

The Dalton-Zamoranos

Intimacy, Intermarriage, and Conquest in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands

ABSTRACT Relying on the experiences of the Dalton-Zamorano family of Rancho Azusa in Southern California, this article examines how a Californio family fared socially and economically from the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, a period undergoing rapid social, political, economic, and cultural change. It focuses on the social and geographic borders that the Dalton-Zamoranos crossed culturally, racially, and spatially to pursue upward mobility and social integration. I argue that the Dalton-Zamoranos are a representative case study of biethnic families in Southern California and of the adaptations these families made following the geopolitical regime change. Outlined here is a story not only about struggle and misfortune but also of negotiation and survival by a once-prominent, ethnically mixed family whose trials and tribulations reflected rapid societal changes ushered by a new emergent industrial and capitalist order in the Southwest. **KEYWORDS** U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, families, bicultural, ethnicity, conquest

In 1917, twenty-three-year-old Winnall A. Dalton Jr., a descendant of a once-prominent *Californio* family, noted on his World War I draft registration card his previous military experience serving for about a year under Venustiano Carranza's forces in Mexico and his attainment of the rank of major.¹ Decades earlier, his grandfather, the English ranchero Henry Dalton, provided supplies from his mercantile business to support the Mexican government during the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846. Winnall's military service in the Mexican Revolution, as well as his grandfather's role in supporting Mexican forces, demonstrates this borderland family's longstanding connection to its Mexican roots. In a sense, the Dalton family's cross-generational connection to Mexico had come full circle. Eventually, Dalton Jr. pushed his family's other tradition of border crossings further than any of his siblings and

1. Draft registration card for Winnall A. Dalton Jr. dated July 7, 1917, *U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918*, Pima County, Arizona, Roll 1522647, Ancestry.com.

cousins. Fluent in Spanish and steeped in Mexican culture since childhood, he ventured to Central America, navigating his way through Guatemala and Honduras before settling permanently in El Salvador. There, he married an elite woman named Aída Ulloa Main; the couple had five children before she died. He later remarried and also fathered an illegitimate son named Roque Dalton, who became known as a leftist revolutionary poet in El Salvador. When Winnall died in El Salvador, far from his homeland, he owned five thousand acres of land, including acreage in the Zapititán Valley where his family home was situated in close proximity to a pivotal moment in that country's history, La Matanza of 1932, a retaliatory massacre by the Salvadoran dictator against impoverished workers.²

Among his siblings, Winnall A. Dalton Jr. came the closest to emulating the financial success his English grandfather, Henry Dalton, once enjoyed. But like his father and grandfather before him, Winnall had to leave his homeland in search of economic opportunity, refusing to allow oceans, geopolitical boundaries, or cultural borders to impede his path. Furthermore, Winnall was able to achieve what other Dalton men did not: recognition as an elite white American, who attained a higher social status in El Salvador than in the United States as a consequence of his class and race. Yet, to achieve prominence, he had to leave Arizona and the United States. While the act of crossing borders offered new opportunities, they also imposed spatial and emotional distances between family members.

Using the experiences of Winnall Dalton Jr. and the larger Dalton-Zamorano family of Rancho Azusa, this article examines how a Californio family fared socially and economically from the mid-nineteenth to the turn of the twentieth century, a period of rapid social, political, economic, and cultural change. It focuses on the social and geographic borders that the Dalton-Zamoranos crossed culturally, racially, and spatially to pursue upward mobility and social integration. Family studies and works on Métis communities reveal that interethnic couples and their offspring serve as useful barometers of social relations and historical constructions of ethnic, racial, and class differences in the nineteenth-century North American West. In the transition from intercultural contact zones to geopolitical nation-states,

2. According to scholar Roger Atwood, Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton romanticized and fictionalized aspects of his father's ancestry, alleging that his father was related to the famed Dalton outlaw gang. See Roger Atwood, "Gringo Iracundo: Roque Dalton and His Father," *Latin American Research Review* 46, no. 1 (2011): 126–49, esp. 136–38.

For 1 3322 REGISTRATION CARD		M-45 No.	
1	Name in full -Given name- <i>Winnall A. Dalton Jr.</i>	Age, in yrs. <i>29</i>	
2	Home address -No.- <i>619</i>	-Street- <i>So. 6. Ave</i>	-City- <i>Tucson</i>
		-State- <i>Arizona</i>	
3	Date of birth -Month- <i>November</i>	-Days- <i>22</i>	-Year- <i>1894</i>
4	Are you -1- a natural-born citizen, -2- a naturalized citizen, -3- an alien, -4- or have you declared your intention -specify which-? <i>Natural born citizen</i>		
5	Where Were you born? -Town- <i>Tucson</i>	-State- <i>Arizona</i>	-Nation- <i>U.S.A.</i>
6	If not a citizen, of What country are you a citizen or subject?		
7	What is your present trade, occupation, or office? <i>Missing</i>		
8	By Whom employed? <i>Self</i>		
	Where employed? <i>Yoro Department Honduras</i>		
9	Have you a father, mother, Wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on you for support -specify Which-? <i>No</i>		
10	Married or single -Which-? <i>Single</i>	Race -specify Which-? <i>White</i>	
11	What military service have you had? Rank <i>Major</i> ; branch <i>Cavalry</i>		
	years <i>Apr. 1912</i> ; Nation or State <i>Mexico - Carranza forces</i>		
12	Do you claim exemption from draft -specify grounds-? <i>No</i>		

I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.

W.A. Dalton Jr.
-Signature or mark-

If person is of African descent, mark on this corner

FIGURE 1. Like his grandfather, the English ranchero Henry Dalton, Winnall A. Dalton Jr. provided his service to Mexico during wartime. In Box 11 of his World War I draft registration card, W.A. Dalton Jr. indicated that he served in Carranza's forces for approximately one year during the Mexican Revolution, thus illustrating the Dalton family's ongoing transnational ties. At the time of his registration, Dalton Jr. was working in a Honduras mining operation making use of his bilingualism and the family's previous experience in mining. *Courtesy of Ancestry.com.*

historians Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron maintain that, "as colonial borderlands gave way to national borders, fluid and 'inclusive' intercultural frontiers yielded to hardened and more 'exclusive' hierarchies."³ Influenced

3. For family and Métis studies, see Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts

by these studies, I argue that the Dalton-Zamoranos are a representative case study of biethnic families in Southern California and of the adaptations these families made following the geopolitical regime change. The Dalton-Zamorano women, like other *Californianas*, intermarried with newcomers and achieved a measure of economic stability, while the sons found themselves relegated increasingly to a wage economy, landlessness, business failures, and fewer marriage options than their sisters. Other biethnic children in the region, including the Coutts-Bandini, Forster-Pico, and Wilson-Yorba families of Southern California, experienced similar social conditions, shaping their intimate choices.⁴

The presence of patriarch Henry Dalton, a white English merchant and a once-prominent landowner of several ranchos, did not guarantee his biethnic children economic success. Despite the Dalton-Zamorano children's potential claims to racial whiteness because of their father, as well as their mother's elite Spanish-Mexican ancestry, an intimate border separated the male and female siblings' lives during early adulthood because of the divergent social networks and intimate options available to them. While the women could entertain the option of intermarrying with white men, their brothers could not expect to do the same with white women due to skewed demographic conditions that generated rivalry among men in California. Gendered ethnic, racial, and class hierarchies in the new society dictated that men of Spanish-Mexican descent, including biethnic boys like the Dalton-Zamoranos, were racialized by some foreign newcomers as inferior, lazy, and indolent, whereas elite and even middle-class women of Spanish-Mexican descent were imbued with positive attributes of whiteness, respectability, and virtue in the accounts of male newcomers, especially those who intermarried with them.⁵ Sadly, this intimate border between the Dalton-Zamoranos in

Press, 2001); Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Anne F. Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); for intermarriage among Californios, María Raquel Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820–1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007); Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814–41.

4. Erika Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769–1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), Chapter 8; see, also Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land*.

5. For foreign observers' negative and positive commentaries about Californio men and women and class dimensions, see Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land*, 82, 148–49, 151–52, 154; David

terms of marriage options as well as class mobility resulted in the family's spatial separation after some of the male siblings scattered across different parts of the Southwest and northern Mexico, away from their parents, sisters, and birthplace.

The ethnically mixed Dalton-Zamorano siblings' cultural identities fell along a spectrum between significant acculturation to Anglo-American practices to deeply rooted Spanish-Mexican and Catholic traditions and the Spanish language, with biculturality falling somewhere in between.⁶ Spanish-speaking, native-born families in California did not follow a linear trajectory of rapid social, political, and economic decline, but rather reflected shifting terrains in cultural persistence and social opportunity. Shifting terrains existed even among members of the same family, as this study shows.⁷ Several Dalton-Zamoranos lived along the Arizona-Mexican borderlands where "a transborder regional community defied the efforts of the United States to promote a homogenous national culture and enforce strict territorial and racial boundaries."⁸ The same was true of Southern California where other family members resided who contended with a constant flow of newcomers complicating racial taxonomies. Outlined here is a story not only of struggle and misfortune but also of negotiation and survival by a once-prominent, ethnically mixed family whose trials and tribulations reflected rapid social changes ushered in by an emergent industrial and capitalist order in the southwest.

The article begins with an overview of the conditions that shaped the intermarriage of Henry Dalton and María Guadalupe Zamorano on the eve of the U.S. conquest of California. I discuss the evolving role of parental

J. Langum, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," *Western Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (April 1978), 181–96; David J. Langum, "California Women and the Image of Virtue," *Southern California Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (Fall 1977), 245–50. See also the memoirs and published papers of the following foreign-born husbands of Californianas: William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California; A History of Events and Life in California* . . . , ed. Douglas S. Watson (San Francisco: John Howell, 1929); Alfred B. Robinson, *Life in California* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Publishers, Inc., 1970); Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott, ed., *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849–1875* (Los Angeles: McBride Printing Co., 1929).

6. In this article, I use the terms "ethnically mixed" and "biethnic" to refer to the offspring of European or Euro-American and Spanish-Mexican descent, the latter born in California.

7. Albert M. Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); for the de la Guerras, see Louise Pablos, *The Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Patriarchy, and Power in Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

8. Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 9.

authority in the Dalton children's marriages. Next, I discuss the spatial separation of the Dalton sons from the rest of their family in their desire to become entrepreneurs and the families that they established in Arizona and Mexico. I compare their family formation and intimate choices with those of their sisters to underscore the divergent experiences of these siblings based on gender, class, and race. Finally, I delve into the fate of some of Henry and Guadalupe's second-generation grandchildren to show family patterns of intermarriage, biculturalism, and spatial mobility and to situate this story against a larger history of metaphorical, cultural, and geopolitical border crossings among families in the southwest. Despite the necessity of border crossings, the Dalton-Zamorano descendants show that the power of geopolitical boundaries could be contested and also that their cultural identities and strategies of biculturalism were situational and shaped by the power that borders and borderlands wielded on their intimate choices.

HENRY AND GUADALUPE

When Guadalupe Zamorano decided to marry the English merchant trader Henry Dalton in 1847, she entered the union with pragmatism. When she met him, Don Enrique, as he was known among Spanish-speaking residents, was already a naturalized Mexican citizen like several other foreign merchants who arrived years before him, including Daniel Hill and Abel Stearns, both of Massachusetts. Similar to these and other naturalized foreign merchants, Henry owned property, which meant Guadalupe did not have to wonder whether their union was merely a ploy for Henry to acquire land from the Mexican government. In 1844, three years before the marriage, Henry Dalton, the merchant, had purchased Rancho Azusa in Southern California and transitioned his interests to ranching. He later acquired two extensions to his Azusa land grant from the last Mexican governor of California, Pío Pico, adding Ranchos San Francisquito and San José to his portfolio. Because of his strong business connections in mainland Mexico and his financial support of Mexico during the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846, Henry also acquired an interest in the estate of the ex-marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, in Coahuila, Mexico.⁹

9. For the marriage of María Guadalupe de Zamorano and Henry Dalton, see Mission San Gabriel Marriage no. 02026 (August 14, 1847), Early California Population Project (ECP), Huntington Library, 2006. For discussion of Henry Dalton Sr.'s property claims in Mexico, see Sheldon G. Jackson, *A British Ranchero in Old California: The Life and Times of Henry Dalton and the Rancho Azusa* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), 177.

On August 14, 1847, in the midst of American conquest, the forty-seven-year-old Englishman and Mexican citizen married fifteen-year-old Guadalupe Zamorano of Monterey, California, at Mission San Gabriel. Guadalupe's decision to marry during her adolescence was likely due to her orphaned status and the need to secure a good marriage, as she only had one surviving brother and sister. Her parents, Agustín Zamorano of San Agustín, Florida, and María Luisa Argüello, a Californiana, were both deceased by the time that she entered early adolescence. Though she was without the benefit of either parents' approval or advice, her grandmother provided legal permission for her to marry. Her choice was wise. Three years after the couple married, Dalton listed his estimated real estate value in the 1850 census at \$30,000, more than enough to provide a comfortable existence for his wife and new family. Yet, at that high point in his prosperity, Dalton could not imagine that, in the aftermath of U.S. conquest, his fortune would not survive.¹⁰

By marrying an older husband, not uncommon among her female peers, Guadalupe probably expected to live some portion of her life without Enrique, as she called him, and to retain at least half of the marital estate as allowed under Spanish-Mexican civil law, and later, American common law and community property. Whatever their respective motivations for marrying, Henry and Guadalupe remained together for more than thirty-six years. In one surviving letter exchanged between the couple, Guadalupe affectionately signed off her correspondence offering to her husband "good memories from all of the family and the faithful heart of your companion," invoking in Spanish the language of a companionate marriage.¹¹ Other than this letter, the family archive holds few written exchanges between husband and wife. News exchanged between the couple or from the household came primarily from the couple's eldest son who often wrote to Henry while he was away. Henry's marriage to Guadalupe may have started as one of mutual companionship but it became punctuated by periods of separation and tested by geopolitical and economic changes in Southern California. Nevertheless, the longevity of Guadalupe and Henry's marriage, until his death in 1884, suggests

10. Mission San Gabriel Marriages no. 02026 (August 14, 1847), ECPP. For a record of Dalton's proclaimed wealth in the federal census, see 1850 *United States Federal Census*, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, Calif., 6A. All federal census reports cited in this article were consulted on Ancestry.com.

11. The original text states: "*buenos recuerdos de todo la familia y el fiel Corazon de tu compañera.*" All English translations in this article are mine. See G. Z. de Dalton to Enrique [Henry Dalton], November 9, 1873, DL 422, Box 7, Henry Dalton Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. (hereafter HD-HL).

their ability to coexist and weather difficult times, despite vastly different cultural backgrounds and a marriage forged on the eve of political conquest.

At the time of the Dalton-Zamorano marriage, obedience and submission to the authority of parents and patriarchs was well established in Mexican California, although children—often with the assistance of clerics—had the ability to voice their opposition to proposed marriages. The waning of Franciscan authority and increased secularism in Alta California in the early nineteenth century meant that friars had less influence over the intimate lives and marriage choices of settlers and indigenous converts. This shift as well as the earlier Royal Pragmatic on Marriage, issued in 1776, translated into greater parental control over marital decisions, particularly among the wealthier class, which sought to protect its interests. Periods of secularism in mid-eighteenth-century Mexico provided parents with greater authority over their children's marriages than in eras where ecclesiastical authority held greater sway. This tendency conflicted with the Catholic Church's prioritization of love and free will in marriage selection. However, in her examination of mid-eighteenth-century records in Mexico, Patricia Seed finds "a growing concern among wealthy families with maintaining (or obtaining) status and an increasing preoccupation with the economic consequences of matrimony for families." Consequently, the introduction of capitalism resulted in a greater emphasis on economic interest in marriage decisions among the Mexican upper classes and greater constraints on children's individual agency.¹²

In California, similar trends prevailed. Antonio Franco Coronel, a member of a politically prominent family, recalled that in the 1830s and 1840s, "parents still governed married sons and daughters, who had to submit humbly to punishment still." In terms of marriage decisions, "daughters had very little choice of husbands. The parents arranged marriages for young people before they even met each other."¹³ According to historian María Raquel Casas, while parents could dictate marriage choices in the Mexican era, and in spite of the fact that women coming of age in that era "may not have actually chosen their husbands . . . they could at least influence, if not

12. Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1571–1821* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1988), 233, 234, 236; Patricia Seed, "Marriage Promises and the Value of a Woman's Testimony in Colonial Mexico," *Signs* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1988), 275 (quote). For the Royal Pragmatic on Marriage, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

13. Antonio F. Coronel, *Tales of Mexican California: Cosas de California*, ed. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books, 1994), 78, 79.

veto, their parents' choice of mates."¹⁴ Coronel's observations likely emphasized the power dynamics found among elite families, but even among humbler families: patriarchs held some modicum of authority. Yet, in the absence of a strong patriarchal father-figure in her life, Guadalupe Zamorano exerted her will in her marriage decision. Her maternal grandmother was alive at the time of her marriage but did not exert a firm parental influence during her granddaughter's life. This family background may account for Guadalupe's assertiveness and desire to offer strong daily guidance to her husband and children, as documented in family correspondence. However, when the Dalton-Zamorano children came of age and married, in the 1870s through the 1890s, many of them challenged their parents' right to influence their personal choices in selecting spouses and in the timing of their marriages. Tensions had always existed between Spanish-Mexican paramours seeking to marry for emotional reasons and the racial and economic concerns of parents in the Spanish colonial and Mexican borderlands.¹⁵ After the U.S. conquest in 1850, this tension increased as economic changes undercut parental authority of Californio and biethnic families.

U.S. CONQUEST AND ITS AFTERMATH

The ease in which foreigners accumulated property through marriage and kinship after attaining Mexican citizenship in the pre-conquest period appeared to bolster the comments made by one elite Californiana, Angustias de la Guerra, who noted that the seeds of U.S. conquest were sown first through Californio practices of intermarriage and the integration of American men well before the first shots were exchanged between Californio forces and U.S. troops in 1846. "The Americans did not come here with cannons blazing. The first people they conquered were the women, and that is why it worked out so beautifully for them," she proclaimed in the 1880s, decades after the conquest had occurred.¹⁶ As a woman who had married and divorced an Anglo-American man, she seemed to know firsthand the potential dangers of marrying a foreigner whose background and family history were largely unknown and who may have become more interested in personal gain than in a wife's affection and happiness.

14. Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land*, 57.

15. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 329–35.

16. Angustias de la Guerra, *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815–1848*, trans. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2006), 278.

In the post-U.S. conquest era, which coincided with the discovery of gold in Northern California, the transfer of Mexican lands into foreign-born hands proceeded quickly in that part of the state because of its close proximity to the mines. Southern California, meanwhile, preserved a ranching economy well into the 1860s; and as a consequence, some Californio and biethnic families held onto family lands for longer periods than did their Northern California kin. Despite the tenor of de la Guerra's comments, it would be a mistake to presume that Mexicanized foreigners like Henry Dalton of Los Angeles pursued a cold-hearted predatory approach when they chose Californianas as their brides. In reality, a number of mixed marriages forged after California attained statehood in 1850 were contracted between partners of humble backgrounds, or those of the middling class with little to no prospect of acquiring significant property through intermarriage. Consequently, economic motivations alone do not explain the persistence of intermarriages between California-born, Spanish-speaking women and newcomers to California. Skewed sex ratios, a desire for companionship, and other marital benefits such as sexual comfort, domestic labor, and physical protection also influenced marriage decisions.

During the 1860s and 1870s, the Dalton-Zamorano family was so beaten down with the stress of constant litigation and fights with land squatters over lawful title of their properties that the adolescent siblings began making alternative plans for their futures. Eldest son Winnall suggested to his father that he consider moving the entire family to Mexico. The Daltons were not alone. Other Californios and bicultural families also considered leaving California due to their conflicts with newcomers and their difficulties in adjusting to economic and social changes under American rule. In fact, a few years later, the sons of Cave J. Coutts and Ysidora Bandini as well as the sons of Juan Forster and Ysidora Pico departed from Southern California after struggling financially.¹⁷ A colonization organization consisting of Californios

17. For a history of the Forster family, see Paul Bryan Gray, *Forster vs. Pico: The Struggle for Rancho Santa Margarita* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1998), Chapter 10. For Francisco P. Forster's petition declaring his insolvency and requesting discharge from his debts, see *Decree of Final Discharge, F. P. Forster vs. His Creditors, Superior Court formerly the County Court of Los Angeles, March 10, 1889*, Box 3, Anthony "Tony" Forster Collection, Huntington Library (hereafter HL). For letters from Francisco P. Forster written from San Francisco, Arizona, and Mexico to various family members illustrating his attempts to find employment and establish useful business contacts, see Box 1, Forster Collection. For Cave J. Coutts Jr.'s correspondence with his mother discussing his occupational pursuits in Guatemala and El Salvador as an engineer, see C. Coutts Jr. to Ysidora Bandini de Coutts, letters dated 1883–1885, Box 6, Cave J. Coutts Papers, HL. For Dalton family correspondence and references to the boys' occupations and their time in Mexico and Arizona, see, for example, Winnall Dalton to Soyla Cardwell, March 11, 1895, DL 444, Box 11, HD-HL; Henry

and other Spanish-speaking residents also emerged during the 1850s and publicized their existence in the weekly Spanish-language newspaper, *El Clamor Público*. The newspaper noted the desire of some Californios and other disgruntled *Hispano-Americanos* to resettle in Sonora.¹⁸ Because of his disgust with economic developments in California, Dalton pursued his claim to an estate in Mexico hoping to relocate his family there. “While you are in Mexico try to get some suitable place to live so as to leave this infernal country forever,” Winnall Dalton pleaded in a letter to his father in 1873. Fed up with the family’s ongoing hostilities with Anglo neighbors in Azusa, Winnall had had enough.¹⁹

Unlike Winnall who expressed a willingness to leave California and move to Mexico, his sisters Luisa, Soyla, and Elena Dalton resisted such a move. Instead, two of the first generation of American-born Dalton daughters opened their hearts, or at least their pragmatic minds, to the possibilities of marrying foreign-born newcomers in California. Given the Dalton family’s declining economic circumstances after the 1860s, the daughters needed to consider the implications of their marriage choices on their futures and to make their own judgments. Having grown up as Americans their entire lives, attending English-speaking schools and socializing among Anglo-American friends, unlike their parents, perhaps the sisters felt that they understood the larger social forces at play better than Henry and Guadalupe. According to historian Miroslava Chávez-García, the “American takeover irrevocably altered gender relations and family patterns and created opportunities for women to contest power relationships in marriage and the family.”²⁰ Shifting gender and power dynamics in the family account for Soyla and Elena not seeking parental consent when they married and the estrangement of the

F. Dalton to [Soyla Dalton Cardwell], November 18, 1905, Box 12, HD-DL; Henry [F. Dalton] to Mother, September 9, 1897, DL 380, Box 11, HD-HL.

18. “Junta para Promover la Emigracion de todos los Hispano-Americanos residentes en California,” *El Clamor Público* IV, no. 16 (Octubre 16 de 1858), 2; “Junta Promovedora de la Emigracion Hispano-Americana sobre Sonora,” *El Clamor Público* IV, no. 17 (Octubre 23 de 1858), 1, *El Clamor Público*, digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Archive, <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/search/controller/view/clamor-m171.html> and <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/search/controller/view/clamor-m172.html>. The term *Hispano-Americanos* was popularized in the 1850s and included Spanish speakers from various parts of Latin America residing in California. See also David Samuel Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.: Race, Space, and Municipal Power, 1781–1894* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 104.

19. W. A. Dalton to Father [Henry Dalton], July 26, 1873, DL 445, Box 7, HD-HL.

20. Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), xvi.

oldest sister Luisa from her older brother and parents because of household conflicts.

The Dalton-Zamorano daughters' circumvention of parental authority in their intimate lives reflected the generational conflicts that arose within some Spanish-speaking families in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Such conflicts did not occur solely in California. Working-class daughters in Oaxaca and other areas of Latin America increasingly challenged parental authority in their intimate choices, such as in marriage, in the late nineteenth century.²¹ While Luisa Dalton married Luis Wolfskill, a biethnic mate of German-American and Spanish-Mexican parentage, Soyla Dalton married William Cardwell, a Californian whose father had emigrated from New York. The youngest sister Elena Dalton married and divorced an Englishman and real estate businessman named Walter deBuxton and subsequently married the California native John Luis Plummer in 1894. Plummer's father had immigrated to California from England like Henry Dalton, and he owned his own home where he provided for Elena and her children by her first marriage.²² Family correspondence indicates that the family initially approved of Luisa's marriage but that relations soured between Luis and his in-laws creating an estrangement until Luis's death in 1884. Luisa died soon thereafter in 1887 leaving her orphaned children to be cared for by her mother. Younger sisters Soyla and Elena married without seeking the permission of their parents. When Elena remarried after divorcing her first husband, she did so without consulting her widowed mother, causing a permanent rift between them as evidenced in their correspondence.²³ In their own assertions of free will and independence, the Dalton daughters resembled their mother who had also made her own choice in marriage. The

21. Kathryn A. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters: Seduction, Elopement, and Honor in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), Chapter 5.

22. For Walter de Buxton's country of nativity, see Los Angeles City Electors, *California Register of Voters, 1866-1898*, p. 44, Ancestry.com; for de Buxton's employment, see *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995*, Los Angeles City Directory, 1887, p. 125, Ancestry.com; for John L. Plummer's origin, see *California Register of Voters, 1866-1898*, Collection 4-2A, 1896 Register, Cahuenga Precinct, p. 3, Ancestry.com; 1900 *United States Federal Census*, Cahuenga Township, Los Angeles County, Calif., E.D. 99, 12B.

23. For references to the Dalton-Zamorano daughters entering engagements or marrying without seeking permission or guidance from their parents, see Jackson, *A British Rancho in Old California*, 238; W. A. Wermurth to Henry Dalton, November 18, 1875, DL 1074, Box 7, HD-HL; Soyla Cardwell to Father [Henry Dalton], n.d., DL 47, Box 8, HD-HL; W. A. Dalton to Father [Henry Dalton], Sept. 8, 1879, DL 493, Box 8, HD-HL; Elena Plummer to Mother [María Guadalupe Z. de Dalton], DL 858, Box 11, HD-HL.

Dalton daughters' marriages illustrate that they pursued suitors who held economic potential and could navigate successfully through Anglo-American society. Unfortunately, the family archive provides no insight into the sisters' motivations for marrying.

The Dalton-Zamorano family's ability to hold onto their family rancho for several decades after California statehood testifies to their ability and determination to fight squatter challenges and thefts of their timber and water. In addition to initiating lawsuits to defend his rights in California, Henry Dalton used his position as a British subject to further his outstanding claim on Mexican lands throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Unfortunately, Mexico's occupation by French forces under Maximiliano and the resulting political and economic turmoil made it difficult, if not impossible, for the government to satisfy Henry's demands at that time. Despite the British Consulate in Mexico affirming that compensation was owed to him, Mexico denied Henry's full claim for the Mexican estate of the ex-marques de San Miguel de Aguayo in 1870. Only after his death did the government issue bonds to his family in consideration of Henry's previously unpaid land claims.²⁴ These monies helped the family only after the patriarch's death, too late to prevent his adult sons from leaving home.

The family's economic decline and the physical scattering of their sons, but not their daughters, throughout California, Arizona, and Mexico points to the uneven outcomes of U.S. conquest and its gendered dimensions. Like other biethnic men who left their childhood homes in Southern California, twenty-eight-year old Winnall Dalton left Rancho Azusa in 1878, venturing to San Francisco expecting to acquire a white-collar job as the privately educated son of a land owner and former merchant. Winnall failed to secure a respectable position in the competitive business world of San Francisco and eventually traveled through Nevada before heading to the Arizona territory in search of new prospects. Winnall, along with his Sonoran-born wife, Jesucita Vásquez, and their children bounced around the territory between 1879 and 1881, living in Burke Station, Casa Grande, Pinal County, Tucson, and Wilcox. Winnall initially tried his hand in mining hoping to alleviate his dire financial circumstances before entering into a wheelwright venture. Like many men of his generation, Winnall attempted and failed at a few business

24. Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 74; see especially DL 1093, a file on Dalton's Mexican claims including a letter dated 1870 notifying him of his denied claim for the ex-marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, DL 1093, Box 2, HD-HL.

ventures, but he continued to struggle to find his economic niche and social position in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

Winnall's letters home to his parents at Rancho Azusa reflected his deep discontent with life in Arizona and ongoing business problems. Unfortunately for Winnall, the timing of his arrival in Arizona coincided with the borderland's economic transformation as a result of the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880. According to one scholar, "a lack of transportation to national markets kept mining operations small before 1880."²⁵ The region's subsequent transition to larger-scale mining operations in the Arizona-Sonora borderlands, along with the arrival of entrepreneurial newcomers, pushed Winnall out of contention due to a lack of sufficient capital. "I am getting sick of this country. When I go to California next Christmas I may probably stay. Every thing is getting overdone here since the coming of the RR [railroad] just the same as in Los Angeles," Winnall wrote to his father in 1881.²⁶ Winnall visited California with his young family hoping for a reprieve from his struggles in Arizona. But he returned shortly after to the territory when his parents were forced to declare bankruptcy and were evicted from their Azusa home.

Not defeated, Winnall next entered a business relationship with Adolfo Vásquez, his brother-in-law, and the two opened a wheelwright shop in Tucson. The business continued for a few years, and Winnall offered an apprenticeship in 1882 to a young biethnic man of German and Mexican descent from Sonora named Federico (Fred) José María Ronstadt, his wife's second cousin. Little did Winnall know that Fred Ronstadt and his younger brother José would later marry two of Winnall and Jesucita Dalton's daughters and that the brothers would become businessmen in the Arizona-Mexico borderlands, providing the Dalton-Vásquez daughters with a comfortable living. Unlike Winnall Dalton and his brothers, the biethnic Ronstadt boys were able to obtain esteem and a modicum of power in their community because of their class. Their class moderated any hostility against the Ronstadts for their Mexican ethnicity.²⁷

25. Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 26.

26. W. A. Dalton letter to Father [Henry Dalton], March 24, 1881, DL 520, Box 9, HD-HL; letters from Winnall Dalton in Arizona to his family in California, Boxes 8 and 9, HD-HL.

27. Family History—Miscellaneous Narratives (undated), Folder 6, Box 1, Ronstadt Family Collection, MS 0695, Arizona Historical Society—Tucson (hereafter AHS). Guadalupe Dalton married Federico (Frederick) Ronstadt and Hortensia Dalton married José "Pepe" Ronstadt. See "Ronstadt widow dies at 92," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, October 10, 1974; marriage #371077, March 11, 1901, Pima County, v. 2, 279 in Ancestry.com; *Western States Marriage Index, 1809–2011*, Ancestry.com.

After the death of his father in 1884 and the payment of bonds to Henry Dalton's estate by the Mexican government, Winnall dabbled in farming and then mining, demonstrating a deep ambition to attain prosperity. He gave up his wheelwright business in Tucson and relocated his family to a ranch on the outskirts of town to pursue farming. In 1892, Winnall was alternating between Sonora and Tucson to pursue a mining venture once again until that "collapsed" in 1897. Family correspondence reveals that the Dalton-Zamorano brothers did not have sufficient capital to invest in the machinery needed to pursue industrial mining. According to his son-in-law Fred Ronstadt's memoir, Winnall had purchased a home in Los Angeles where his family had been living; "but after losing about \$20,000 in his last mining deal, he decided to try no more," and the Daltons returned to Tucson. Fred offered Winnall a permanent position in the woodworking department of his business, and though he was complimentary of his mentor's work, it must have wounded Winnall's pride that his former apprentice was succeeding in business while he faced destitution and failure.²⁸

Like his older brother Winnall, Henry Francisco Dalton faced a life as a wage laborer in California with few prospects for land ownership and financial independence. He had hoped to remain close to his parents and siblings in Southern California but he struggled to find work. After his family's bankruptcy and eviction from their homestead on Rancho Azusa, a desperate twenty-year-old Henry Francisco sought work in the fall of 1881. He journeyed to San Fernando seeking work with J. B. Lankershim and Isaac Van Nuys before trying his hand as a railroad brakeman. The following month, Henry Francisco informed his father about ongoing difficulties getting hired by John Clyman and Company. "[Hewett] told me that he had no authority to engage foremen or brakemen . . . that they employed experienced men," he wrote. "He has 3 or 4 boys in the yard learning for brakemen and he has hired several brakemen while I was there. So I thought there was no use of me trying in vain, he has indirectly refused to give work," he complained. Eventually, the young man found work as a laborer at the Van Nuys ranch for his board, a place to sleep, and \$1 a day, but realizing that his

28. W. A. Dalton to [Maria Guadalupe Z. de Dalton], January 23, 1892, DL 554, Box 11, HD-HL; Federico José María Ronstadt, *Borderman: The Memoirs of Federico José María Ronstadt*, transcribed and digitized from the Ronstadt Family archives (Tucson: Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, 1997), <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/ronstadt/bordermn/bmpt7.html>.

future prospects would not improve if he remained in California, Henry Francisco departed his homeland.²⁹

The aging patriarch Henry Dalton was devastated by his family's financial struggles. His discontent is reflected in the 1880 federal census, taken just shortly before his bankruptcy, where the seventy-six-year-old stated that his occupation was "fighting for his rights." Although this fighting spirit was admirable, it did little to alleviate his children's declining economic prospects. The transition from land ownership and a cattle ranching economy to landlessness, impoverishment, and poorly paid wage labor became the new reality for a number of biethnic and Californio men in Southern California by the late nineteenth century. In this respect, the Dalton-Zamorano boys reflected a larger trend occurring in the U.S. Southwest for men of Mexican descent. By contrast, Mexican-descent women, especially those of Californio families considered respectable and refined, were deemed attractive mates by Anglo-American and foreign-born men until the late nineteenth century, despite the lack of significant economic inheritance. For the Dalton-Zamorano brothers, any hopes of inheriting land from their father and attracting scarce Anglo-American female mates were dashed, leading them to struggle to define their place in the new cultural and social environment.³⁰ Not only did Winnall and Henry Francisco marry Sonoran women, but their younger brother Joseph Russell also married a *Mexicana*. According to the 1920 U.S. federal census, Joseph Russell lived with his Mexican-born wife and children next door to his older sister Soyla and her husband William Cardwell where the men farmed, and employed agricultural laborers. The youngest brother, Joseph Russell, was the only male sibling to live in Southern California with his family and to earn a living in his hometown of Azusa, but his ethnic background combined with his early economic struggles led him to be racialized as more Mexican than English, unlike his sisters. Sadly, Valentín Dalton died of pneumonia at Azusa at the young age of twenty-four in 1891.³¹

The options available to ethnically mixed Californians in the second half of the nineteenth century were shaped not only by economic conditions but

29. H. F. Dalton to Father, September 3, 1881, DL 376, Box 9, HD-HL; Luisa Wolfskill to Father, [August 1881], DL 1083, Box 9, HD-HL.

30. Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 101–4, 141–42; 1880 *United States Federal Census*, Los Angeles County, Azusa Township, E.D. 33, p. 377.

31. 1920 *United States Federal Census*, Azusa Township, Los Angeles County, California, E.D. 7, 9A; for Valentín Dalton's death record, see *Find a Grave* webpage, <https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=177087509>. V. Dalton was recorded as single.

also by demographic factors. The marriage and child-rearing choices of the Dalton-Zamorano family signaled intergenerational tensions and uneven gender and migration patterns. The discovery of gold in 1848 and the subsequent Gold Rush ushered in a demographic revolution with disproportionately higher numbers of bachelors arriving daily into California and far fewer marriageable immigrant or emigrant women. According to the 1860 federal census for California, 71 percent of the state's total population was male and 60 percent of those males were white, a racial category that included native-born Californios, Anglo-Americans, Europeans, and other Latin Americans born outside of California. Tilting sharply toward a younger population, 60 percent of the state's inhabitants fell under the age of thirty. Because of this skewed sex ratio, California-born women from different economic classes held exponentially wider marriage options that included native-born men, but also newcomers with potentially attractive economic prospects. However, census statistics point to another fact: California-born men faced greater competition in winning the hands of California-born and immigrant women.³² These conditions would persist until the 1880s.

A visible minority of ethnically mixed families of Californio descent persisted in Southern California well into the 1880s despite shifting ethnic and racial demographics that signaled declining tolerance for biculturality. Often, biethnic young adults in the late Mexican and early American period sought mates who were compatible culturally and shared mixed ancestral backgrounds similar to their own, as in the case of Luis Wolfskill and Luisa Dalton. Santa Barbara, in particular, evidenced greater numbers of mixed marriages among biethnic partners in the decades following U.S. conquest, followed by San Luis Obispo and Los Angeles counties.³³ These marriages and overlapping family ties offered bicultural couples an extensive support network and an enduring connection with their Spanish-Mexican and Catholic heritage, even as their homeland (and home) was increasingly influenced by Anglo-American and Protestant elements.

In the Arizona borderland where Winnall, Henry Francisco, and Joseph Russell Dalton all lived for periods of time as young adults, intermarriage rates waned. Historian Erik Meeks reports a "steep decline in marriages

32. Albert L. Hurtado, "'Hardly a Farm House—A Kitchen without Them': Indian and White Households on the California Borderland Frontier in 1860," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (July 1982): 249.

33. For a detailed statistical analysis of percentages of interethnic families and households by county from 1850 to 1880, see Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies*, Chapters 4 and 8.

between ethnic Mexicans and Anglo Americans between 1880 and 1910[, which] reflected a sharpening of ethno-racial boundaries.” Prior to that time, approximately 23 percent of intermarriages occurred between these groups, pointing to a more fluid time in society and greater ethnic Mexican political, social, and economic power. Arizona’s shifting intimate behaviors, like California in the late nineteenth century, were shaped by economic changes, industrial developments, and immigration into these regions. Political and economic events in Mexico also contributed to the influx of Mexican nationals at the turn of the twentieth century and resulted in greater efforts for the elite to regulate social boundaries by class, nationality, race, and ethnicity.³⁴

While the Dalton sons’ social and economic opportunities waned, the Dalton daughters ventured into Anglo-American circles to forge useful social networks that would broaden their marriage prospects. Ana Luisa and Soyla Carolina Dalton followed their own hearts and self-interests when they married Luis Wolfskill and William Cardwell, respectively, thumbing their noses at the Spanish-Mexican cultural tradition and expectation of seeking parental permission when deciding to marry. Although initially welcomed by his Dalton in-laws, the Daltons later blamed Luis for their financial setbacks because he served temporarily as Henry Dalton’s power of attorney while the Englishman was away in Mexico pursuing his land claim. Luisa stood by her husband during the ensuing conflict.³⁵ The Daltons’ early signs of financial troubles possibly influenced Luisa’s decision to marry Luis Wolfskill in the first place. After all, the Wolfskill-Lugo family was well respected in Los Angeles at the time. Luisa’s father, Henry Dalton, was also unable to provide his daughters with customary marriage gifts such as cattle or land that was typical of the landed elite in the Mexican era. Although Henry and Guadalupe still expected obedience from their children in every matter, they failed to recognize that they no longer held the same leverage over their daughters as in their affluent years.

As an educated bilingual and bicultural woman of English and Spanish-Mexican ancestry, the second daughter, Soyla Dalton, relied upon her kinship ties to the Wolfskills to secure a suitable mate. As soon as she reached twenty-five, and just prior to her parent’s bankruptcy, Soyla married Anglo-American

34. Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 82 (quote) and 83.

35. W. A. Dalton to Henry Dalton, September 8, 1879, DL 493, Box 8, HD-HL; W. A. Dalton to Henry Dalton, July 31, 1881, DL 531, Box 8, HD-HL.

William Cardwell in 1880. Her sibling, Winnall, was not happy with the news. "I am very sorry that Soyla is so controlled by others as to add insult to injury by intending where she knows she is not wanted," proclaimed older brother Winnall in a letter to his father. He implied that his sister lacked family pride by associating with the Wolfskills because of the Daltons' disagreement with Luis. "Mother tells me that Soyla has determined to get married at the ranch to compel her to witness the ceremony," Winnall continued, referencing his sister's nuptials at her parents' home despite their opposition. William Cardwell also fell out of favor with the family because he sided with Luis.³⁶ Perhaps resentful over their father's absenteeism and unending pursuit of lawsuits and land claims that failed, the Dalton women were left with nothing to enhance their marriage prospects, and they pursued their own welfare when choosing husbands. The women's frustration is reflected in family correspondence that reference the Dalton sisters' behavior and their disregard for their parents' guidance. The sisters' choices in mates further demonstrated that all three preferred to access some of the Anglo-American social networks of William Cardwell, the Wolfskills, and others rather than those of their parents' choosing and that they held little interest in sacrificing their own desires in order to secure marriages that might benefit the family unit.

The Dalton daughters' streak of assertiveness repeated when the youngest, Elena, married. "Joe tells us that Elena got married today but it seems strange you did not know anything about it," Soyla wrote to her father. In reading her letter, one can sense Soyla's satisfaction in throwing salt on her parents' wounds in their inability to exert parental authority over their daughters' nuptials.³⁷ In fact, her father had learned about the matrimony through a last-minute invitation by his future son-in-law. According to Henry Dalton's diary entry, he arrived at the church to find Elena's wedding in progress: "Late in the evening received a card from [Walter] D. Buxton requesting my presence in church where I found him in the act of marrying Elena. . . . I complained of the impropriety of this having proceeded without my sanction, or even informing me thereof."³⁸ As the Dalton women's experiences demonstrate, some bonds of filial duty that once demanded parental approval were undermined in the later decades of nineteenth-century

36. W. A. Dalton to Henry Dalton, September 8, 1879, DL 493, Box 8, HD-HL.

37. Soyla Cardwell to Henry Dalton, ca. 1879–1884, DL 47, Box 8, HD-HL.

38. Henry Dalton diary entry dated October 7, 1883 quoted in Jackson, *A British Rancho in Old California*, 238.

California because of individualistic values that accompanied industrialization and changing family fortunes. Certainly, some Californians submitted to parental expectations despite the influence of new American values. But the Dalton women inherited their parents' strong wills and followed their own wishes in marriage matters.

The Dalton-Zamorano sisters appeared to enjoy greater financial stability through their own maneuverings despite the misgivings of their eldest brother and their parents. Two of the daughters, Soyla and Luisa, avoided domestic wage labor, which was becoming increasingly common among California women of Mexican-descent. Soyla maintained a middle-class existence throughout her life due to the racial advantages of her marriage and her husband's professional employment. She and William, a legal clerk and a one-time secretary of U.S. Senator Stephen White, eventually had seven children and resided in a rental home for a number of years.³⁹

As biethnic women like the Daltons married primarily Anglo-American or bicultural men rather than Californio or Mexican immigrant men and navigated Anglo-American society with greater ease, biethnic men, like their brothers, married Mexican women. Winnall A. Dalton proposed to Jesucita Vázquez in 1874. Unfortunately, Guadalupe opposed her son's choice believing that Jesucita held no material prospects that could benefit the family. "Mother thinks that because I marry, I forsake you, that I go to ruin," Winnall wrote, pleading for his father's understanding. "She would not object to one that has money or appears to, but those do not marry poor men, they go after moneyed men," he grumbled. Finding limited opportunities for employment and economic independence, Winnall noted that the "painted butterflies" of society scarcely gave him a glance. Although he criticized his sisters for their marriage decisions, he resembled them by following his own heart and mind when he wed and by informing his father about his marriage rather than asking him for permission. Citing five years of

39. For racialized labor patterns in Southern California, see Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*, 100–101. For the Cardwells' ages and occupations, see 1900 *United States Federal Census*, Los Angeles Ward 2, Los Angeles, California, E.D. 14, 8A-8B; 1910 *United States Federal Census*, Los Angeles Assembly District 74, Los Angeles, California, E.D. 56, 14A; Ronstadt, *Borderman*, part 5, <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/ronstadt/bordermn/bmpt5.html>. Fred Ronstadt noted Spanish-speaking relatives at Soyla Cardwell's home in 1888. For the Dalton-Vázquez children, see 1910 *United States Federal Census*, City of Tucson, First Precinct, Pima County, Arizona Territory, E.D. 47, 49A; 1920 *United States Federal Census*, City of Tucson, First Precinct, Pima County, Arizona, E.D. 95, 7A-B; Ronstadt, *Borderman*, introduction <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/ronstadt/bordermn/bmintro.html>.

courtship, Winnall proclaimed “I believe that it is my destiny to marry Jesuscita as she is the only one I have ever loved, the only one I will ever love as long as I live.” Yet it remains questionable whether he would have married Jesusita if he had wider options in mates like his sisters. Despite his mother’s opposition, Winnall and Jesuscita married, though the couple struggled financially for many years. In this respect, he and his brothers traveled different paths than their sisters Elena and Soyla who pursued and succeeded in obtaining longterm economic security and upward mobility by marrying Anglo-American men.⁴⁰

Winnall and two other brothers did not have the option of pursuing Anglo-American women or elite Californianas because of their family’s financial turmoil and because of competition from the large number of foreign-born rivals in Southern California. As biethnic men of Spanish-Mexican descent with no property and few employment options, they did not have their sisters’ options in their intimate choices. But the brothers did work to ensure the preservation of Mexican culture in their households and among their own children, carving out a life that reflected border influences.

FAMILIAL BORDER CROSSINGS

Unlike their sisters and other biethnic women who remained in California throughout their lives, three of the Dalton boys, Winnall Agustín, Henry Francisco, and José Russell, emigrated to Arizona and spent time working on a mining scheme in Sonora, Mexico. Using bond payments received from the Mexican government in satisfaction of Henry Dalton Sr.’s land claim in Mexico after the patriarch’s death, the boys invested some of that money into a business only to realize quickly that it was a lost cause. Family correspondence reveals that Winnall was in Tajitos, Sonora, in 1895 attending to their investment, and that Henry Francisco and Joseph “Jose” Russell were in Caborca, Sonora, in 1897, but disagreements immediately arose among the brothers and negatively impacted their hopes for the future. Russell hated living in Tucson, and he expressed discontent in letters to his mother. He wrote her in July 1897 asking her to tell him when Winnall returned to Los Angeles, stating “I’m already mad at being in this unfortunate town, Tucson.” He asked his mother for more money for machinery.⁴¹ By 1905, the mining

40. W. A. Dalton to Father [Henry Dalton], October 6, 1874, DL 475, Box 7, HD-HL.

41. Joseph Russell’s original text in Spanish states: “*ya estoy enfadado de estar en este pueblo desgraciado Tucson.*” J. R. H. Dalton to Mama, July 13, 1897, DL 410, Box 11, HD-HL.

venture had failed and Russell returned to Azusa where he lived with Luisa's orphaned children at his mother's home. Henry Francisco remained in Caborca, Mexico, and continued in the mining industry. In a letter to his sister Soyla in 1905, Henry Francisco laid out the source of disagreement among the brothers, which would eventually lead to some estrangement among them.

I recalled his memory [José's] to the fact that he was one of the three that came to this country with the unfortunate enterprise of a mining scheme and that he was one of the three that borrowed all that mother had in the world from which she paid the taxes and brought her living to the house for herself and him. I think Jose cannot suffer any more than I. I am suffering the pangs of an exile with the stubbornness of trying to reimburse all that mother loaned us in our unfortunate enterprise.⁴²

Henry Francisco remained in Sonora to dispose of leftover equipment to reimburse his mother. Clearly, crossing the border to seek their fortunes in Mexico did not bear fruit for the brothers, but their willingness to utilize their bilingualism and knowledge of Mexican culture shows that they viewed their bicultural upbringing as a benefit in business.

Although the Dalton brothers' mining scheme did not pan out, Henry Francisco did gain a wife and family in Mexico, reflecting a trend evidenced by a number of biethnic men from California, including his brother Winnall, who married Spanish-Mexican women after U.S. conquest. In May 1906, Henry Francisco sent a letter on behalf of himself and his new wife to his mother in California announcing their marriage.⁴³ A U.S. Consulate Registration form dated 1914 evidenced Henry Francisco's border existence having married María Antonia Carmelo while living in Sonora. His children Guadalupe Engracia, George, Eudora, Henry Francis, and Alexander were all born in Caborca, Sonora, between the years 1907 and 1912, according to Henry Francisco's consulate document. The children were considered U.S. citizens because of their father's citizenship status, but census records noted them as naturalized. Like their paternal grandparents, the Dalton grandchildren lived a bicultural and bilingual existence, becoming fluent in English and Spanish and crossing borders

42. Henry F. Dalton, Caborca, Mexico to Soyla Cardwell, November 18, 1905, Box 12, HD-HL.

43. Henry Francisco Dalton and Antonia Carmelo de Dalton to María Guadalupe Zamorano de Dalton, May 12, 1906, DL 409, Box 12, HD-HL.

before settling permanently in Tucson, Arizona around 1915. In Tucson, Henry's children grew up in proximity to their uncle Winnall Dalton, their aunt Jesucita Vásquez de Dalton, and the Dalton-Vásquez cousins.⁴⁴ In all likelihood, the family left Sonora in the 1910s due to the Mexican Revolution which increased the number of Tucson's Mexican nationals.⁴⁵ Henry Francisco relied on his U.S. citizenship to bring his Mexican-born wife and children across the border during a climate of war. His journey to Arizona was timely, as "there was no fence" according to one Tohono O'odham woman whose family crossed back and forth between Arizona and Mexico at the time.⁴⁶ What began as a failed business attempt by the Dalton brothers resulted in an opportunity for one of the Dalton brothers to establish a new family forged by the experience of living along the border.

In 1920, Henry Francisco Dalton's family still resided in Tucson. The fifty-eight-year-old patriarch Henry Francisco who began working in the railroad industry as a young man in Los Angeles continued in the position of tower man for Southern Pacific Railroad's Tucson division. He made payments on the family home with a salary of approximately \$150 per month according to payroll records dated December 1919.⁴⁷ His seniority accorded him better pay and his ability to mortgage a home in Tucson indicates that conditions there were preferable to those in California. As a railroad tower man, he avoided constant travel and was able to spend time with his family.⁴⁸ According to the 1920 federal census, his wife María Antonia became a naturalized U.S. citizen as early as 1906, but she did not immigrate with her family to the United States until 1915. The 1930 federal census indicates that the family matriarch spoke no English but that her children did. The family's Catholicism, proximity to the Mexican border, and visits to family members in Mexico reinforced their Mexicanness, while daily interactions with schoolmates and coworkers provided the Daltons in Tucson with the social tools to

44. U.S., *Consular Registration Certificates, 1907–1918*, v. 88, January 22, 1914, p. 44.050, Ancestry.com; 1920 *United States Federal Census*, Pima County, City of Tucson, Ward 1, E.D. 94, 6A-B.

45. Meeks, *Border Citizens*, 76.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *California, Railroad Employment Records, 1862–1950*, Payrolls, Southern Pacific-Tucson Division, 654A, Ancestry.com.

48. Smithsonian National Museum of American History, "Railroad Cap Badge, Brakeman, Southern Pacific Railroad," http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_843118.

14050

(Form No. 210—CONSULAR.)
(Corrected April 29, 1914)

DEPT. OF STATE
ACKNOWLEDGED
JAN 22 1914
FEB 3 1914
FILE

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF AMERICAN CITIZEN.

I, Louis Hottel CONSUL of the United States of America at Hermosillo, Son, Mex., hereby certify that Henry F. Dalton is registered as an American citizen in this consulate. He was born July 15, 1861 at Los Angeles, City, California and is a citizen of the United States by birth (or naturalization). He left his residence in the United States on August 21, 1897 and arrived in Caborca, Sonora, Mexico, on September 8, 1897, where he is now residing for the purpose of Mining. He is married to Antonia Carmelo, who was born in Caborca and resides at Caborca, Sonora, Mexico.

He has the following children:

<u>Guadalupe Engracia</u>	born in	<u>Caborca, Sonora, Mexico</u>
on <u>September 16, 1907</u>	and residing at	" " "
and <u>George</u>	born in	" " "
on <u>October 22, 1908</u>	and residing at	" " "
and <u>Eudora</u>	born in	" " "
on <u>February 10, 1910</u>	and residing at	" " "
<u>Henry Francis</u>		" " "
<u>September 16, 1911</u>		" " "
<u>Alexander</u>		" " "
<u>November 22, 1912</u>		" " "

His local address is Caborca, Sonora, Mexico.

The person to be informed in case of death or accident is Mrs. M. G. de Dalton Azusa, Cal.

His citizenship of the United States is established by The Great Register of Los Angeles, County, California.

This certificate is not a passport and its validity expires on 1/2/15.

The following is the signature of Henry F. Dalton.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my seal of office.

Louis Hottel
American Consul

(NO FEE)

FIGURE 2. Azusa, California native Henry F. Dalton pursued mining across the border in Sonora, Mexico in partnership with his brothers and with some investment from their mother, María Guadalupe Zamorano de Dalton. Henry married a woman in Caborca, Sonora and established a family with her there, as this consular registration card indicates. Henry F. Dalton and his family later crossed the border in the mid-1910s to live permanently in Tucson, Arizona and in close proximity to his brother Winnall A. Dalton and family. Courtesy of Ancestry.com.

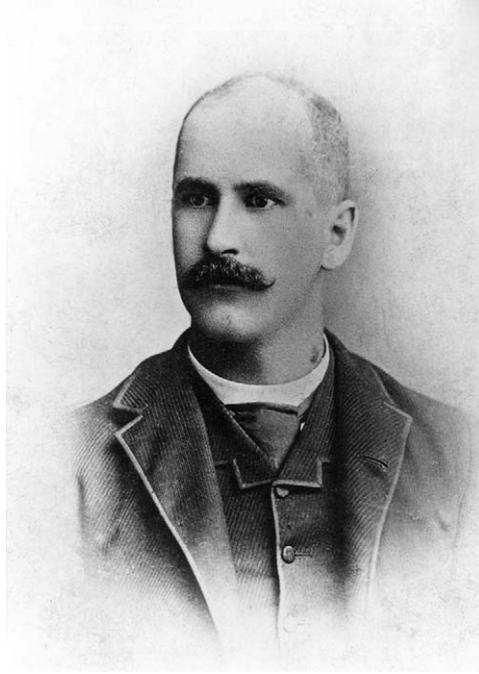


FIGURE 3. After moving to Tucson, Arizona, Henry Francis Dalton worked for the Southern Pacific Railroad. At least five of his children were born in Mexico and another four in Tucson. While Spanish was their first language growing up, Dalton's children also learned English with several attaining some education at public schools. *Courtesy of Arizona Historical Society.*

engage with the broader Anglo-American society, which outnumbered the Mexican American community.⁴⁹ Adaptation was a skill that the Daltons developed out of necessity. According to one historian, “between 1900 and 1910, ethnic Mexicans became a numerical minority even in Tucson,” making biculturalism all the more important. In the 1910s, Mexicans represented the largest immigrant group in Arizona; but in the 1930s, during the Great Depression, anti-Mexican sentiment escalated resulting in the repatriation of

49. 1920 *United States Federal Census*, Pima County, City of Tucson, Ward 1, E.D. 94, 6A-B; 1930 *United States Federal Census*, City of Tucson, Pima County, Ward 5, E.D. 43, 19B-20A.

18,520 persons of Mexican descent from Arizona.⁵⁰ The second-generation grandchildren of Henry and Guadalupe, like their parents and grandparents before them, engaged in cultural code switching and cultural border crossings in their daily lives as a tool of survival and social mobility.

THE SECOND GENERATION

The biculturality and border mobility experienced by generations of the Daltons was described succinctly by Linda Ronstadt, a Grammy-award winning singer and the great-great-granddaughter of Henry Dalton and Guadalupe Zamorano. “There wasn’t a fence running through the Sonoran Desert when I was growing up,” Ronstadt recalled in a 2014 interview. “My own father’s [hardware] business was very dependent on the goodwill and business and trade from people in northern Mexico. We knew their families and went to their weddings and baptisms and balls and picnics . . . they came up to Tucson (to) do their shopping.” Ronstadt recalled with great fondness spending time south of the border as a girl shopping in Nogales, Mexico. To her, southern Arizona and northern Mexico was a seamless borderland intersected by a political boundary that meant little during her girlhood. “You have the United States, and you have Mexico, and then you have this Mexican-American thing which is this third culture, which I like to call *Aztlán*. It’s not the same as Mexican culture; it’s not the same as American culture. It’s a distinct hybrid.” Certainly, Henry and Guadalupe’s grandchildren, who lived and thrived in Tucson and Sonora at the turn of the twentieth century, would have understood exactly the social and cultural landscape Ronstadt described.⁵¹

Census records and family correspondence provide a partial glimpse into how the Dalton-Zamorano descendants were socialized, chose family names, and retained as well as discarded Mexican cultural influences. Five of the seven Dalton siblings’ families reflected the ongoing influence of Mexican

50. Meeks, *Border Citizens*, quote on 93, immigration patterns on 76, 108, and 109–11. Figures 4.1 and 4.2, and 115 for repatriation numbers.

51. Linda Ronstadt was the granddaughter of Fred Ronstadt and Guadalupe Dalton de Ronstadt. Another daughter of Winnall A. Dalton and Jesucita Vásquez, Hortensia Dalton, married Frederico María “Fred” Ronstadt’s brother, José M. “Pepe” Ronstadt. Megan Finnerty, “Singer Linda Ronstadt Talks Tucson, Mexico and Border Fence,” *The Arizona Republic*, August 18, 2014, <http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/immigration/2014/08/16/linda-ronstadt-tucson-mexico-border/14188117/>; Boxes 1 and 2, Ronstadt-AHS; Mr. and Mrs. Winnall A. Dalton—Portrait Photo Collection, AHS.

culture due to either the presence of Spanish-speaking Mexican relatives within the household or linked through social networks, giving the children the opportunity to hear, speak, and perfect their bilingualism. While there is no evidence that Soyla's husband William spoke Spanish (unlike her bilingual brother-in-law Luis Wolfskill), Soyla enjoyed visits from her Spanish-speaking mother, who lived nearby, as well as her maternal aunt and cousin, all of whom exposed Soyla's children to the language and culture.⁵² Indeed, all the Dalton-Zamorano siblings were bilingual, and most of their children were as well.

Extended family members played a significant role in the biculturality of the second-generation of Dalton descendants. In contrast with their second-generation cousins born of their aunt Soyla Dalton and her Anglo-American husband William Cardwell, the Vásquez-Dalton children of Arizona, born in the late 1870s through the late 1890s, lived in a home comprising several Mexican aunts, an uncle, five cousins, and a strong-willed maternal grandmother who reportedly ruled the house. Soyla's children, however, grew up primarily in Anglo-American circles and they received predominantly Anglo-American names like Francis William, Lawrence Lionel, Helen Henriette, Henry, Alice, and Stephen William. Only one child, Soyla Valentine received a Spanish-Mexican family name. Her Tucson cousins received both English and Spanish family names. Perhaps Soyla believed that by giving her children Anglicized names, they would more easily immerse themselves into Anglo American society than with Spanish-language names. Alternatively, her husband may have asserted greater authority in naming their children, demonstrating his desire to bestow the benefits of whiteness on his offspring and Soyla's possible lack of power within the family unit. Regardless of how the Cardwell children were named, they did not grow up with the same degree of daily interactions with Spanish-speaking family members as their cousins enjoyed in the Arizona borderlands.⁵³

Comparing the experiences of Dalton-Zamorano siblings and their children reveals that they did not follow a simple trajectory towards adaptation to Anglo-American culture by abandoning their Spanish-Mexican heritage as a response to U.S. conquest. The siblings kept close ties with each other, their

52. Ronstadt, *Borderman*, part 5, <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/ronstadt/bordermn/bmp5.html>.

53. 1900 *United States Federal Census*, City of Tucson, Precinct 1, Pima County, E.D. 47, Arizona Territory, 1A; "Descendants of Soyla Carolina Dalton and William Cardwell," p. 4, in Dalton Branch genealogy, Folder 8, Series 1: Family History, Box 1, Ronstadt-AHS.

mother, their nieces, and their nephews. The siblings also corresponded with each other in Spanish and English, demonstrating their literacy and bilingualism. Moreover, despite the family discord that arose over the Dalton-Zamorano women's marriages, family archives illustrate the persistence of filial bonds of love and affection across stretches of time and vast distances. The Dalton siblings and their families exchanged photographs and picture postcards and acknowledged new births, graduations, and Catholic sacraments. For example, Henry Francisco and Antonia Carmelo Dalton sent a picture postcard to "Aunt Soyla" around the 1910s on behalf of her niece, Guadalupe Engracia Dalton, commemorating her first holy communion in Tucson. Notably, Guadalupe's Catholic faith persisted among her grandchildren and subsequent generations. At least one of Guadalupe's granddaughters, Alice Wolfskill, and one great-granddaughter, Norma Luisa Wolfskill, became Catholic nuns.⁵⁴ The Dalton-Zamoranos show that Spanish-Mexican and Catholic cultural traditions endured within the family and cross-generationally despite the social marginalization of people of Mexican descent in an Anglo American society increasingly hostile to the Spanish language, Mexican culture, and Catholic faith. The Dalton-Zamorano children and grandchildren also show that wherever they resided, whether in California, Arizona, or across the border in Mexico, they upheld their bicultural roots and remained adaptive.⁵⁵

The persistence of the Catholic faith and the Spanish language among second generation Dalton-Zamorano descendants was partly due to Guadalupe's decision to raise several of her orphaned Wolfskill grandchildren. One Wolfskill granddaughter named Isabel sought her grandmother's blessing as she prepared to enter a Catholic convent and take holy orders. In a letter written in Spanish to her granddaughter dated 1902, Guadalupe strongly advised her granddaughter against entering a religious order. Guadalupe did not want her granddaughter to forsake marriage or having children. She also feared that Isabel had been influenced by others in her decision. Crushed over her grandmother's opposition, Isabel gently chastised her in Spanish, saying

54. Box 11, various letters ca. 1890s, HD-HL; Henry F. Dalton and Family Portrait Photograph Collection, AHS #100,062, AHS; "Descendants of Anna Luisa Dalton and Lewis Wolfskill," 3, in Dalton Branch genealogy, Folder 8, Series 1: Family History, Box 1, Ronstadt-AHS; "Lupe Dalton and Family," Folder 13; Series 4: Photographs, Box 11, Ronstadt-AHS; "Dalton extended family," Folder 14, Series 4: Photographs, Box 11, Ronstadt-AHS.

55. For family naming patterns, see the family genealogy in note above. See also various U.S. federal census records for Henry Francisco Dalton, Winnall A. Dalton, Soyla Cardwell, Luisa Wolfskill, and Dalton family correspondence indicating family names, Box 11, HD-HL.

"I received your letter with much joy and at the same time sadness that you do not approve of what I'm thinking of doing." Yet she also made clear her intentions to take up the habit and to pursue the path of a female religious, assuring her grandmother that no one had planted the idea in her head. She knew her own mind and soul, she reminded her grandmother.⁵⁶ Perhaps Guadalupe's advice took root; Isabel did not ultimately join a convent but, rather, eventually married and bore children. Isabel's older sister, however, did take holy vows as a Catholic nun.⁵⁷

In a rapidly changing society, Dalton's and Zamorano's American-born children and several grandchildren maintained bilingualism, remained rooted in the Catholic faith, and crafted a fluid identity that embraced aspects of both Anglo American and Mexican cultures. The endurance of biculturality across generations, state lines, and national borders served as a testament to the strength of the interethnic union forged by their grandparents and the family practice of crossing cultural borders. The Dalton-Zamorano children adapted to changing economic and social landscapes in Southern California by crafting bicultural identities whenever possible, but they also pursued individual self-interest in their intimate choices and employment strategies. The Dalton-Zamorano daughters experienced more diverse marriage options because of the scarcity of marriage-eligible respectable women, and they thus remained in California throughout their lives. Their brothers, however, faced increased competition from foreign-born immigrant and U.S. emigrant men for female spouses and jobs in California; they were racialized more as Mexican and less as Anglo by foreign newcomers who perceived men of Mexican descent as economic rivals. For the Dalton-Zamorano women, the stakes were high when they chose their husbands because of limited options for women to gain economic independence in the event of a divorce or abandonment. As the sources demonstrate, despite marrying newcomers and biethnic men, these women did not fully assimilate into Anglo American society. All the Dalton-Zamorano children and most, if not all, of the grandchildren of Henry Dalton and Guadalupe Zamorano upheld the Catholic faith, remained bilingual, and comfortably embraced both Mexican and Anglo American worlds. However, one distinct difference emerged in the paths traversed by the Dalton-Zamorano siblings: while the sisters all

56. The original states: "*Tube mucho gusto de recibir su cartita, y al mismo tiempo triste de que no aprueba de lo que yo pienso hacer.*" Isabel [Wolfskill] to M. G. de Dalton, July 22, 1902, DL 1080, Box 11, HD-HL.

57. Genealogy titled "Dalton Branch," Folder 8, Series 1: Family History, Box 1, Ronstadt-AHS.

remained in Southern California close to their childhood home, several of their brothers were forced to search for opportunities elsewhere, including Northern California, Arizona, Mexico and Central America. Nevertheless, all of the siblings showed tremendous fluidity and adaptability that influenced their own offspring, demonstrating one family's deeply rooted tradition of crossing cultural borders and shaping of an ethnically, racially, and socially diverse borderlands and broader American history. ■

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