- <sup>11</sup> See, for example, M. T. Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960*, (New Haven, CN.: Yale University Press, 1989). Ernesto Galarza, *Spiders in the House & Workers in the Field*, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970); Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979); Tomas Almaguer, and Albert Camarillo "Urban Chicano Workers in Historical Perspective: A Review of Recent Literature," in Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomas Almaguer, eds., *The State of Chicano Research on Family Labor, and Migration Studies: Proceedings*

of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy, (Stanford, California: Stanford Center for Chicano Research, 1983), pp 3-32.

- 12 Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of the Political Economy*, Vol. 1 (New York: Vintage, 1987 [1877]).
- 13 Frances Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, (New York: Vintage, 1971); Frances Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *The New Class War*, (New York: Pantheon, 1982).
- 14 D. A. Brading, "Creole Nationalism and Mexican Liberalism. *Journal of Intramerican Studies and World Affairs*, 15 (1973): 139-190; Patrick Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind*, (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1952); Manuel Gonzales, "Carlos I. Velasco," *Journal of Arizona History*, 25 (1984): 265-284.
- 15 Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind*, p. 51.
- 16 Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind*; Leopoldo Zea, *El Problema Cultural del América Latina*, (Valencia, Venezuela: Ediciones de la Universidad del Carabobo, 1960); Abalos, *Latinos in the United States*.
- 17 José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica, Misión de La Raza Iberoamericana*, (Espasa-Calpa, Argentina: Colección Austral, 1948); Samuel Ramos, *El Perfil del Hombre y La Cultura en México*, (Espasa-Calpa, Argentina: Colección Austral, 1951).
- 18 Zea, *El Problema Cultural del América Latina*; C. Garizurieta, "Isagoge Sobre Lo Mexicano," in *Collección Mexico y Lo Mexicano*, No. 8, (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa y Obregón, 1952).
- 19 James Officer, "Arizona's Hispanic Perspective," A Research Report Prepared by the University of Arizona, 38th Arizona Town Hall, Arizona Academy, 1981, p. 40.
- 20 David L. Torres, "Dynamics Behind the Formation of a Business Class," p. 31.
- 21 Tom Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1986), p. 53.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p 103.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
- 25 Sources for Table 1: Jay Wagoner, *Arizona Territory 1863-1912 A Political History*, (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1970); James Officer, *Sodalities and Systemic Linkage: The Joining Habits of Urban Mexican Americans*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, 1964; Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*; Mulford Winsor, "José María Redondo" *Journal of Arizona History*, 20 (1979): pp. 169-192; George H. Kelly, *Legislative History Arizona 1864-1912*, (Phoenix, AZ: State of Arizona, 1926); Arizona Historical Society, *Plaza of the Pioneers*, (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Historical Society Press, 1982).

- <sup>26</sup> Source for Table 2: David L. Torres, "Dynamics Behind the Formation of a Business Class."
- <sup>27</sup> Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, p. 107.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.
- <sup>29</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "El Tucson de Ayer," May 5, 1923, p. 10.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> Cited in Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1974), p. 258.
- <sup>32</sup> *Tucson Daily Citizen*, "Sabino Otero, A Native Son, Is Dead," January 22, 1914.
- <sup>33</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Moralidad," April 17, 1926.
- <sup>34</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Ideales Del Club Latino," May 17, 1924.
- <sup>35</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Lo Que Pierde La Raza Hispano-Americana Con La Muerte del Sr. Tully," March 29, 1923.
- <sup>36</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Uno de los Mas Antiguos Tucsonenses, El Sr. Enrique Meyer Dejó de Existir," November 27, 1928.
- <sup>37</sup> Melissa Amado, "Hispanic Businesses In Tucson Since 1854," Working Paper Series No. 14. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, Mexican American Studies & Research Center, 1988.
- <sup>38</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "La Logía Fundadora de La Alianza Hispano-Americana Principia Una Labor Pro-cultural," February 25, 1930.
- <sup>39</sup> *Tucson Daily Citizen*, "Alianza Hispano-Americana To Hold National Meeting," August 17, 1958.
- <sup>40</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Un Vasto Proyecto del Filantropia," January 25, 1921, p. 1.
- <sup>41</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Construcción Hecha Solo Por Obreros de Unión," October 20, 1931, p. 2.
- <sup>42</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "El Club Comercial Hispano-Americano Reanuda Sus Trabajos En Bien de La Raza," September 28, 1920.
- <sup>43</sup> *El Tucsonense*, "Liga Protectora Latina," October 28, 1919.
- <sup>44</sup> Thomas Sheridan, "Peacock in the Parlor: Frontier Tucson's Mexican Elite." *The Journal of Arizona History*, 25, 3 (1984): 245-264.
- <sup>45</sup> Tucson Museum of Art, Plaza of the Pioneers Dedication, Unpublished manuscript, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>48</sup> E. Morawska, "Sociological Ambivalence: The Case of East European Peasant-Immigrant Workers in America, 1880-1930s" *Qualitative Sociology* 10 (1987): 225-250.