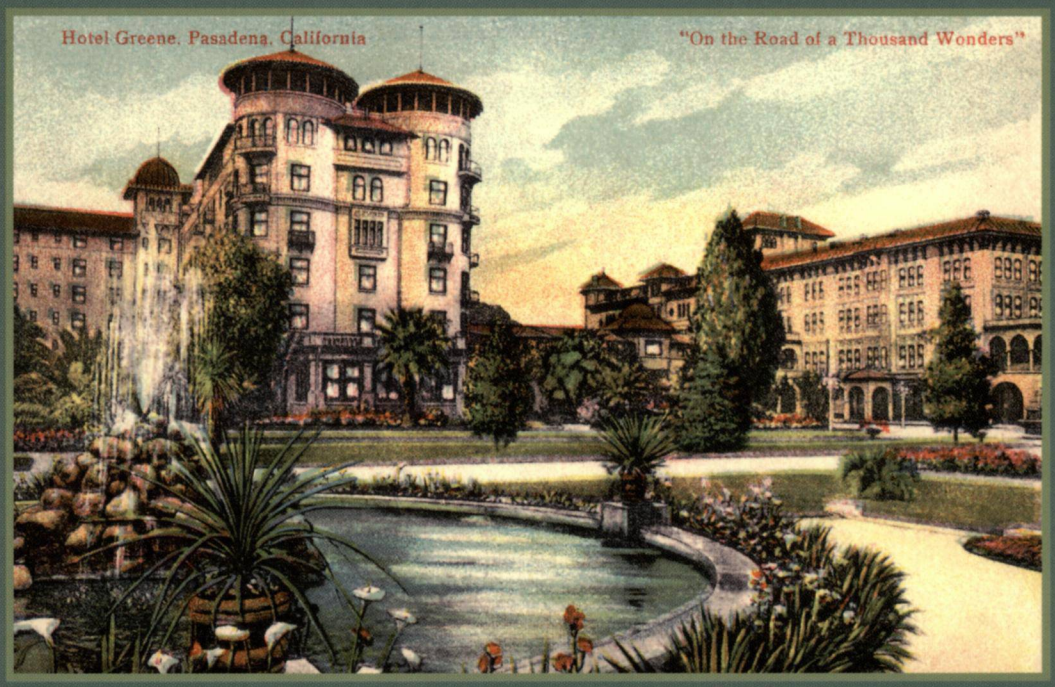
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY



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FALL 2009

HSSC

VOLUME 91

No. 3

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was founded November 1, 1883, and incorporated February 13, 1891. It has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year through 1934, the Society issued an *Annual Publication*. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. The Society's publications through 1976 have been described in a concise abstract of articles and separately indexed by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager (comps.), *A Bibliography* (1958), *The Topical Index* (1959), and *Cumulative Index* (1977). A list of books published by the Society with prices is available on request from the Society. Membership classifications, which include subscription to the *Quarterly* are:

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INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS. The *Southern California Quarterly* is a juried scholarly journal devoted to the publication of articles and edited documents relating to the history of Southern California, California as a whole, and the Far West. The *Quarterly* welcomes contributions, not only by Society members, scholars, and research workers in the history of these regions, but also by persons who are working in related disciplines and professions.

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Manuscripts for consideration should be presented in 12-point font, double-spaced, with consecutively numbered notes in a separate section following the text. In matters of style, the *Quarterly* adheres to the *Chicago Manual of Style* (15th ed.). Manuscripts should be submitted by e-mail attachment or on a CD, preferably in Microsoft Word format. Proposed illustrations should be submitted initially in low-resolution e-mail attachments or in photocopied form.

Any inquiries about advertising and manuscript submissions as well as other editorial matters should be addressed to:

Merry Ovnick, Editor · *Southern California Quarterly*
Center for Southern California Studies · California State University, Northridge
18111 Nordhoff Street · Northridge, CA 91330-8371
merry.ovnick@csun.edu

Books for review (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to:
Sarah Schrank, Book Review Editor · Department of History,
California State University, Long Beach · 1250 Bellflower Boulevard · Long Beach, CA 90840

The *Southern California Quarterly* publishes four issues per year in the Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. Members of the Historical Society of Southern California receive the *Quarterly* as one of the benefits of membership. Libraries and educational institutions subscribe at the institutional rate, above. Back copies in stock are available at $20 plus mailing. The Historical Society of Southern California maintains the historical Lummis House at 200 East Avenue 43, Los Angeles, CA 90031-1304. The *Quarterly* is entered as second-class postage paid at Los Angeles, California. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors.

Design and production by CAPITAL A PUBLICATIONS, LLC, Spokane, WA.

Printed in the United States · ISSN 0038-3930

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BOOK REVIEWS

CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID E. HAYES-BAUTISTA is Professor of Medicine and Director of the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture (CESLAC), David Geffen School of Medicine, UCLA. He is the author of *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (California, 2004). Under his direction, the Center's research agenda has expanded to include the development of historical Latino demographic and epidemiological databases, as well as social history for the period 1850–1930 in California.

CYNTHIA L. CHAMBERLIN is a professional researcher and a translator of Spanish and Latin texts from the Middle Ages through the nineteenth century. Currently she is a historian and researcher at the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture, David Geffen School of Medicine, UCLA. With David Hayes-Bautista, she co-authored "Cinco de Mayo's First Seventy-Five Years in Alta California: From Spontaneous Behavior to Sedimented Memory, 1862–1937" in the Spring 2007 issue of the *Southern California Quarterly*.

NANCY ZUNIGA served as a student researcher at CESLAC. She received her B.S. in chemistry, with a minor in Latin American Studies, from UCLA in 2008. As a first-generation Salvadoran student, she has been a close observer of the political, social, and economic environment of contemporary El Salvador. She plans to pursue graduate school in public health and Latin American studies, in order to better understand the dynamics of Latino health through community research.

ROBERT WINTER is Arthur G. Coons Professor of the History of Ideas, Emeritus, at Occidental College. He is the co-author, with the late David Gebhard, of a succession of authoritative guidebooks to the architecture of Southern California, the latest edition titled *An Architectural Guidebook to Los Angeles* (Gibbs-Smith, 2003). Of his many other books, the most recent is *At Home in the Heartland: Midwestern Domestic Architecture* (Gibbs-Smith, 2008). With unflagging enthusiasm, good humor, and a discerning eye, he has taught multiple generations, both inside and outside academia, to love history.

ANTHONY DENZER is Assistant Professor of Architectural Engineering at the University of Wyoming. He is the author of *Gregory Ain: The Modern Home as Social Commentary* (Rizzoli, 2008). His article "Community Homes: Race, Politics and Architecture in Postwar Los Angeles" appeared in the Fall 2005 issue of the *Southern California Quarterly*. He is a former president of the Southern California Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians.

ON THE COVER: The Hotel Green, in the exotic "Moorish style" by Frederick L. Roehrig (1898), was within sight of Pasadena's Santa Fe railroad depot. Tinted postcard from "Folding Post Card Vistas of Pasadena and Mt. Lowe, California" published by Cardinell-Vincent Co., ca. 1909–1910. *Courtesy Robert Winter Collection. Cover designed by Hortensia Chu.*

A Gold Rush Salvadoran in California's Latino World, 1857

By David E. Hayes-Bautista, Cynthia L. Chamberlin, and Nancy Zuniga

Abstract: A close analysis of an 1857 open letter to the Spanish-speaking press in Los Angeles by Ángel Mora, a departing Salvadoran miner, provides hints to the opportunities that drew Central Americans to the California gold rush, as well as the personal and historical reasons for their disillusion and departure. It also illuminates Central Americans' national identity, their sense of community with Hispanics from other countries, and their response to events in their homelands.

In the summer of 1857, a young Salvadoran named Ángel Mora, then living in Los Angeles, laboriously penned a letter in which he poured out his heart's discontents. Wanting the Latino community around him to know of his plight, he sent his letter to the local Spanish-language newspaper, asking that it be published for all to read: "Suplico que se inserte en el *Clamor Público* la siguiente carta lo mismo como está en el original" (I beg that the following letter be placed in *El Clamor Público*, exactly as it is in the original). His *cri de coeur* was presented to the Span-

ish-speaking public on 1 August 1857,[1] and it provides the twenty-first-century reader a brief glimpse into the world and experiences of a Central American youth living in California during the decade after Sam Brannan's announcement of the discovery of gold.

Latino World of California, 1857

In the space of less than a decade, a regional variant of Mexican society and identity had begun its irrevocable change into the bilingual, bicultural US Latino civil society of today. Three major developments in the Latino population effected this change. The first was the acquisition of California in 1848 by the US government, which then granted nominal US citizenship to the former citizens (*Californios*) of the Mexican republic. The second was the gold-rush-induced immigration of tens of thousands of *gambusinos* (prospectors) from Mexico, Central America, and South America, whose arrival just a few months after Brannan's announcement created a large and highly heterogeneous Latino population speaking in every possible Spanish-language accent. The third was the birth of children of all the above—Californios and post 1848 immigrants—who were growing up bilingual and bicultural.

While the extremely heterogeneous Latino population shared some characteristics in common (language, custom, and religion were often mentioned by Latino writers), there were also the potential dividers of class, race, and national origin. But an over-arching social event caused this otherwise heterogeneous group to find community with one another: the "esperiencia de lo que les ha pasado en la California" (the experience of what has happened to them in California), in the 1856 words of Jesus Islas[2] as he tried to recruit "los Mexicanos, Hispano-Americanos y Californios" into his return-to-Mexico colonizing effort.[3] A portion of this experience was negative: the foreign miners' tax, the land laws, the expulsions from the mines, the "greaser law," the lynchings, and the seemingly arbitrary application of justice. This experience brought Latinos together, as evidenced by the formation of formal groups such as the *Juntas Patrióticas Mejicanas* and the *Sociedades Hispano—Americanas de Beneficencia Mútua* during the 1850s.[4]

Spanish-language newspapers provided an expanding means of connecting Latinos up and down the state with one another during this first decade of the gold rush: *La Estrella* and *El Clamor Público* in Los Angeles; *El Eco del Pacifico*, *La Cronica*, and *El Sudamericano* in San Francisco; and

La Gaceta in Santa Barbara.[5] Through these pages, Latinos living in the Gold Country, the great Central Valley, the ranching areas and the urban areas along the coast communicated with one another, announcing (and at times denouncing) events in their towns, goods and merchandise for sale, and political debates at both local and regional levels. In addition to publishing domestic news, these California editors received newspapers published in Mexico, Central, and South America carried to California on the steamships, and they routinely either summarized or re-published verbatim material from these "foreign" newspapers, providing international material as well as local news. Thanks to these newspapers, even in such a frontier backwater as Los Angeles was in the 1850s, California's Latinos were aware of events in the rest of the world, especially in other Spanish-speaking countries; furthermore, they reacted to, and often came to participate in, those events to one degree or another.

Among these Latino Spanish-language-newspaper readers was Ángel Mora, whose letter was self-titled, "Bida de un Joben de Sentro America" (Life of a Young Man from Central America).[6] The document is fairly brief, only 418 words, but it is extremely hard to read and difficult to understand due to Mora's writing style. Mora lamented his own lack of education, and this lack is immediately evident in his short letter: Mora wrote exactly as he would have spoken, rather than adhering to standard rules of written composition. His letter is rife with the sort of phonetic spelling to which a low-literacy Spanish speaker would resort; the words make sense when read aloud, but his orthography and use of capital letters are far from meeting the standards of the Real Academia Española. Grammatically and syntactically, the letter displays an allusive, meandering train of thought more common to everyday speech than to formal, literate written expression. His missive is also virtually innocent of punctuation. As a result, the text essentially consists of a single run-on sentence. But at least Mora *could* put his thoughts down in writing, to some extent, at a time when illiteracy was more common than literacy among Latinos in California.[7] At some point in his life, he had been exposed to the rudiments of reading and writing, or he could not have composed his letter to *El Clamor Público* at all. And despite its grammatical shortcomings, Mora's letter gives unexpected insight into the situation of a young Salvadoran immigrant and, through his experiences, into the US Latino civil society that was emerging out of Mexican society in California in the early days of the state.

Transcription and English translation of
Ángel Mora's letter, published in the
Los Angeles *Clamor Público* (3:5), 1 August 1857, p. 2.

Comunicado.

Suplico que se inserte en el *Clamor Público*, la siguiente carta lo mismo como está en el original y mande a su atento servidor, —Angel Mora.

Bida de un Joben de Sentro America.

Nacido en el estado de Sn. Salbador y Criado en el estado de California en el pueblo de Sn. Jose Angel Mora Me allo atrazado y arruinado ase la miseria de nueve a dies años que me allo padesiendo trastornado de la cabeza y insensato Causa de mi perdision a sido una Muchacha e perdido cuanta birtud pueda haber tenido estoy en disposicion de salir de este condado a buscar los ausilios los que mejor pueda encontrar para venir a California a gosar lo que mi corason intenta de otra manera no quedo conforme en seguida otro de de [*sic*] los Anjeles pues an tratado de burlarse de mi felicidad pues e jurado a un Dios que en todo tiempo que arriende y los encuentre casados de pagarmela tienen aremos como dise el dicho que el que la debe que la pague y ese a sido todo mi trastorno que me alle tan infeliz como me allo pues es bueno hacer un ejemplo para que no tengan por menos a un pobre que conoscan que en ocasiones el pobre tiene mas meresimiento que cualesquier caballero pues llo soy uno que me allo lastimado de las flores de California pues de arrendar tengo auque [*sic*] sea con las tripas arrastrando a sacarlos del desengaño pues lo hablo con talento no nomas [*sic*] de la Gorra pues conosco que tengo medios y ausilios para poderlo aser queriendo llo Anjel Mora Ermano del Jeneral en Jefe de la Costa Rica del Gobernador de Sentro america pues e padesido en California y conosco a todos por paisanos pues con sus alimentos de ellos me e cabado de criar y me allo tan sin talento sin conocimiento ninguno por haberme criado fuera de la educasion de mis Padres y Rueguen a Dios Paisanos de que el señor me preste bida de Bolber que puede ser que el mas infelis los aga Bitoriosos pues bajo mi inocencia tengo mucha opinion ase bastante tiempo que el corason me encamina a aser los esfuersos bajo mi mala educasion tengo opinion de aser cuanto la cabesa me alumbre que aunque sin talento pero puedo tenerlo con el tiempo pues estoy en la flor de mi edad que soy como el mais que cada dia estoy creciendo y discurriendo a la memoria saludo a todos mis paisanos.

—Anjel Mora.

[*Note by editor Francisco P. Ramírez*] Al dar lugar en nuestras columnas al comunicado que antecede, no es otra la intencion que tenemos, que proporcionar a nuestro [*sic*] lectores un *modelo* epistolar.

English translation:

Communication.

I beg that the following letter be placed in *El Clamor Público*, exactly as it is in the original, and you may command your faithful servant, Ángel Mora.

Life of a Young Man from Central America.

Born in the state of San Salvador and raised in the state of California, in the town of San José, I, Ángel Mora, find myself at a loss and ruined. The misery, which I have been suffering from nine to ten years, makes me all turned around in my head and foolish. The cause of my ruination has been a girl; and, having lost whatever capacity [or "good reputation"] I might have had, I am disposed to leave this county to seek assistance, whatever I can best find, to come to California to enjoy what my heart intends. In no other manner am I satisfied.[8] Right away, another from from [*sic*] Los Angeles, because they have tried to cheat me of my happiness.[9] So I have sworn, to a God that at any time may render what is owed and find them married, they have to pay me for it.[10] We will do as the proverb says: for he who owes it, must pay it. And that has been all my trouble, which leaves me here so unhappy as I am. For it is good to make an example, so that they may not think the less of a poor man; for they should recognize that, on occasion, the poor man is worth more than any gentleman whatsoever. So I find myself wounded by the flowers of California.[11] Therefore I have to render what is owed, even though it be with my guts trailing on the ground, to save them from disappointment.[12] Well, I am speaking with intelligence, not talking through my hat; for I know that I have means and assistance with which to be able to do it, if I want to, I, Ángel Mora, brother of the commander-in-chief of Costa Rica, of the Governor of Central America. For I have suffered in California; and I recognize everyone as my countrymen, since I have finished being raised on the foods of them all. But I find myself so much without intelligence, without any good sense at all, because I have been brought up outside of my parents' care. So pray to God, my fellow countrymen, that the Lord will give me life so that I may return; for it can be that the most unhappy person may make them victorious. For, beneath my simplicity, I have strong opinions. For a long time my heart has directed me to make efforts. In spite of my poor education, I am of the opinion that I will do whatever my head enlightens me [to do]; for even though I am without intelligence, nevertheless I can have it, with time, since I am in the prime of my life; for I am like the corn, for I grow every day. And thinking of the memory, I give my regards to all my fellow countrymen.

—Ángel Mora

[*Note by editor Francisco P. Ramírez*]

In giving space in our columns to the preceding communication, the intention we have is none other than to procure for our readers a *model* of the epistolary art.

View of the Los Angeles Plaza in 1857, the year of Ángel Mora's letter in *El Clamor Publico*, the local Spanish-language newspaper. Los Angeles in 1857 was still a frontier backwater, its economy largely based on cattle-raising. The Plaza Church is in the lower right corner of the photo; the two-story adobe across the plaza is ranchero Vicente Lugo's town house; the brick structure in the center was a reservoir. *Courtesy of the University of Southern California Libraries. Title Insurance and Trust/C.C. Pierce Photography Collection.*

Mora's intended audience were readers of Los Angeles' *El Clamor Público*, founded in 1855 by native son Francisco P. Ramírez. Spanish-language newspapers such as this one, in conjunction with other contemporary sources, enable the modern researcher to set Ángel Mora's letter in a context that Mora's own tenuous grasp on literacy otherwise might obscure. This contextualization, in turn, reveals considerably more about the experience of Central American immigrants to California during the gold rush than one brief letter by a single Salvadoran might be expected to yield. It demonstrates not only the persistence of these Central American immigrants' ties with their native region but also their growing inclusion in a larger Latino civil society in California.

A faithful transcription of what *El Clamor Público* published in 1857, with its idiosyncratic spelling and grammar intact, is on pages 260–61.

Antecedents

Mora's letter belonged to a minor epistolary genre not infrequently published in local newspapers of the era, open letters in which an individual dissatisfied with the life he had made for himself in California would announce his plans to leave and make a fresh start elsewhere, along with the reasons impelling him to the departure. For example, on December 3, 1859, a Spanish-speaking German immigrant named Theodor Bors announced his leavetaking in *El Clamor Público*, under the advertising headline "[¡]Se Vende un Molino!" (Mill for Sale!). After describing the house, land, and mill he was putting up for sale, Bors noted that he did so "deseando trasladarme a Mèxico con mi familia, porquè creo que aquí me ha robado mi agua la Justicia y no puedo conseguirla, no teniendo dinero suficiente para poner un pleito. . . . Y sino [*sic*] hay quien me compre, venderë [*sic*] mis caballos y mis vacas, y me iré porque yo creo que yä [*sic*] nò tengo derecho de estar en este pais" (wishing to move myself and my family to Mexico, because I believe that the justice system has stolen my water rights from me here, and I cannot retrieve them, not having enough money to institute a lawsuit. . . . And if there is no one who will buy [my property] from me, I will sell my horses and cattle, and I will go, because I believe I have no right now to stay in this country).[13] Bors was clear about his motives for wanting to leave California and about his intended destination.

Ángel Mora's letter, in marked contrast, was vague on both points, alluding to them in ways that might have had meaning for those personally acquainted with him but which require some historical detective work to elucidate to the modern reader. In part, Mora's vagueness was due to an admitted paucity of formal education, which hampered him in expressing his thoughts clearly in a written medium. Nonetheless, it is significant that, despite his awkwardness in handling the written word, he was aware of the contemporary practice of taking leave of the community by means of an open letter published in the newspaper and that he took pains to do it himself.

Birthplace

Mora's letter begins with an unusually clear statement of identity: he was "nacido en el estado de Sn. Salbador" (born in the state of San Salvador). It is interesting that he chose to identify himself specifically as being from "the state of San Salvador," rather than defining himself by the term then

in more general use, "Central American." At that time, most other immigrants from that region of the world called themselves simply "Central Americans" when specifying their origins, for instance as Antonio Martínez did, in Yorktown Township in Tuolumne County, when stating his place of birth for the United States census in 1850.[14] As it turns out, there was some history behind Mora's choice of terms to indicate his geographic origin.

Boundaries between the nations of Central America were in flux during the first decades of their independence from Spain. Once Mexico had achieved independence from Spain in 1821, the effective head of its independence movement, Agustín Iturbide, proclaimed himself emperor and annexed Spain's former Central American provinces to Mexico. For a year, the region technically was united under an "empire" that included Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. Yet other leaders of the Mexican independence movement, appalled that their efforts to achieve self-determination had been hijacked by Emperor Iturbide I, deposed him within a year and set up a federal republic. By then, the Central American provinces already had begun to rebel against Mexican rule.[15] Accordingly, on 1 July 1823, the former Spanish colonies of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Belize, and Costa Rica joined together to form a single entity, the Federation of Central America.[16]

The Federation of Central America technically was a single entity from 1824 until 1839, but for much of that period it was wracked by political instability and sometimes outright civil war; as a result, the capital was moved around. It was located initially in Guatemala City for ten years, until 1834, when it was moved to San Salvador in 1834, where it remained until 1839.[17]

Several territories also were transferred between the entities that comprised the Federal Republic. For instance, the Sonsonate region, which previously had been part of Guatemala, was transferred to the future El Salvador in 1824. The following year, the Nicaraguan province of Nicoya seceded and joined Costa Rica.[18] Finally, in 1838, the various emerging entities that had formed the Federal Republic of Central America agreed that the idea of political unity was not working. During the next two years, they respectively formed separate, independent countries: Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.[19]

The idea of national identity—e.g., being a Salvadoran, as distinct from being a Guatemalan—took some time thereafter to develop.

Because they had been born under a government called the Federal Republic of Central America (or even earlier, under Spanish rule), most adult individuals from that region who were living in California in the middle of the nineteenth century still routinely termed themselves "Central Americans" rather than specifically, and retroactively, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, etc. This makes Mora's clear declaration, in his 1857 letter, of having been born in the state of San Salvador somewhat unusual. Most likely, this declaration of identity reflects the fact that Mora was born soon after the territorial boundaries of Central America started shifting but before individual national identities had begun to coalesce. He identified with a more stable local entity, his natal province, rather than with any of the transient, geographically fluctuating republics of the post-colonial decades.[20] On the other hand, he also characterized himself, in the letter's title, as a young man from Central America. If, as seems likely, he had been born some time in the early 1830s or even late 1820s, it would have been as a citizen of the Federal Republic of Central America; and he may in some sense still have thought of himself in those terms in 1857, in common with other immigrants from the region who defined themselves as Central Americans in censuses later taken in California.

Immigration

Yet there was another element in Mora's self-identification as well: he said he was "criado en el estado de California en el pueblo de San Jose" (raised in the state of California, in the town of San José). Mora never precisely said how long he had been in California, apart from his vague reference to having been "raised" (*criado*) in San José. There is no indication of how old he might have been when he was living in San José, except that his reference to having been "raised" there implies that he had not yet achieved the status of an adult when he arrived there. Possibly he came there in his teens. Toward the end of his letter, he described himself as presently being, in 1857, "en la flor de mi edad" (in the prime of my life). In itself, this is rather vague, as it could encompass anything between the teenage years and middle age. Nevertheless, there is one other clue as to Mora's approximate age when he wrote the letter.

After these references to his origins, Mora declared, "Me allo atrazado y arruinado" (I find myself at a loss and ruined). He then stated that he had been miserable "de nueve a dies años" (from nine to ten years), as a result of what evidently had been a young woman's romantic rejection of

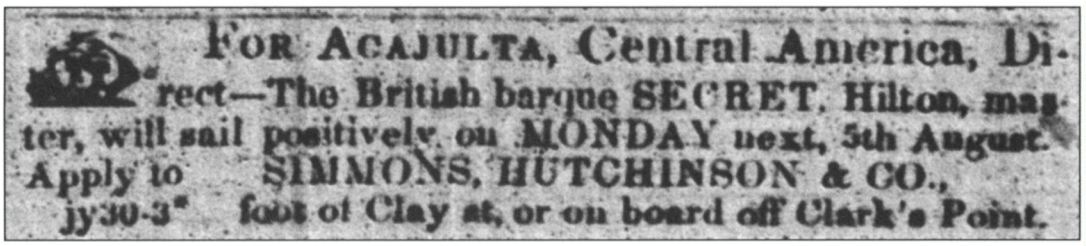
him: "Causa de mi perdision a sido una Muchacha" (The cause of my ruination has been a girl). Taken literally, this phrase "from nine to ten years" indicates that Mora's romantic disappointment may have occurred nine or ten years before he wrote his letter to *El Clamor Público*: that is to say, around 1847–1848. Presumably, he must have been at least in his late teens to have suffered this particular sort of disappointment. If so, he likely would have been in his late twenties when he published his letter in *El Clamor Público*, which certainly would accord with his self-description as being then "in the prime of [his] life."

As a result of his romantic disappointment, "e perdido cuanta birtud pueda haber tenido estoy en disposicion de salir de este condado a buscar los ausilios . . . para venir a California a gosar lo que mi corason intenta de otra manera no quedo conforme" (Having lost whatever capacity I might have had, I am disposed to leave this county to seek assistance . . . to come to California to enjoy what my heart intends. In no other manner am I satisfied). His use of the present tense in this passage initially is confusing and opens the door to multiple interpretations of what he was trying to say. It seems to say that he wishes to leave his present location in order to come to California—yet the letter was written when he was already *in* California, in Los Angeles. The apparent contradiction, however, is dispelled when one realizes that Mora's deficient formal education is most likely at fault. Rather than using the past tense here, as a man would do who was more familiar with the conventions of written expression, he wrote in a vernacular, conversational style, using what is called the "historical present" tense. Although employing present-tense verbs, he was possibly narrating a sequence of events that had occurred in the past. This is made clear by his reference to leaving "this county" to seek resources that would help him "to come to California" to seek his fortune. Logically and grammatically, "this county" can only refer to his native province of San Salvador, as no other "county" has been mentioned previously in the letter. What emerges, therefore, is a sparse but plausible narrative of Mora's having suffered a romantic disappointment in his native El Salvador around the year 1848. Crushed by that disappointment, he decided to emigrate, and he hit upon California as the place he believed he could build a more satisfactory future for himself.[21] But what, in 1848, would have led a young man from El Salvador to conceive of distant California as the place where he might achieve this?

The news of the discovery of gold in California first washed down the

Pacific coast of Mexico, Central America, and South America in 1848, on its way around the Horn and up to the Atlantic coast of the United States, then across the ocean to Europe. For almost three decades, ever since Mexico gained its independence from Spain, California, as part of Mexico, had opened its ports to international trade, and ships carried merchandise from Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Chile to the state, some of them making a stop in Hawaii along the way.[22] The ship first credited with bearing the news of gold down the Pacific coast was the Chilean brig *J.R.S.*, under Captain Alfred Andrews. Along with the usual cargo of Californian hides and tallow, the brig carried a sack of gold dust as tangible evidence of the news, arriving in the harbor of Valparaiso on 19 August 1848. Ships soon were pouring out of Valparaiso, bound for San Francisco, literally within weeks of the *J.R.S.*'s arrival, as the electrifying news of wealth to the north set off a huge wave of Latino immigration to California. Similar scenes would have occurred in other Latin American ports where Andrews' ship had called en route or the first wave of Chilean vessels visited on their way north. These "48ers," primarily Latinos from Mexico, Central America, and South America, were a year ahead of the "49ers" from the Atlantic coast of the United States. The news of the discovery of gold therefore probably reached El Salvador some time between Brannan's announcement in May of that year and the arrival of the *J.R.S.* in Valparaiso in August, and certainly before the end of that year.[23]

One passage in Mora's letter, albeit vaguely and allusively worded, appears to imply that his failure to win the young woman to whom he aspired in El Salvador might have been due, at least in part, to a lack of financial means. Midway through the letter, he made the cryptic statement, "pues e jurado a un Dios que en todo tiempo que arriende y los encuentre casados de pagarmela tienen aremos como dise el dicho que el que la debe que la pague" (So I have sworn, to a God that at any time may render what is owed and find them married, they have to pay me for it. We will do as the proverb says: for he who owes it, must pay it). He never specified who "they" were who might be found to be married; but as he had recounted his romantic disappointment and subsequent decision to come to California only a line or two earlier, most likely he was referring to the young woman who had declined his suit, along with whatever husband she might have taken instead of him. Although his struggles with written expression unfortunately obscured his meaning at this point,



Advertisement for the ship *Secret* sailing from San Francisco, California, to Acajutla, El Salvador in Central America. *Daily Alta California*, 2 August 1850, p. 10. *Courtesy Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture, University of California, Los Angeles.*

Mora seems to have been saying that he felt "they" owed him some sort of acknowledgment or compensation, which he intended to collect. He then summarized, "y ese a sido todo mi trastorno que me alle tan infeliz como me allo pues es bueno hacer un ejemplo para que no tengan por menos a un pobre que conoscan que en ocasiones el pobre tiene mas meresimiento que cualesquier caballero" (and that has been all my trouble, which leaves me here so unhappy as I am. For it is good to make an example, so that they may not think the less of a poor man: for they should recognize that, on occasion, the poor man is worth more than any gentleman whatsoever). Evidently he identified himself with the "poor man" who was determined to "make an example" that would show his superior qualities in comparison to any "gentleman." Taken together, these sentences can be read as suggesting that Mora had been rejected as a potential husband in favor of a wealthier candidate for the young woman's hand. The news of the California goldfields that suddenly appeared on the Central American horizon in 1848 would have promised opportunities for a poor, unhappy young man in Mora's position to go there and prove his true worth by bettering his economic lot through hard work.

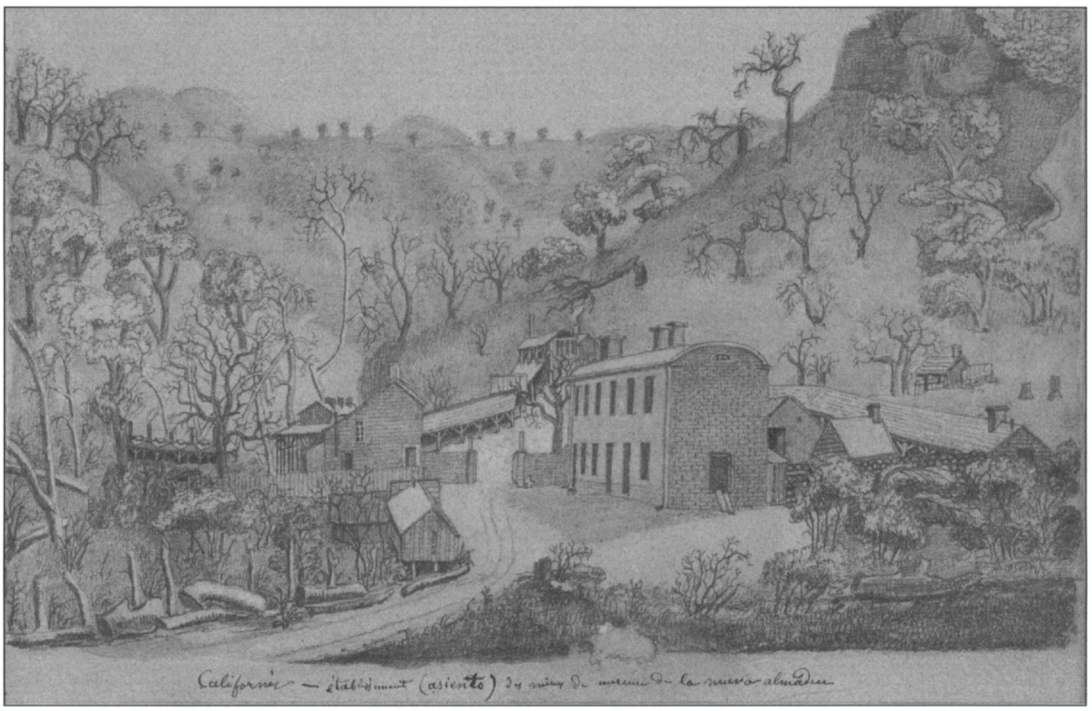
Mora almost certainly traveled to California by ship, as a land route was feasible only for those living in northern Mexico. Given that a ship under sail ordinarily could make the trip from San Blas, Mexico, to California in four to six weeks,[24] it can be estimated that Mora, after embarking at a Central American port, must have spent some eight to twelve weeks aboard ship before finally setting foot on solid ground again at San Francisco, most likely in the latter part of 1848 or the first part of 1849.

For most gold seekers, San Francisco was the first stop preceding a land or river journey east toward the Sierra Nevada mountains. Ángel Mora, however, ended up in the pueblo of San José, a civilian settlement founded in 1775 at the southern end of San Francisco Bay, instead of in the nascent towns and camps of the gold country. Why?

Possibly the answer was quicksilver—mercury, used to chemically extract gold and silver from ore—which abounded in the reddish cinnabar ore of the hills just south of San José. The discovery of the mercury process in the mid-sixteenth century led to the exploitation of Mexico's rich silver and gold mines in the northern regions of New Spain.[25] While small amounts of gold could be washed out of placers with no more equipment than a gold pan and water, much larger amounts of gold could be extracted from quartz rock; but doing so required a far more laborious process. Quartz rocks containing gold were dug up, brought to a mill, and crushed into powder. Quicksilver was poured over the crushed ore, whereupon it extracted the gold from the pulverized rock through a process of amalgamation. The amalgam was heated, which caused the mercury to vaporize, and pure gold was left behind.[26]

For nearly three hundred years, the mines of Mexico were dependent on mercury from the mines of Almadén in faraway Spain. The discovery of a relatively close source of mercury in Alta California would be a boon to mines in Mexico, and huge profits were dreamed of even before the discovery of gold in California provided a bonus market of local consumption.[27] From 1846 on, mining this ore and extracting the mercury had become the area's leading industry.

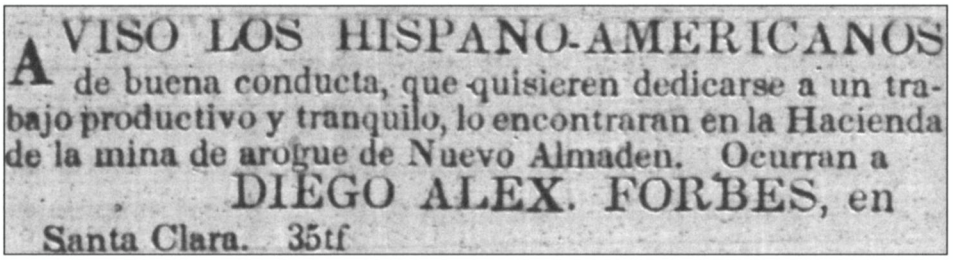
For centuries before Europeans set foot in California, the Ohlone Indians had used cinnabar ore as a pigment for body paint. In 1824, Antonio Suñol and Luis Chabolla visted the hills south of San José, acting on advice from Secundino Robles, who had explored the area years earlier. They collected rock samples and built a Mexican *arrastra* (mining mill) to crush the rocks, trying through this process to extract gold or silver. Not finding any, however, and not having the training to recognize the far greater wealth of cinnabar ore in the hills about them, they abandoned the effort. Over twenty years later, in 1845, Captain Andrés Castillero, who was more familiar with mining technology, revisited the site, understood its potential, and processed over 3,000 pounds of ore to extract the mercury. Castillero filed a certificate of possession in San José with the town's chief alcalde, Antonio María Pico. Yet before he could exploit the mine



Mercury mine establishment at New Almaden, sketched between 1845 and 1851, when Ángel Mora was working there. Pencil on paper, Fritz Wikersheim sketchbook. *Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1963-002-1304:31–ALB. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material.*

effectively, war between Mexico and the United States broke out, in 1846. Realizing that far more capital, supplies, and equipment would be needed than he himself could arrange, Castillero sold his shares in the mine to an English-owned company located in Tepic, Mexico: the Barron Forbes Company. Flush with profits from a cotton mill in Tepic, the firm of Barron Forbes was able to provide financing for equipment and supplies.[28]

Along with capital, the resulting mine at New Almaden[29] required a large number of workers, and Mora may have joined the stream of Latinos traveling to San José to provide the strong backs needed. A Spanish-language advertisement appeared as early as 1849 in the English-language newspaper *Alta California*, seeking Latino workers for the mines of New Almaden: "AVISO HISPANO-AMERICANOS de buena conducta, que


AVISO LOS HISPANO-AMERICANOS de buena conducta, que quisieren dedicarse a un trabajo productivo y tranquilo, lo encontraran en la Hacienda de la mina de azogue de Nuevo Almaden. Ocurran a DIEGO ALEX. FORBES, en Santa Clara. 35tf

Advertisement in Spanish seeking workers for the mines of New Almaden, south of San José, California. It is likely that this need for workers drew Ángel Mora to San José rather than to the Sierra gold fields. *Daily Alta California*, 30 August 1849, p. 6. *Courtesy, Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture, University of California, Los Angeles.*

quisieren dedicarse a un trabajo productivo y tranquilo, lo encontraran en la Hacienda de la mina de azogue de Nuevo Almaden" (I HEREBY NOTIFY HISPANIC AMERICANS of good character, who wish to devote themselves to productive and peaceful employment; they may find it at the Ranch of the mercury mine at New Almaden).[30] Alternately, he might have been employed in some local business that provided goods or services to the New Almaden mining community, such as a ranch, farm, or store. Unfortunately, the 1850 U.S. Census returns for Santa Clara County no longer survive, so it has not been possible to derive more information about Mora's presence in San José from that source.[31]

Social Networks

Despite his conscious claim to a Salvadoran heritage, Mora subsequently proceeded to a far more sweeping, inclusive statement of identity in his 1857 letter: "Conosco a todos por paisanos pues con sus alimentos de ellos me e cabado de criar" (I recognize everyone as my countrymen, since I have finished being raised on the foods of them all). This must have referred to his time in San José, since he previously had stated that that was where he had been raised.[32] Precisely whom he meant when he said he recognized as his fellow countrymen "everyone" with whom he had eaten in his youth, however, must be deduced from demographics and other external evidence, since Mora's letter offered no further identification.

In a demographic situation not very different from that of Salvadorans arriving in California in the early twenty-first century, immigrants

in the mid-nineteenth century came to San José and New Almaden from all over Latin America—including Chile, Peru, and Central America—but Mexicans predominated numerically. In addition to the native-born Californios, who had themselves been Mexican citizens until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo turned them into American citizens early in 1848,[33] another large wave of immigrants from Mexico was just beginning, as news of the discovery of gold in California spread through that country. As a result of living in San José for a number of years from 1848 on, Mora would have become accustomed to foods common to California Latinos of Mexican origin in the early days of the gold rush: frijoles, tortillas, tacos, tamales, and enchiladas.[34]

From 1849 on, however, considerable numbers of non-Latino immigrants also would have started arriving in California, both from the eastern states of the U.S. and from other countries. Did Mora consider them his fellow countrymen as well? There is no direct evidence in his letter to show either that he did or that he did not. Yet the fact that he published his farewell letter only in Los Angeles' Spanish-language newspaper and did not also publish it in that town's contemporary English-language *Star* suggests that most of his contacts were in the Latino community. In a subsequent passage of his letter, he begged, "Ruegen a Dios Paisanos de que el señor me preste bida" (Pray to God, my fellow countrymen, that the Lord will give me life), and concluded the letter with "saludo a todos mis paisanos" (I give my regards to all my fellow countrymen). Obviously, he expected that his fellow countrymen were going to receive his request and his farewell through the medium of this Spanish-language journal, whether directly as readers or indirectly by hearing about them from people who had read his letter in the paper. This implies that those he considered to be his "fellow countrymen" were either a part of the Latino community served by *El Clamor Público* or, more likely, that entire community. Had he wished to claim only other Central Americans as his countrymen, he would not have made that remark about considering "everyone" his countrymen whose varied foods had nourished him since his arrival in San José. It may be concluded, therefore, that Mora felt himself part of an inclusive, rather cosmopolitan Latino civil society in California, made up both of immigrants from all over Latin America and of people native to the state.

Spanish-language newspapers like *El Clamor Público* were one of the institutions that helped shape this inclusive civil society, disseminating

information of mutual interest among its various members. When the editor J. Jofre left the Spanish-language San Francisco newspaper *La Crónica* early in 1856 to take over as editor of the Spanish pages of that city's *L'Écho du Pacifique*, he explicitly described his readership both as "los individuos de las diversas nacionalidades que hay en California" (individuals of the various nationalities that exist in California) and as "[el] pùblico español" ([the] Spanish-speaking public). Jofre attributed his assumption of the new position to the need, "como americanos y como individuos de la noble raza española a que pertenecemos . . . alzar nuestra voz con las poderosas armas de la razon, para denunciar ante el supremo tribunal de la opinion publica las injusticias, los atropellamientos y los ultrajes de que han sido y continuan con demasiada frecuencia siendo victimas los individuos de nuestra raza" (as Americans and as individuals of the noble Spanish-speaking race to which we belong . . . to raise our voice, with the powerful weapons of reason, to denounce before the supreme court of public opinion the injustices, violations, and outrages whose victims have been, and all too frequently continue to be, individuals of our race).[35] By "race," Jofre evidently had in mind a concept perhaps best expressed by the modern term "ethnicity." Since his readership of *nuestra raza* already had been explicitly defined as both consisting of "various nationalities" and as an inclusive "Spanish-speaking public," clearly he conceived of all Latinos as belonging to the same civil society, regardless of national origin, and his editorial policy reflected this position.

This inclusive mentality was not unique to Jofre and his newspaper. Los Angeles' *Clamor Público* frequently expressed similar sentiments in its editorials, as did the San Francisco *La Crónica* and other Spanish-language newspapers.[36] But this cosmopolitan view was not limited to a Latino intellectual elite. As Mora's 1857 letter shows, even a poorly educated Latino might share it.[37] And less than five years after Mora published his letter, the French invasion of Mexico set off explosive growth in the *juntas patrióticas*, whose membership was overtly pan-Latino. The Junta in Los Angeles, for example, specified, "this Junta . . . will not be exclusively made up of Mexican citizens, but rather all children of other American republics will be invited" and promptly elected as president Pioquinto Davila from Colombia.[38] It was therefore natural for Mora to publish his farewells in one of these Spanish-language newspapers, as he had good reason to believe that it thereby would reach all his "fellow countrymen" in this inclusive community.

Education and Upbringing

Mora stated that he had been "criado fuera de la educasion de mis padres" (brought up outside of my parents' care), but he gave no explanation of why he had been raised, at least during the last years of his youth, by persons other than his parents or of who those persons might have been. The most logical explanation is simply that he had left the rest of his family behind in El Salvador and come to California on his own. Mora may have been raised, as the proverb says, by his village, in this case the town of San José, which very well might have accounted for his cosmopolitan sentiments.

In another part of his letter, Mora laments the burden of his "mala educasion" (poor education).[39] While this fact is evident to anyone who reads his letter, it is not clear if his low level of literacy was due entirely to his having left home before completing his education or if the education he had received in El Salvador had not been very extensive in the first place. Whatever education he did have must have been almost exclusively in Spanish, as that was the only language in which he attempted to write his letter of farewell.

Mora's scant education was perhaps understandable, if he did not come from a family able to pay to send him to a private school. In the nineteenth century, after attaining independence, the Central American and Salvadoran governments made a number of attempts at reforming public education. In 1827, legislation mandated the establishment of primary education in all cities and towns that had more than one hundred and fifty children, and parents were required to send their children to school under pain of fines or even arrest. These schools were to be visited on a weekly basis by two city officials who were to inspect the progress of the children's education. This plan unfortunately did not work very well, since many of these inspectors proved themselves to be illiterate. In 1833, the "monitorial system" developed in England—under which older students were taught by the teacher and then themselves taught the younger students—was introduced into El Salvador as a means to make up for the lack of qualified teachers. It would not be until 1861, however, that legislation actually provided funds for infrastructure and classroom supplies. This mandate also enforced the monitorial system and primary education of all children between eight and twelve years of age.[40]

In California, some education had been provided to children in Spanish since at least 1797, albeit sporadically. Before 1848, most schools were

conducted by a single teacher and lasted only a few months or years.[41] During the gold rush, a number of new Spanish-language elementary schools were established, for example in Monterey and Los Angeles and in Contra Costa County, but none yet existed in New Almaden or San José when Mora would have been living there.[42] No Spanish-language school was opened in the local "Spanishtown" until after an English-language school had been established in 1864,[43] which was well after Mora had left the hills of Santa Clara County.

His 1857 letter certainly reflects a low level of formal education. *El Clamor Público*'s well-educated editor, Francisco P. Ramírez, could not resist commenting, rather superciliously, on this fact. As a postscript to his verbatim publication of Mora's letter, Ramírez remarked, "Al dar lugar en nuestras columnas al comunicado que antecede, no es otra la intencion que tenemos, que proporcionar a nuestro [*sic*] lectores un *modelo* epistolar" (In giving space in our columns to the preceding communication, the intention we have is none other than to procure for our readers a *model* of the epistolary art). The disdainful effect is, however, slightly undermined by Ramírez's own typographical error (*nuestro* for *nuestros*).

Secondary Migration

By 1857, Ángel Mora had come to Los Angeles, where he published his letter. Very likely he had come in search of work. Yet neither he nor anyone else with the surname Mora was enumerated in Los Angeles County in the 1860 census, so his presence there may have been transitory, or he may simply have been missed by the census enumerators.[44] Nevertheless, a move from a mining community in northern California to a more urban setting elsewhere in the state would have been in keeping with a two-stage migration pattern frequently displayed by immigrants at that time. Many Latino *gambusinos* (miners) first tried their luck in the mines; then, when that literally did not pan out, they moved out of the gold country to towns in the Central Valley or along the coast to try their luck in other venues. The diary of young Mexican 49er Justo Veytia, for instance, reveals that he alternated two unsuccessful stints as a gold miner with periods of time working as a lumberjack and shingle-maker for the Arana family in Santa Cruz.[45]

Yet Mora, for reasons his letter does not make very clear, encountered only further disappointment in Los Angeles. Unlike the articulate Theodor Bors, he floundered when it came to publishing his particular

reasons for leaving. The closest he came to an explanation was a very garbled passage, from which he seems to have accidentally omitted a few words: "en seguida otro de de [*sic*] los Anjeles pues an tratado de burlarse de mi felicidad" (right away, another from from [*sic*] Los Angeles, because they have tried to cheat me of my happiness). Who it was in Los Angeles who had tried to "cheat" Mora of his happiness, and in what manner, unfortunately remains completely murky, thanks to the omission of whatever should have come between *de* and *de*.[46] Mora offers another enigmatic hint of possible further romantic rejection: "pues llo soy uno que me allo lastimado de las flores de California" (So, I find myself wounded by the flowers of California). If by "the flowers of California" he meant women or a woman from California, his misery may have been increased by yet another romantic rejection after arriving in the state. Presumably his experiences in San José also had proved ultimately unsatisfying, for he subsequently concluded, "e padesido en California" (I have suffered in California).

A Return to Central America?

As a consequence of these various disappointments, Mora evidently had decided to leave California. In his typically meandering fashion, he never actually got around to saying as much plainly in his letter; but its content marks it as belonging to the genre of farewell letters occasionally published by California's Spanish-language newspapers in this period, especially in closing with the valedictory phrases "y discurriendo a la memoria saludo a todos mis paisanos" (And thinking of the memory, I give my regards to all my fellow countrymen). But if he was intending to leave, where did he plan to go?

Dissatisfied after his unprofitable decade in California, Ángel Mora very possibly might have been contemplating going back to Central America, but to Nicaragua instead of his native El Salvador. He never said this directly in his letter, but one peculiar passage, when placed in the context of his times, suggests that this was his intention.

Having narrated the history of his troubles and cryptically alluded to those he thought owed him some sort of compensation, Mora proceeded to deliver himself of another enigmatic pronouncement: "pues de arrendar tengo auque [*sic*] sea con las tripas arrastrando a sacarlos del desengaño" (So I have to render what is owed, even though it be with my guts trailing on the ground, to save them from disappointment). The identity

of the persons he felt a duty to save from some undefined disappointment remains a mystery.[47] He then made an unexpected claim in support of his capacity to effect this rescue: "pues lo hablo con talento no nomas [*sic*] de la Gorra pues conosco que tengo medios y ausilios para poderlo aser queriendo llo Anjel Mora Ermano del Jeneral en Jefe de la Costa Rica del Gobernador de Sentro america" (Well, I am speaking with intelligence, not talking through my hat; for I know that I have means and assistance with which to be able to do it, if I want to, I, Ángel Mora, brother of the commander-in-chief of Costa Rica, of the Governor of Central America). Having heretofore stressed his poverty and unhappy situation, Mora now was claiming to be the brother of the commander-in-chief of the Costa Rican army. As it happened, there were two brothers from the Mora family prominently involved in resisting the invasion of their country by filibusters in the 1850s. Juan Rafael Mora Porras was both president of Costa Rica and commander-in-chief of the Costa Rican forces, and his brother José Joaquín Mora Porras held a command under him.[48] Apparently, it was specifically Juan Rafael Mora to whom Ángel Mora was claiming kinship in his letter.

In claiming kinship to such an illustrious family, Mora clearly was trying to gain some degree of social recognition and respect. Yet a search of those records thus far available does not support his claim of being a brother to the Costa Rican Moras. Born in 1814, President Juan Rafael Mora was the eldest child of Camilo Mora Alvarado and his wife, Ana Benita Porras Ulloa. His younger siblings included Miguel, José Joaquín, Guadalupe, Ana María, Mercedes, Rosa, Eleodora, Juana, and Virginia.[49] No sibling named Ángel has yet been identified. It is not impossible, however, that Ángel could have been the Costa Rican president's illegitimate half-brother—or at least have believed that he was—or perhaps an adopted brother. President Mora's father had died only in 1836; if the deductions that have been made above, concerning Ángel Mora's approximate age in 1857, are correct, he most likely would have been born before 1836. Moreover, why Ángel Mora should have made so bold a claim in so public a forum, if he did not at least believe it to be true, is hard to fathom—unless, of course, he was simply suffering from delusions of grandeur. At present, however, it cannot be determined whether or not there really was any truth to his assertion.

It was not unheard of for relatives of Latin American dignitaries to turn up occasionally in California in the 1850s, even in a small and rela-

tively unimportant community such as Los Angeles then was. In March of 1855, for example, Mexican citizen Manuel María Figueroa hired local lawyers and brought suit in the Probate Court of Los Angeles County against the executors of his late brother's will, asserting that they had cheated him out of his rightful inheritance. His brother had been none other than José Figueroa, a former Mexican governor of California, who had died in office in 1835.[50] So, regardless of its actual veracity, and even though it might have seemed somewhat unusual for a self-proclaimed "poor man" to be citing such illustrious connections, Mora's statement of kinship with the Costa Rican president would not have struck the readers of *El Clamor Público* as completely far-fetched.

In the context of his letter, Ángel Mora's claim to be the president's brother was a reversal of his earlier lamentations about his poverty and general misery, meant to support his statement that he was able to do what he intended to do: he had access to "means and assistance" with which to accomplish his goal, should he choose to pursue it. Interestingly, in light of this claim, his earlier insistence that he was ignorant "because [he had] been brought up outside of [his] parents' care" could take on new meaning; he might have been implying that, had he but stayed with his family in Central America, he would now have been a far more influential and cultivated person than he actually was.

His claim of a family connection to President Mora also provides a clue as to the nature of Ángel Mora's vaguely declared plans. Simply put, it would not have made much sense for him suddenly to introduce this claim of kinship, specifically as proof of his ability to accomplish what he had in mind, if he had intended to stay in California. While being reputed to be the Costa Rican president's brother might have earned Mora a certain social cachet there, it would not have equated to concrete "means and assistance" in accomplishing a goal, either in Los Angeles or in any other part of California. The only place it would have had real weight, in that sense, would have been Central America. Moreover, in 1857 there existed a compelling reason for a son of Central America to think of returning to the land of his birth.

American filibusterer William Walker was then making his series of attempts to take over Nicaragua, having first intervened in that country's civil war in 1855. Although Walker and his filibusterers had been driven out in the spring of 1857 by a coalition of troops from Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, it was common knowledge by

summer that he was already recruiting in the United States and stockpiling military supplies for another attempt.[51] If Mora indeed was thinking of returning to Central America to take part in resisting the impending invasion, then his request for his countrymen's prayers would make far more sense than it otherwise does without this context: "Rueguen a Dios Paisanos de que el señor me preste bida de Bolber que puede ser que el mas infelis los aga Bitoriosos" (So pray to God, my fellow countrymen, that the Lord will give me life so that I may return; for it can be that the most unhappy person may make them victorious).

Although Mora had lived in California for nearly ten years by 1857, it would not have been too difficult for him to preserve an active interest in, and sense of identification with, his native region. Information about Central America would have been readily available to him in the local Spanish-language press, which, in addition to providing news of events in California and the United States, also published a good deal of information about Central and South America, using articles reprinted from newspapers published in those countries as well as communications from unofficial correspondents. As early as 1853, the Spanish-language page of the *Los Angeles Star*—which featured editorial content independent from that of its English-language pages—was printing columns of news from various Spanish-speaking regions of the world. For instance, one such column from that year, titled "America Central," contained an account of the deteriorating relations between Guatemala and Honduras and of El Salvador's efforts to mediate a peace.[52] This coverage only intensified in 1855, when the last editor of the *Star*'s Spanish-language page, Francisco P. Ramírez, left his position there to found *El Clamor Público*.

Although his references are so vague as to puzzle modern readers, it may be that Mora did not need to go into greater detail about his intentions than he actually did in his letter, as Latinos in California were kept informed on a regular basis by their Spanish-language press about Walker's swaggering adventures. Indeed, in his inaugural issue as new editor of *L'Écho du Pacifique's* Spanish-language pages, Jofre explicitly addressed the efforts his newspaper would make, even from faraway San Francisco, against the filibusters: "creimos de nuestro deber constituirnos en una atalaya constante que serviera a nuestros paises españoles de alerta contra esos avances illegales con que se ha pretendido y se pretende absorverlos . . . aniquilando las nacionalidades de los pueblos invadidos" (We believe it our duty to establish ourselves as a constant sentry that may serve our

Spanish-speaking countries as a warning against those illegal advances with which people have attempted, and are attempting, to absorb them . . . destroying the national identities of the invaded peoples).[53]

The appetite of Manifest Destiny had not been satisfied by the digestion of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in 1848. Many in the United States clamored for the takeover of even more neighboring territory in Mexico or some other Latin American country. Using events of the 1840s as their working model—such as the ephemeral Republic of Texas and the Bear Flag Revolt in California—some Atlantic-Americans decided to take matters in their own hands and speed along what they perceived to be an inevitable process by simply invading some portion of a Latin American country, declaring "independence," setting up a government, and then petitioning to be annexed to the United States.[54] Latinos were informed by the Spanish-language press that the English-language press often lauded such efforts as well-meaning attempts to bring "civilization" to benighted Mexico and Latin America. *El Clamor Público*, for instance, sarcastically translated into Spanish an English-language article from the *San Francisco Herald* extolling the alleged benefits of a filibuster takeover of any Latin American country: "La civilizacion tomara el lugar de la barbarie—la educacion el de la ignorancia—empresas comericales el de la inactividad general, y la riqueza el de la pobreza" (Civilization will take the place of barbarity—education that of ignorance—commercial enterprises that of general inactivity, and wealth that of poverty).[55]

Fulfilling Latinos' fears of unilateral, high-handed treatment, William Walker took a small army from San Francisco to Baja California in 1853. Even though he never controlled the majority of Baja Californian territory, he nevertheless managed to temporarily depose the governor; whereupon he began pillaging farms and ranches to supply his troops. Thus far, Walker probably was not much worse than other outlaws and bandits that roamed the West, except perhaps that his gang was larger and initially more successful than most. What complicated matters was that Walker had a larger vision than the average bandit chief: he proclaimed Baja California an independent republic, complete with a new constitution and flag, and installed himself as its president.[56] Despite never achieving firm control over Baja California, he then took his little army to the Mexican state of Sonora, hoping to increase the size of his empire. There, however, he met defeat at the hands of Mexican irregulars and his own logistical incompetence, whereupon the filibusterers

retreated to the safety of California.[57] A good part of San Francisco hailed him as a conquering hero upon his return, although that city's English-language *Alta California* certainly did not.[58] Walker's trial for conducting an illegal war in Baja California had ended in acquittal in 1854; and that same year, a grand jury in New Orleans refused even to indict repatriated filibusterers on similar charges, reportedly on the grounds that "no es evidencia, sino un vago rumor lo que se le ha manifestado" (what has been plainly shown isn't evidence, but only a vague rumor).[59]

Rather than seeing Walker as a hero, the Spanish-language press bluntly termed filibustering actions an invasion by "piratas" (pirates).[60] These newspapers also drew on their editors' experience of what had happened to Latinos in California since 1848 to denounce claims made in pro-filibustering English-language newspapers that the citizens of invaded Latin American countries welcomed such interventions. Commenting in 1858 on a rumor that the United States intended to annex the Mexican state of Sonora, *El Éco del Pacífico* remarked, "[L]o que ha pasado en California con los individuos de raza española basta para dar una idea de los infortunios de que servian [*sic*] victima los nativos del vecino Estado si tal anexion llegara a realizarse" ([W]hat has happened in California to individuals of the Spanish-speaking race suffices to give an idea of the misfortunes to which the natives of the neighboring State would be victim if such an annexation should come to pass). The editorial went on to assert that the majority of Californios, a decade after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, found themselves "en una condicion miserable a consecuencia de las injusticias y tropelías de que han sido victimas, todo lo cual deben a esa raza que se titula *la regeneradora de nuestros pueblos*" (in a miserable state, as a consequence of the injustices and outrages of which they have been victims, all of which are due to that race that calls itself *the regenerator of our nations*).[61]

In 1855, the *Los Angeles Star*'s Spanish-language page mockingly noted that "Su Ecselencia el coronel Walker, ex-Presidente de la republica de la Baja California y Sonora" (His Excellency Colonel Walker, ex-president of the Republic of Baja California and Sonora), had left for Nicaragua at the head of another small army made up initially of Atlantic-American adventurers.[62] Walker ostensibly was merely providing mercenary services to one side in the civil war then under way in that country, but few people entertained illusions that his real goal was anything other than to exploit the Nicaraguan situation in order to pursue

his usual filibustering agenda.[63] *El Clamor Público* noted, "En opinion de los diarios Americanos de San Francisco, Walker obtendra un triunfo glorioso en su expedicion, y que al fin serâ [*sic*] Presidente la única ambicion que tiene" (In the opinion of the American newspapers of San Francisco, Walker will obtain a glorious victory on his expedition, and in the end he will be President, the only ambition he has). The editor sardonically hoped that Central Americans "le den una buena recepcion como merece tan insigne personaje" (may give him a fine reception, as such a renowned person deserves). What sort of "reception" *Clamor Público*'s editor thought Walker deserved doubtless was quite different from Walker's own notions.[64] A year later, Walker having fulfilled general expectations and seized control of Nicaragua with the aid of local allies, *El Clamor Público* noted that he had indeed named himself president of that country. In a later issue, its editor, citing the Central American newspaper *Nicaraguense*, called Walker "el gran ladron del siglo presente" (the great thief of the present century), who "esta . . . apoderandose de todo lo que puede" (is . . . seizing everything he can).[65]

But the countries of Central America did not passively accept Walker's usurpation of government in Nicaragua, much less his plans to expand his conquests into Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Latino newspapers in California soon were reporting, in November of 1856, that Honduras and Guatemala had formed an alliance to drive Walker from Nicaragua.[66] Later, forces from El Salvador joined the common effort, which Costa Rica had begun in the spring of that year.[67] Although, by the spring of 1857, this Central American coalition—with official assistance from Great Britain and unofficial assistance from U.S. business magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt—had succeeded in temporarily driving Walker out of Nicaragua, the arch-filibusterer returned to try again later that year.[68]

The notion of going to Latin America to fight foreign invaders would not have been at all strange for a Latino in California. Five years later, when French emperor Napoleon III sent an army into Mexico to topple the democratically elected government of President Benito Juárez, a number of Latinos living in California publicly expressed a desire to join the Mexican resistance, and some of them actually did so. For example, one Jesús Hernández, a resident of San Luis Obispo, left the state for Mexico in 1863, taking with him 25 pounds of gunpowder, 100 pounds of bullets, and his personal firearms with which to join troops loyal to President Juárez in

fighting to expel the French. Reporting on Hernández's actions, California's Spanish-language newspapers urged others to follow suit.[69] In 1864, a young Californio, Uladislao Vallejo, son of the prominent General Mariano Vallejo, was eager to go to Mexico to fight the French. He was so enthusiastic, in fact, that after being captured by the enemy and repatriated, he volunteered to go back the following year. In trying to reconcile his wife to the idea of their son's returning for another tour of duty in Mexico, General Vallejo wrote that Uladislao was "anxious to fight in defense of the country of his ancestors" and declared with remarkable optimism, "War is dangerous, yet it is the profession of very brave men. The enemy fires the shots, but you dodge them; when one fights for a just cause, it is necessary not to think of risks. . . . 'Nothing ventured, nothing gained.'"[70]

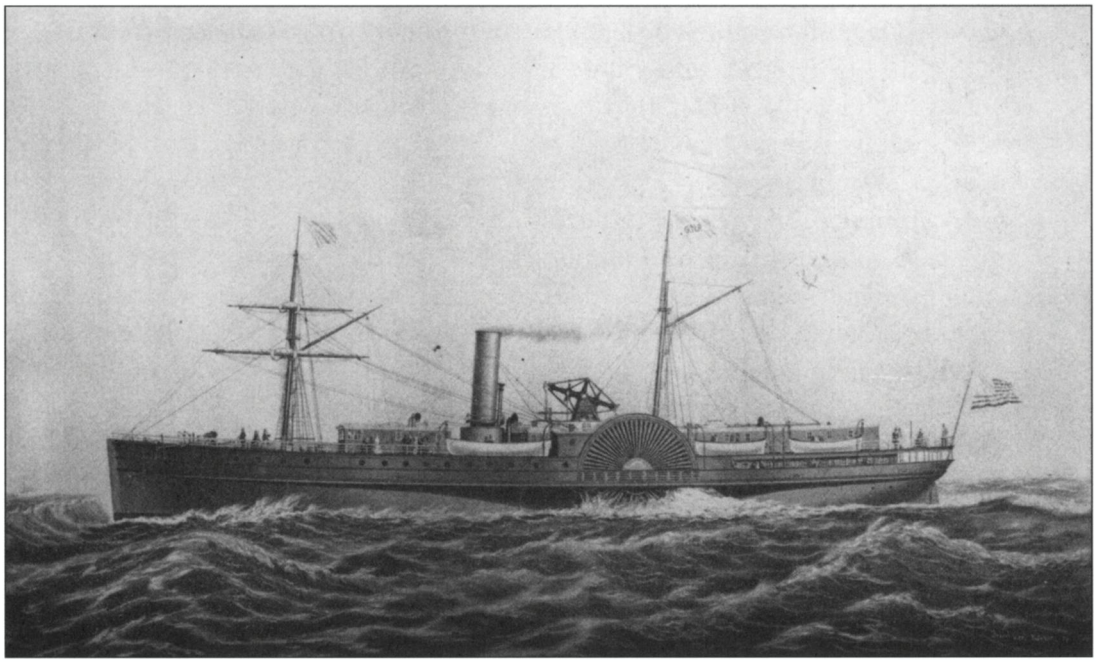
General Vallejo's philosophical summing-up, "Nothing ventured, nothing gained," might have been an echo of the sentiments motivating Ángel Mora in the summer of 1857. Despite having spent most of his letter publicly lamenting his unhappy past and present, his poverty, and his inadequate education, he ended on an optimistic note: "It can be that the most unhappy person may make them victorious." Presumably it was the Central American opponents of filibustering he had it in mind to assist in achieving victory, given his choice to publish his letter in the vehemently anti-filibuster *Clamor Público* rather than elsewhere. Even with this characterization of himself as a "most unhappy person," Mora felt he had it within himself to improve and overcome the obstacles that had bilked him of success thus far. "Pues bajo mi inocencia tengo mucha opinion ase bastante tiempo que el corason me encamina a aser los esfuersos bajo mi mala educasion tengo opinion de aser cuanto la cabesa me alumbre que aunque sin talento pero puedo tenerlo con el tiempo pues estoy en la flor de mi edad que soy como el mais que cada dia estoy creciendo" (For, beneath my simplicity, I have strong opinions. For a long time my heart has directed me to make efforts. In spite of my poor education, I am of the opinion that I will do whatever my head enlightens me [to do]; for even though I am without intelligence, nevertheless I can have it, with time, since I am in the prime of my life; for I am like the corn, for I grow every day).

Two-Way Traffic

By 1857, steamships regularly plied the routes between California and Mexico, Central America, and South America, covering in weeks the distance that a decade earlier had taken months. Along with merchan-

dise, produce, newspapers, and mail, the steamers also carried Latinos, both to and from California. Did such a steamer, for instance the *Orizaba*,[71] ever take Mora back to El Salvador? No record of his name on a steamship's passenger list has yet been found, but this silence of the records may mean little. Newspapers usually only published the names of first-class passengers when announcing the arrival or departure of a steamer, merely noting laconically and collectively the additional presence of any number of anonymous passengers in steerage.[72] Perhaps Mora did travel south to join the new coalition of Central American forces that again drove Walker out of Nicaragua at the end of 1857. Or perhaps he merely returned peaceably to his native land.

On the other hand, perhaps he simply stayed in California, beyond the ken of census takers, eventually witnessing the United States' slide into civil war in 1861 and France's invasion of Mexico the following year. Or perhaps he died—whether in California, at sea, or in his native land—not long after publishing his letter in *El Clamor Público*. As mentioned above, no record of an Ángel Mora or any members of a Mora family is to be found in the 1860 census of Los Angeles County, so one can only speculate. An Angelo Mora was enumerated in the 1870 census of the county: a laborer living alone in the town of San Gabriel. He was even about the right age to have been the letter-writer of 1857, as his age was given as 45. His birthplace, however, was listed as Mexico, not anywhere in Central America, and it was noted that he was unable to read or write.[73] Presumably, therefore, this was not the same man. A search of the lists of donors to the *juntas patrióticas mejicanas* (Mexican patriotic assemblies)—grassroots political organizations formed in California, Oregon, and Nevada between 1862 and 1866 to raise funds for Mexico's fight against the French—reveals four males with the surname Mora. One Jesús Mora worked in the mine of El Oso in Mariposa County; an R. Mora resided in Half Moon Bay; there was a Salvador Mora in San Francisco, and a Miguel Mora in Virginia City, Nevada.[74] Were any of these men related to the Ángel Mora who had published his autobiographical letter in Los Angeles' *Clamor Público* in August 1857? As yet, there is no way of knowing. Moreover, the mere absence of Ángel Mora's name from these donor lists and censuses does not constitute proof that he was not still living in California during the 1860s. Censuses, then as now, frequently made undercounts, especially of immigrants. Nor is it known with any certainty what proportion of the Latino population actually made dona-



Painting of the *Orizaba*, a side-wheel steamer of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, later Pacific Mail Transportation Company, ca. 1880-1890. The *Orizaba* was put into service in 1856 carrying merchandise, produce, newspapers, mail, and passengers between California and Mexico, Central America, and South America. If Ángel Mora did depart for El Salvador in 1857 he would have traveled on a steamship such as the *Orizaba*. *Courtesy of the University of Southern California Libraries. California Historical Society Collection.*

tions to the *juntas patrióticas* during the 1860s; for various reasons, it may have been as little as a third of adult males.[75]

Only one source dated after the letter has been discovered thus far that mentions a Salvadoran named Ángel Mora in California; and it is problematic as to whether or not this is the same individual who laboriously wrote his farewell to his "fellow countrymen" in *El Clamor Público* in 1857. In Los Angeles on 1 May 1874, in a Catholic ceremony presided over by Father Miguel Durán, a man named Ángel Mora—described in the church register as a bachelor thirty years of age, a native of "San Salvador," son of Fernando Mora and Concepción López—took as his bride María Molina, a girl born in Hermosillo, Mexico. The bride was only thirteen; as her father was deceased, her mother was the one to give permission for the marriage to take place.[76] One of the witnesses to the marriage was a man named Loreto Álvarez. A search of the *juntas patrióticas*' donor records shows that a man by that name had been an active member of the junta at the New Almaden mines in 1864.[77] Given the letter-writing Ángel Mora's past connection with the San José area, it is an interesting coincidence. Unfortunately, neither the junta's donor lists nor the marriage record contains enough additional information that might allow one to determine if the New Almaden junta donor of 1864 and the marriage witness of 1874 were the same man or not. Circumstantial evidence suggests that they were the same person. Central American immigrants to California in the nineteenth century were relatively few, in comparison to the numbers who came from Mexico and Chile. It is therefore tempting to believe that the odds must be slim of there having been *two* men in California in the mid-nineteenth century who had been born in San Salvador, both named Ángel Mora, both associated in some way with the San José and Los Angeles areas.[78]

However, there are two significant discrepancies between the groom's information provided in the 1874 marriage record and what has been deduced about the Ángel Mora who published a letter in *El Clamor Público* in 1857. The first has to do with the stated age. The groom in 1874 stated that he was thirty years old. This would have made the year of his birth either 1843 or 1844. Anyone born around those years would have been no more than thirteen or fourteen in 1857, when Mora published his letter, rather young to have experienced life-shattering romantic rejection. The second discrepancy is in his parentage. The 1874 marriage record gives the groom's parents as Fernando Mora and Concepción

López. Yet, the 1857 letter boasts that he was the brother of the Costa Rican president, Juan Rafael Mora Porras. These discrepancies weigh against the circumstantial evidence arguing that the two Moras (of the 1857 and 1874 documents) were the same person.

And yet, there is a plausible explanation for the age discrepancy. It was not unknown for brides and grooms to simply lie about their ages on their marriage certificates, particularly when there might be reason to fear that public knowledge of their actual ages might draw social disapproval or even invalidate the marriage altogether.

If the 1874 marriage really was that of the same Ángel Mora who published his autobiographical letter in 1857, then he would have been approximately in his mid-forties at the time of his wedding. The potential for social disapproval of a middle-aged man's marrying a thirteen-year-old girl might have been great enough to motivate the groom to shave some years off his age.

The discrepancy in parentage, on the face of it, would seem even less explicable than the age discrepancy. It is possible, however, that the letter-writing Ángel Mora in 1857 had been profoundly mistaken about his paternity at the time but was corrected at some point during the intervening years. Or, given the apparent grandiosity of the 1857 claim to be the Costa Rican president's brother, perhaps he had merely lied about his parentage on that occasion, in an effort to bolster his social standing or gain some material benefit.

Circumstantial evidence indicates that the letter-writing Ángel Mora of 1857 and the marrying Ángel Mora of 1874 may indeed have been the same man. Yet, discrepancies between the information provided in the two documents make conclusive identification impossible, even though reasons for such discrepancies can be offered.

Yet even if nothing more should ever be discovered about the young man who struggled with the unfamiliar medium of written expression to share his story with the readers of *El Clamor Público*, his letter still serves as a lens through which to view something of the world of both Central American immigrants and the larger Latino community that was evolving in California in the 1850s. The fact that a marginally educated man like Mora thought to publish his farewells at all, instead of just slipping quietly out of town aboard a stagecoach or steamship, shows how important the Spanish-language press of the time was in binding together the disparate members of that community, California-born and immigrant

alike, and in keeping them abreast of developments throughout the Spanish-speaking world. So successful were the newspapers at the latter task that Mora could declare himself in print to be President Juan Rafael Mora's brother and have confidence that *El Clamor Público*'s readership would recognize the name and understand, by implication, where he intended to go and why. His letter also serves as proof that the pan-Latino sense of identity frequently urged by California's Spanish-language press was no mere idealistic intellectual construct of an elite few. Even a poor Central American immigrant might consider all other Latinos in California his "fellow countrymen" and feel himself to be a member of a larger, inclusive civil society.

Whatever his ultimate fate, one may hope that Ángel Mora, "born in the state of San Salvador and raised in the state of California, in the town of San José," found the happiness that had eluded him earlier. Whether or not he ever did, for over one hundred and fifty years since 1848, hundreds of thousands of immigrants from El Salvador have followed in his footsteps to California seeking to achieve prosperity and happiness and forming an integral part of the Latino population of the state.

Notes

[1] "Bida de un Joben de Sentro America" (letter to the editor from Ángel Mora), *El Clamor Público* (3:5), 1 August 1857, p. 2.

[2] Dissatisfied with his years in California, Jesus Yslas developed the idea of planting a colony of Latinos in the Mexican state of Sonora. "Comunicado" *El Clamor Público* (1:46), 10 May 1856, p.3.

[3] *El Clamor Público* (1:34), 16 February, 1856, p.2.

[4] David E. Hayes-Bautista et al., "Empowerment, expansion and engagement: *Las Juntas Patrióticas* in California, 1848–1869" *California History* 85:1 (2007): 4–23.

[5] *El Eco del Pacífico* began life in 1852 as the Spanish-language half of the French daily newspaper *L'Echo du Pacifique* but became an independent daily around 1856. *La Estrella* and *La Gaceta* were the Spanish-language pages of the *Los Angeles Star* and the *Santa Barbara Gazette*, respectively, and never achieved independent status. *El Clamor Público* was an independent weekly. *La Crónica* was an independent tri-weekly. Little is known about *El Sudamericano*, but it appears to have been an independent that published at least weekly.

[6] The presumption that Mora himself gave this title to his letter is based on the fact that three of the seven words in it are spelled phonetically, as was Mora's wont: "Bida" (*vida*); "Joben" (*joven*); and "Sentro" (*centro*). The editor of *El Clamor Público*, Francisco P. Ramírez—while not immune from the occasional phonetic spelling or typographical error himself—was a far more educated man and almost certainly would not have employed three phonetically spelled words in such a short space. Furthermore, the title appears beneath the introductory note in which Mora requests that his submission be printed exactly as is, which indicates it was part of his original letter.

[7] Michael Weiss, "Education, Literacy and the Community of Los Angeles in 1850," *Southern California Quarterly* 60 (1978): 117–42.

[8] Despite using the present tense here, Mora seems to be referring to a romantic disappointment he had suffered in his native region, nine or ten years earlier. He appears to say that the experience left him so confused and miserable that he sought whatever assistance he could find there in order to make his way to

California, to seek a new chance at happiness, for nothing else at the time could satisfy him but a break with his past. Presumably he was inspired to think he could find happiness in California, *ca.* 1848, when news of the recent discovery of gold there reached Central America. This interpretation is further borne out by Mora's subsequent remarks about showing that a poor man sometimes may be worth more than a gentleman. Those remarks imply that he, at least, attributed his romantic disappointment to a lack of financial resources on his part.

[9] Thus garbled in the original, perhaps because a word or words have inadvertently been omitted, presumably by Mora himself.

[10] Presumably "it" here refers to his lost happiness; at any rate, there has been no other feminine noun mentioned thus far that logically could serve as an antecedent.

[11] The most likely interpretation of being "wounded by the flowers of California" is another pain caused by a girl in California, possibly yet another rejection.

[12] "Save them" (*sacarlos*) here does not have as its direct object "the flowers of California." Rather, the reference evidently is to some unidentified persons; *las flores* are feminine, whereas the *los* of *sacarlos* are either entirely masculine or else a collective pronoun including both male and female. Presumably the *los* referred to are the persons who ought to recognize that sometimes a poor man can be more worthy than a gentleman, as that would be the nearest plausible antecedent in this instance.

[13] "Se Vende un Molino!" *El Clamor Público* (5:23), 3 December 1859, p. 2.

[14] Few census takers were Spanish speakers but gamely tried to spell Spanish names and surnames phonetically as they heard them coming from the respondents' mouths. Country and city names were more familiar to the enumerators, as their spelling is far more regular and uniform. United States Bureau of the Census. Tuolumne County, 1850. National Archives Publication 432, microfilm roll 36 (Washington DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1964), family no. 143.

[15] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Central America*, vol. 3: 1801–1887. Vol. 8 of *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1887), 53–54; Hector Pérez Brignoli, *A Brief History of Central America*, trans. Ricardo B. Sawrey and Susana Stettri de Sawrey (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 66–67; Mario Rodríguez, *Central America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 61–62.

[16] Carolyn Hall and Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Historical Atlas of Central America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 40–41; Pérez Brignoli, *Brief History of Central America*, 67.

[17] Bancroft, *History of Central America*, 119–20, 168-169; Hall and Pérez Brignoli, 172–75.

[18] Bancroft, *History of Central America*, 179; Pérez Brignoli, *Brief History of Central America*, 71.

[19] Hall and Pérez Brignoli, 175; Bancroft, *History of Central America*, 134, 138.

[20] Mora's statement that he was born in the state, or province, of San Salvador, rather than the country of El Salvador, likely also reflects the geopolitical flux in which Central America found itself in the 1820s and 1830s. He seems to have identified himself primarily with the province of San Salvador, rather than with the newly independent nation as a whole. Had Mora wished to identify himself with the nation, presumably he would have used the term *nación* ("nation") or *país* ("country"), or even *patria* ("homeland"). Instead, in noting his origins, he chose to refer to his *estado* ("state"), which indicates a strong local affiliation. This tendency to identify with one's local natal region, instead of with a larger national entity, often is characteristic of persons who feel relatively little allegiance to the national government in which that region nominally or temporarily (as they may see it) is comprised. Since the province of San Salvador had been part of several different national entities since 1821, Mora's apparent lack of identification with any one of them in particular is perhaps understandable. It is also noteworthy that Mora subsequently used the term *condado* ("county") to refer to his native province. That term would not have been applied to such a territorial administrative unit in El Salvador, but it was, and is, the term used for equivalent units in California, as well as in most of the rest of the United States. This unstudied choice of words supports Mora's assertion that he was raised, for some period of time, in San José, California, revealing that he had internalized Californian terms of reference. It should be noted here that "San Salvador," or simply "Salvador," occasionally was used synonymously with "El Salvador" during the 1850s, to refer to the country as a whole. See, for example, "Centro America," *El Clamor Público* (3:24), 12 December 1857, p. 3; "El Dr. Scherzer" and "America Central," *El Clamor Público* (5:19), 5 November 1859, p. 2. So it is just possible that Mora did mean to claim the entire country of El Salvador as his birthplace when he spoke of himself

as *nacido en el estado de Sn. Salbador*. His choice of the word *estado*, however, instead of one of the more nationalistic alternatives, supports more strongly the conclusion that he was identifying with a province, not the country, especially when it is taken in conjunction with Mora's subsequent reference to having left *este condado* to journey to California.

[21] It is also possible to interpret this section of his letter to mean that he intends to leave Los Angeles in 1857 to seek either help or revenge, then return to California at some later date to enjoy what his heart desires.

[22] William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, ed. Harold A. Small (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), 76–83, 116–21, contains observations on Pacific trade networks prior to 1849.

[23] Enrique Bunster, *Chilenos en California. Miniaturas históricas*, 3rd ed. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1965), 83–85; Davis, 238. See also, Kelly J. Sisson, "Bound for California: Chilean Contract Laborers and *Patrones* in the California Gold Rush, 1848–1852," *Southern California Quarterly* 90 (Fall 2008): 259–305.

[24] See, for example, Justo Veytia, *Viaje a la Alta California, 1849–1850*, ed. Salvador Veytia y Veytia (Guadalajara, Mexico: n.p., 1975), fols. 8r.–15r.

[25] Alan Probert "Bartolomé de Medina: the patio process and the 16th century silver crisis: *Journal of the West*, 8, no. 1 (January 1969).

[26] Milton Lanyon and Laurence Bulmore, *Cinnabar Hills: The Quicksilver Days of New Almaden* (Los Gatos, CA: Village Printers, 1967), 11–12.

[27] David J. St. Clair, "California quicksilver in the Pacific Rim economy, 1850–1890," in Sally M. Miller, A. J. H. Latham, and Dennis Owen Flynn, eds., *Studies in the Economic History of the Pacific Rim* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 210–33. Bancroft noted that quicksilver became the leading article of export, accounting for nearly one quarter of the value of exports leaving the port of San Francisco by 1855. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California, Vol VII 1860–1890* (San Francisco: The History Publishing Company, 1890), 116.

[28] Ibid., 1–8.

[29] The original town of Almadén in southern Spain was a noted producer of quicksilver, thus inspiring the name of the California mining community.

[30] "AVISO HISPANO-AMERICANOS," *Alta California* (1:35), 30 August 1849, p. 2. Another advertisement by the Barron Forbes Company, addressed in English to "immigrants from Oregon and the United States," ran just above the Spanish-language notice; it, however, was soliciting applicants specifically for positions as lumberjacks and teamsters, to supply wood for the mine's operations.

[31] Richard L. Nostrand, "Mexican Americans Circa 1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 65 (1975): 383.

[32] Mora's unstudied choice of words here, *e acabado de criar* ("I have finished being raised"), further supports the assumption that he was in his late teens when he came to San José, as it implies that during all but the last part of his legal minority he must have been raised somewhere else—in this case, in El Salvador.

[33] The treaty was signed on 2 February of that year, but the United States Congress did not ratify it until 10 March. The Mexican government ratified it on 19 May.

[34] Lanyon and Bulmore, 58.

[35] "El Periodismo en California," *El Clamor Público* (1:35), 23 February 1856, p. 1, rpt. from *L'Écho du Pacifique* of an unknown date. At some point not long after assuming the editorship of *L'Écho*'s single Spanish-language page, Jofre developed it into an independent daily (except Sundays) four-page Spanish-language newspaper called *El Éco del Pacífico*. Although the title was simply a translation of *L'Écho du Pacifique*, and Jofre's paper continued to use the same volume and issue numbers as the French journal, *El Éco* was otherwise a physically and editorially distinct publication, rather than merely a Spanish-language edition of the French paper. Unfortunately, only a handful of issues survive, of either *L'Écho* or *El Éco*; most of what is known of these papers' content comes from articles reprinted in other contemporary newspapers. As a result, the precise date on which Jofre launched his independent venture is not known. It certainly was some time before 7 June 1860, when the earliest surviving issue of *El Éco del Pacífico* (8: 342) was published.

[36] See, for example, the similar ethnic references used in "Hospitalidad California," *El Clamor Público* (1:14), 18 September 1855, p. 1, rpt. from San Francisco *La Crónica* of an unknown date; "Emigracion a Sonora," *El Clamor Público* (1:34), 16 February 1856, p. 1, including texts of official Mexican governmental docu-

ments containing similar language; "Una Hermosa ley de Vagos," *El Clamor Público* (1:35), 19 April 1856, p. 2; untitled editorial, *El Clamor Público* (1:43), 19 April 1856, p. 2.

[37] Such primary-source evidence of a real sense of pan-Latino inclusiveness shared by elite and non-elite alike in this period contradicts assertions made by some modern historians that Californios rarely associated or identified themselves with Latino immigrants during the nineteenth century; e.g., Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1996), 187–90; and, to a lesser extent, Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 52–53, 67–68. This is not to argue that every Latino individual shared this inclusive view; individual opinions, obviously, can be very different. It does show, however, that a considerable number of Latinos of diverse backgrounds did share it at the time, contrary to some modern historians' claims of general and pronounced divisions between native-born and immigrant members of nineteenth-century Latino society in California.

[38] *La Voz de Mejico* (1:82), 9 October 1862, p. 2.

[39] The Spanish word *educación* can mean "education," "training," or "upbringing"; see entry "EDUCAR" in Joan Corominas and José A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, 6 vols. Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, ser. 5, Diccionarios, 7 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1996). As Mora uses it here, it would seem to have the sense of "upbringing"; in consequence, *por haberme criado fuera de la educasion de mis Padres* has been translated "because I have been brought up outside of my parents' care."

[40] Carmen de Novoa, *Historia de la educación general y de El Salvador* (San Salvador: n.p., 1967), ch. 12, 18–22.

[41] See, for example, the table in Hubert Howe Bancroft's *California Pastoral*, volume 34 of *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, rpt. ed. Elibron Classics (San Francisco: History Company, 1888; Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), pt. 2, 496, and further details on 493–525.

[42] The last school to have existed in San José before Mora's arrival lasted only from November 1843 to July 1846; see Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, pt. 2, table on 496. For the establishment of schools in California from 1848 on, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, rpt. ed. Elibron Classics (San Francisco: History Company, 1888; Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), vol. 7, 716–17, esp. n. 63, 717–18. Further details may be found in "Monterey Correspondence," *Alta California* (1:66), 16 March 1850, p. 2; "La Mexicanita" (advertisement), *El Clamor Público* (2:14), 27 September 1856, p. 2; "Discurso pronunciado por D. Santiago Lopez al tiempo de presentar a sus alumnos á un examen pùblico en el condado de Contra Costa," *El Clamor Público* (3:19), 7 November 1857, p. 2.

[43] Lanyon and Bulmore, 72.

[44] "2010 Census: The Bureau's Plans for Reducing the Undercount Show Promise, but Key Uncertainties Remain," Government Accounting Office report no. GAO-08-1167t, 23 September 2008, at http://www.gao.gov/htext/d081167t.html, accessed 10 January 2009. This report states that improvements generally have been made since 1940 in lessening the rate of undercount. United States Congressional House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform's Subcommittee on Information Policy, Census, and National Archives, "2010 Census: Reducing the Undercount in the Hispanic Community Subcommittee Congressional Hearing," testimony of Lydia Camarillo, 9 July 2007, at http://informationpolicy.oversight.house.gov/documents/20070710183512.pdf, accessed 22 January 2009, estimates that perhaps a million Latinos were not counted in the 2000 census; Paul M. Ong and Doug Houston, "The 2000 Census Undercount in Los Angles [*sic*] County," Ralph & Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies at UCLA working paper no. 42, December 2002, at http://lewis.sppsr.ucla.edu/publications/workingpapers/LACensusUndercount.pdf, accessed 22 January 2009, estimate the undercount rate for California's Latinos at 2.66 percent in the 2000 census, as compared to 0.57 percent for non-Hispanic whites. Although the rate of undercount of Latino immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century cannot now be calculated, it must have been rather higher than this post-1940 rate, perhaps considerably so.

[45] Veytia, fols. 38r.–43r., 49v.–53v.

[46] It probably was not another romantic disappointment, however, since he used the masculine form of the word "another" (*otro*).

[47] The *los* referred to might have been the persons who ought to recognize that sometimes a poor man can be more worthy than a gentleman, as that would be the nearest plausible antecedent in this instance. Yet

Mora's letter has become so vague and strangely allusive at this point that one cannot be sure what he meant; he might have had another set of persons in mind entirely.

[48] Hall and Brignoli, 185.

[49] Armando V. Araya, *El lado oculto del Presidente Mora* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Juricentro, 2007), p. 45.

[50] Huntington Library, Los Angeles Area Court Records Collection, Los Angeles County Probate Court, box 1, case 26, "Estate of José Figueroa." The case file contains only partial paperwork, so the outcome of Manuel M. Figueroa's lawsuit is not recorded in this source.

[51] Hall and Pérez Brignoli, 184–85; Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underside: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 5; William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers. The Story of William Walker and His Associates* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 48–49.

[52] "America Central," *Los Angeles Star* (3:33), 31 December 1853, p. 4.

[53] "El Periodismo en California." See note 30 above

[54] May, 1–8.

[55] "Nicaragua," *El Clamor Público* (2:25), 13 December 1856, p. 2, citing the *San Francisco Herald* of an unknown date.

[56] May, 40–42; "Mas molestias para Santa Anna," *Los Angeles Star* (3:30), 10 December 1853, p. 3 [the same article, in English, appears on p. 2 of this issue, as "New Troubles for Santa Anna"]; "From Lower California," *Los Angeles Star* (3:33), 31 December 1853, p. 2, largely a rpt. of an article from the *San Diego Herald*, 24 December 1853; Laurence Greene, *The Filibuster: The Career of William Walker* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1937), 30–33.

[57] May, 40–42; Greene, 38–46.

[58] Greene, 46–47, says that "San Francisco" treated Walker like a hero. The *Alta California*'s editorials on the subject in May and June of that year, however, were scathing, especially on the subject of the human suffering Walker's adventures had caused, even though they indicate that the newspaper's editorial policy did not necessarily disavow a belief in Manifest Destiny, per se; see untitled editorials in (5:135), 16 May 1854, p. 2; (5:137), 18 May 1854, p. 2; (5:142), 23 May 1854, p. 2; (5:153), 3 June 1854, p. 2.

[59] Greene, 46–48; untitled article, *Los Angeles Star* (4:15), 24 August 1854, p. 3, rpt. from the *New York Chronicle* of an unknown date. The New York paper clearly did not approve of the New Orleans's grand jury's refusal to indict, which doubtless was the reason the *Star*'s Spanish-language editor chose to reprint their article on the subject. On the whole, the filibusters, due to their support of slavery, found considerable sympathy in the southern United States but relatively little in the North.

[60] Untitled letter to the editor, author's name not printed (San Diego, dated 28 June 1854), *Los Angeles Star* (4:8), 8 July 1854, p. 3. California's Spanish-language press was hardly alone in calling Walker and his filibusters "pirates"; an article from the *New York Tribune*, reprinted in Spanish translation in "El Filibustero Walker," *El Clamor Público* (3:13), 26 September 1857, p. 1, used exactly the same term in reference to them. Subsequently, there was a vogue in many newspapers for the phrase "land pirates," or "piratas de la tierra," when referring to filibusters, Walker's in particular.

[61] "Venta de Sonora," *El Clamor Público* (3:41), 10 April 1858, p. 3, rpt. from *El Éco del Pacífico* of an unknown date.

[62] *Los Angeles Star* (4:50), 28 April 1855, p. 3. The term "Atlantic-American" is used in this article to refer to persons belonging to the culture of the Atlantic, southern, and midwestern states of the United States, regardless of individual ancestry, race, or ethnic background. Such persons shared a common culture, with some regional variations, which in large part derived from European roots, particularly from the British Isles. For greater detail on the derivation and use of the terms "Atlantic-American" and "Latino," see David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 5–13.

[63] Hall and Pérez Brignoli, 184.

[64] "Expedicion de Walker," *El Clamor Público* (1:6), 24 July 1855, p. 2.

[65] "Decadencia de William Walker," *El Clamor Público* (2:12), 6 September 1856, p. 3; Untitled editorial, *El Clamor Público* (2:22), 22 November 1856, p. 2.

[66] Untitled editorial, *El Clamor Público* (2:22), 22 November 1856, p. 2.

[67] Hall and Pérez Brignoli, 185.

[68] May, 48–50. *El Clamor Público* ran a front-page article titled "Walker" on 18 July 1857 (3:3), in part reprinting a piece from the *Panamá Star and Herald*, and virtually predicted Walker would make another attempt in Central America, as, in fact, he did later that year. Mora very likely read, or was otherwise informed of this article, published a mere two issues before the one in which his farewell letter was printed. Not until the British Navy handed him over to Honduran authorities in 1860 did Walker's adventurism come to an end and only then because the Honduran government had him executed; May, 51.

[69] [Untitled], San Francisco *La Voz de Méjico* (2:206), 28 July 1863, p. 2.

[70] Quoted in English translation in Madie Brown Emparan, *The Vallejos of California* (Sonoma, CA: Gleeson Library Associates, 1968), 368. General Vallejo first offered his son Uladislao's services to Juárez's envoy, General Plácido Vega, in May of 1864; see Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo to Plácido Vega, 5 May 1864, and Vega to Vallejo, 11 May 1864, Plácido Vega Papers (1855–1864), Stanford University, Cecil Green Library, Special Collections M0098, box 10, Stanford, CA. Mention is made of Uladislao's temporary return from his first tour of duty in Mexico, to recuperate from illness, in a steamship passenger list published in "De la costa de Méjico," *La Voz de Méjico* (3:419), 13 December 1864, p. 1. Uladislao Vallejo eventually did go back to Mexico in 1866, where he joined Juárez's Presidential Guard, returning to California only in 1870; Emparan, 367–70.

[71] "The New Steamer Orizaba," *Alta California* (7:294), 31 October 1856, p. 2; "Letter from Manzanillo," *Alta California* (9:40), 10 February 1857, p. 2; "Nicaragua Steamship Co.'s Line" (advertisement), *Alta California* (10:53), 23 February 1858, p. 2.

[72] Typical is the "Passengers" section in the classified advertisements of *Alta California* (2:176), 4 June 1851, p. 2.

[73] Ted Gostin, personal communication, 5 January 2009, citing United States Bureau of the Census, Los Angeles County, 1870, San Gabriel Township, household no. 6. A man named Ángel Mora, who may be the same individual, is listed in the U.S. Census of 1880 as a resident of Pima County in Arizona (Gostin, citing United States Bureau of the Census, "on San Pedro River near Tres Alamos," Pima County, Arizona, 1880, household no. 102). His age there is given as 53—which is close enough, if the San Gabriel man's age of 45 in 1870 was an estimate rather than a precise number—and his occupation as "laborer," although the individual in 1880 is not stated to be illiterate. His birthplace is given as California and both his parents' birthplaces as Mexico. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the 1870 individual's birthplace; a man who was 53 in 1880 would have been born around 1827, at which time California was indeed a province of Mexico.

[74] Jesús Mora appears as a donor in lists published in *La Voz de Méjico* (1:95), 9 November 1862, p. 2; (1:106), 4 December 1862, p. 2; and (1:118), 3 January 1863, p. 2. R. Mora is listed as a donor in *La Voz de Méjico* (1:123), 15 January 1863, p. 2, and (1:139), 21 February 1863, p. 2. Miguel Mora appears on a donor list in *El Nuevo Mundo* (4:285), 5 January 1566, p. 2. Salvador Mora is cited on a donor list, in *La Voz de Méjico* (1:75), 23 September 1862, p. 1, as well as among the members of the San Francisco junta noted in the article "Junta Patriotica de San Francisco," *La Voz de Méjico* (1:85), 16 October 1862, p. 1. Other donor lists attest to the presence of a Tomás Mora in San Francisco, but he clearly is identified there as a Chilean and so presumably was no relation to the Salvadoran or Costa Rican Moras; see the lists in *La Voz de Méjico* (1:40), 28 June 1862, p. 2, and (1:146), 10 March 1863, p. 2. Despite the absence of mention in the U.S. Census records for 1860 and 1870, there were indeed Moras in Los Angeles County from the 1860s on, as attested by county marriage records. Los Angeles County Recorder's Office, Marriage Book 1, p. 354 (31 January 1868), wedding of Juan Mora and Petra Bermúdez; Marriage Book 3, p. 195 (13 April 1874) Miguel Mora as witness to the wedding of John Vahle and Guadalupe Figueroa. A generation later, there were a fair number of Los Angeles County residents with this surname; see Marriage Book 62, p. 254 (10 January 1904), double wedding of sisters Elvira and Agripina Mora; Marriage Book 85, p. 218 (15 June 1907), wedding of Mexican immigrant Ysabel Mora and Victoriano Sánchez; Marriage Book 112, p. 54 (20 April 1909), wedding of Lawrence Vallestro and Hortencia Mora, daughter of Miguel Mora and Ysabel Valencia; Marriage Book 71, p. 72 (7 August 1905), Tomás Mora as witness to the wedding of Francisco Beltrán and Natalia Carmona; Marriage Book 85, p. 20 (22 April 1907), Sabas Mora and his wife Ysabel as wit-

nesses to the wedding of Antonio Ortuño and Teresa Ramírez; Marriage Book 101, p. 127 (13 July 1908), Jesús Mora as witness to the wedding of Silverio Espinosa and Apolonia Sotelo. Where their origins can be determined, however, most of these later Moras seem to have been related to Mexican immigrant Miguel Mora—who had witnessed the Vahle-Figueroa wedding in 1874—and his wife, California-born Ysabel Valencia. This may have been the same Miguel Mora who donated to the junta patriótica in Virginia City, Nevada, in 1866.

[75] See also Hayes-Bautista, et al., "Expansion," 15, and 40–41.

[76] Los Angeles County Recorder's Office, Marriage Book 3, p. 208 (1 May 1874); Ted Gostin, personal communication, 5 January 2009, citing Los Angeles Plaza Church records, "Libro segundo de Matrimonios celebrados," entry no. 1287. Gostin was unable to find any record of this couple's having had children baptized at the Plaza Church in Los Angeles, where they were married. He suggests it is possible that the couple might have had their offspring baptized in a different church, might have moved out of the county altogether, or might even have been childless.

[77] *La Voz de Méjico* (2:293), 20 February 1864, p. 2, and (3:318), 19 April 1864, p. 2, list Álvarez as a donor residing at the Enriqueta mine, near New Almaden; the same newspaper (3:365), for 9 August 1864, p. 2, has him as a donor living at the actual New Almaden mine.

[78] But see n. 68, above, for evidence of a Mexican named Angelo Mora, listed in the 1870 census as living in Los Angeles County. Although this individual almost certainly was not the same man as the 1857 letter-writer, his presence at least demonstrates that the name "Ángel Mora," or something close to it, may not have been uncommon at the time.