

Embodying the West: Lyrics from the U.S.-Mexican War

Andrea Tinnemeyer

A sketch of a Mexican soldier meant to illustrate, in simple pen and ink, the easy business of fulfilling manifest destiny appears within the pages of the *Rough and Ready Songster*,¹ a collection of song lyrics from the U.S.-Mexican War.² Dominating the drawing is the common iconography of wounds: a sling, patch, and bandages. The body is failed, defeated, unmanly. What identifies the body's owner is, not surprisingly, another wound—a wooden leg. This artificial limb, combined with a tripartite hat, unquestionably identify the owner of this wounded body as General Antonio López de Santa Anna, Mexico's own Napoleon. In the place of a uniform, Mexico's military leader wears a loincloth that resembles a diaper covering the ultimate site of emasculation, the groin.

These physical markers reference the pseudo-scientific disciplines of phrenology and physiognomy popular in the United States at mid-nineteenth century that strove to factually bind outward appearance with the unseen qualities of morality and intelligence.³ Questions over the racial identity of Mexicans, a central debate after the 1848 peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo conferred citizenship on former Mexican citizens, would turn to these quasi-scientific models to deny rights and privileges. But even before the War's end, perhaps because of the "double time" of manifest destiny to presuppose territorial capture as early as 1845, the Mexican Question illustrated the nation's volatility.⁴ The nationalism of Manifest Destiny could not contain all of the meanings generated

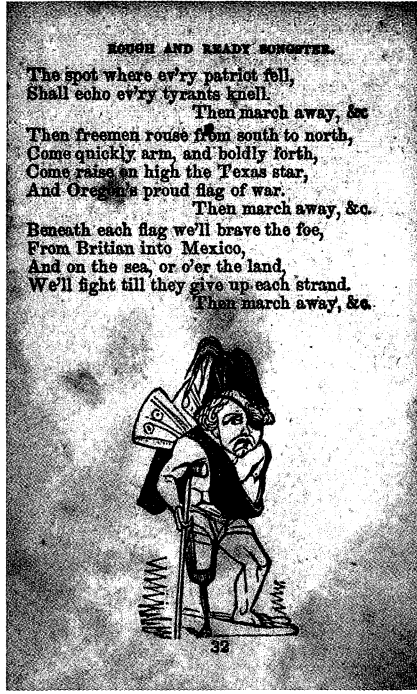


Figure 1: Sketch of General Antonio López de Santa Anna from the *Rough and Ready Songster*. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

by the *Songster's* preoccupation with the Mexican soldier's body, depicted in its lyrics as well as its drawings. Anxieties about race, class, and indeed, the very identity of the nation, were grafted onto the failed bodies of Mexican soldiers. As Raymund Paredes discovered in his survey of American literature, no singular image of Mexicans dominates.⁵ Indeed, the depiction of Mexicans in U.S. fiction varies within a particular moment, reminding us as critics and historians that no time is ever without its own dissonance.⁶ Far from a singular voice of militaristic might and righteousness, war songs did not necessarily harmonize with the jingoism of manifest destiny. The popular products of material culture—dime novels and war songs—reflect their polysemous nature, their ability to reproduce and mollify the disparate tensions and desires of what Michael Rogin termed the American 1848.⁷

Evinced in the lyrics, and in the borrowed melodies of songs from previous wars, the convictions driving the U.S.-Mexican War were ambiguous, and oftentimes contradictory. Eric Lott argues “so visible were the social contradictions in American life from the start of the Mexican War in 1846 . . . that earnest analogies and casual representations, generic conventions and

allegorical flights of fancy—social figurations of almost every kind—threatened a formidable visitation of unwelcome meanings and resonances.⁸ As an indication of the tumultuousness of the country at mid-century, its wrestling with slavery and its class warfare waged between an increasingly industrial North and an agrarian South, the *Rough and Ready Songster* references the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and, through its use of minstrel song, the Slave Question.

On the surface, the U.S.-Mexican War seems, like all military conflicts, to evoke scenes of battles past and to create a seamless narrative of U.S. military strength and national history. However, the preponderance of these other historical referents, coupled with their key racial and imperial characteristics, bespeak a larger uneasiness with Mexicans and their potential for U.S. citizenry. Indeed, the U.S.-Mexican War is a singular event marking the country's entry into imperialism on an international scale and potentially opening up the category of citizen beyond the 1790 definition of free white male.⁹ Certainly, the nation had invaded other territory before, but never at 1848's magnitude and never with the intent of incorporating the territory's residents as citizens.¹⁰

At mid-century, the domestic metaphor was ubiquitous, but its saturation in the national consciousness was also dangerous, because any modification or challenge to the domestic would have a large-scale effect.¹¹ At first glance, the war songs collected in the *Rough and Ready Songster* seem to champion the cause of manifest destiny, yet further investigation of the lyrics and melodies reveals a messy tangle of references to racial, national, and class-based tensions plaguing the U.S. This sense of chaos, of a nation more divided than united, manifests itself in the various guises assumed by the Mexican male body in the songs, and in what Lott terms the "racial ambiguity" of the musical form. Thus, it is only fitting that the medium of popular song should be the forum for sounding out issues of national identity on micro and macro levels in relation to the newly-expanded landscape.

Texas: Marriage for Love

In 1836, Texas gained its independence from Mexico and functioned as a republic—dependent of both the United States and Mexico—until annexation by the United States in 1845. The fight for independence accelerated the U.S.-Mexican War and first introduced the nation to the figure of General Antonio López de Santa Anna. To resolve the dispute over the Texas/Mexico border (Mexico claimed it to be the Nueces River; the U.S. insisted on the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo) in March of 1846 President Polk sent General Zachary Taylor with troops to occupy the land under question, the Nueces Strip. Mexico recognized this maneuver as a declaration of war. Not surprisingly, several U.S.-Mexican War songs, reproduced in the *Rough and Ready Songster*, mention the dispute over Texas. In one particularly telling song, the annexation of Texas is cast as a marriage to the United States.

**“Uncle Sam’s Song to Miss Texas”
– tune “Yankee Doodle”**

Walk in my tall haired Indian gal,
Your hand, my s[t]ar-eyed Texas,
You’re welcome to our White House
hall,
Tho’ Mexy’s hounds would vex us;

Come on an’ take some Johnny cake,
With lasses snug an’ coodle,
For than an’ Independence make,
A full blood Yankee Doodle.

Yankee Doodle is the word,
Surpassin’ all creation,
With the pipe or with the sword,
It makes us love our nation.

My overseer, young Jimmy Polk,
Shall show you all my nieces,

An’ then the cabinet we’ll smoke,
Until our eagle sneezes;
If Johnny Bull’s fat greedy boys,
About our union grumble,
I’ll kick up sich a tarnal noise,
‘Twill make ‘em feel quite humble.

Yankee Doodle, & etc.
If Mexy, back’d by secret foes,
Still talks of taking you, gal,
Why we can lick ‘em all, you know,
An’ then annex ‘em too, gal;¹²

For Freedom’s great millennium,
Is working airth’s salvation,
Her sassy kingdom soon will come,
Annexin’ all creation.
Singing Yankee Doodle, & etc.

“Uncle Sam’s Song to Miss Texas” accomplishes with relative ease a sophisticated reconfiguration of the Southwest Territory through the guise of adoption, “salvation,” and love. Texas, depicted as “my tall haired Indian gal,” is inaugurated into the high social circle of “our White House hall.” The annexation is allegorized as a romance, perhaps even imagined in the very structured frame of a novel of manners, which is preoccupied with marriage plots among the wealthy and beautiful and particularly attentive to the coming out season.¹³

Not surprisingly, class tensions brewing nationally—reflected here in the juxtaposition of the White House and a political merger alongside mention of Johnny cake and dialect (represented by the apostrophe for certain missing letters in words and by misspelled words)—surface in a song about the U.S.-Mexican War.¹⁴ After all, many believed the addition of Northern Mexico (or all of Mexico, for there were advocates for annexing the entire Mexican nation), would provide an easy answer to the problems of class disparity by opening up the territory to the disenfranchised.¹⁵ The Southwest as willing bride to Uncle Sam satisfied the national fantasy of a nurturing, sustaining landscape. As Richard Slotkin notes in *The Fatal Environment*, the city and the frontier, here the pre-1848 United States and Northern Mexico, existed in a dialectic:

the particular forms taken by the developing political economy
of the Metropolis—its modes of production, its system for

valuing social and economic goods, its peculiar culture and history of social relations, its characteristic political institutions—inform the decision to seek the Frontier wealth, and determine the kind of people that will go (or be sent) to the colonies, the kinds of resources they will be interested in, the ways in which they will organize their exploitation and governance of the territory, and so on.¹⁶

Following Slotkin's insight, the Metropolis manufactured the public's conception of expansion and eventual interaction with and in the former Spanish borderlands. Within the song's lyrics, expansion is the panacea for class and racial differences. In taking Texas' hand, Uncle Sam extends the promise of equality and projects onto the newly acquired territory, the Frontier, a wealth of opportunity and natural resources capable of transcending class and racial conflicts. Yet, residual class and racial distinctions appear in this song's reference to President Polk as "my overseer."

Just as the annexation proves inevitable, "for freedom's great millennium/ is workin' airth's salvation," the marriage between Miss Texas and Uncle Sam occurs offstage. Perhaps the third line, "your hand my star eyed Texas," does the work of this union. After it, Texas is deracialized as "gal" rather than "Indian gal,"—a feat attributable to annexation/marriage—and, in accordance with the captive/captor paradigm,¹⁷ she is promised support and protection from Mexico: "If Mexy, back'd by secret foes,/ Still talks of taking you, gal,/Why we can lick 'em all, you know,/ An' annex 'em, too, gal./For Freedom's great millennium,/Is working airth's salvation." The song's reference to "Johnny Bull," a term for Britain, alludes to this country's schemes towards the cotton industry in Texas.¹⁸ Miss Texas marries for love; the United States will gladly protect her from future captivity, figured here as the reabsorption into the Mexican nation or as annexation by Britain.

The melody for "Uncle Sam and Miss Texas," "Yankee Doodle," erupts into the lyrics, and gives voice to the anxiety haunting Texas annexation—the loss of U.S. republican government through its inauguration into the British business of colonialism. Britain's schemes for Texas—either as a partner in cotton trade or as a colony—propel and impede its inclusion into the United States. Whigs opposed "the idea of United States colonial rule in the area, for this would endanger the republican form of government; the power of the president would be enhanced, militarism would be rife, and the corruption would sap the vitals of free America."¹⁹ Whig fears stemmed primarily from anxieties over racial amalgamation. The *Charleston Mercury* wondered about "melt[ing] into our population eight millions of men, at war with us by race, by language, manners, and laws?"²⁰ For members of the Whig party, American militarism did not bolster the national physique by flexing some military muscle against Mexican soldiers, but rather threatened American republican government both by the incorporation of Mexicans, and by annexation's resemblance to British

colonialism. By invading Mexico, the United States proved itself less the liberating force of “Yankee Doodle” and more the imperial figure of Johnny Bull. And lest we overlook it, the tone sharply turns to militaristic sacredness, the religious language of war that so profoundly imbued the rhetoric of manifest destiny, in its final line, “annexin’ all creation.”

The song’s lyrics mitigate against this latter image of America as a colonial force (“for than an’ independence make/ a full blood Yankee Doodle”). The qualifier of “full blood” is telling, because the standard racist remarks against Mexicans as a “half-mongrel race” focused on the nation’s common mestizo background. Indeed, after the U.S.-Mexican War, the ratification of the peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo stalled over the “Indian question.”²¹ Following its independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico had awarded citizenship to its indigenous population. If the U.S. ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which gave Mexican citizens the option of becoming U.S. citizens, then all native peoples in the southwest territory would be *de facto* members of the U.S. citizenry, an outrageous solution given the Indian Removal policies of President Andrew Jackson less than sixteen years earlier.²² With annexation, Texas sheds its “Indian gal” status and becomes “full blood[ed] Yankee Doodle.” This transformation, marked in both this military song and in the dime novels of the U.S.-Mexican War, is made possible by the “whitening” power of marriage to an Anglo soldier.

Texas’ re-identification as “a full blood Yankee Doodle,” potentially reveals the influence of Enlightenment ideology and removes the United States’s invasion from the taint of colonialism by hearkening back to its founding principles.²³ Thomas Paine and other voices central to the American Revolution were deeply invested in the notions of natural rights and innate equality among men, tenets that also emerged during Texas’ fight for independence from an oppressive Mexican government.²⁴ As the democratic government of Mexico was itself suffering under military despotism and martial law, Stephen F. Austin characterized the potentially insurrectory actions of himself and his fellow colonists who take up arms and travel to Anahuac to demand the release of the wrongfully imprisoned as patriotic.²⁵ Toasting “la federación y la constitución mejicana,” along with General Antonio López de Santa Anna as their defender, Austin and others publicly announced that their loyalties and sentiments lie squarely with the Mexican government, to whom they had pledged their allegiance.²⁶ Austin championed General Santa Anna, even naming themselves the Santa Anna Volunteer Company. This small-scale rebellion was a dress rehearsal for the Texas Revolution of 1836, and its shared factors (rights abrogated, lands seized, and elections curtailed) with the 1776 American Revolution were heightened.²⁷

In her 1836 emigrant guide, *Texas*, Mary Austin Holley crafts a usable past out of the American Revolution, thus structuring the Republic of Texas within what Homi K. Bhabha has called the “double-time” of national narratives.²⁸ Texas independence from Mexico, articulated with the rhetoric common to the

American Revolution, focused on the struggle against an oppressive government (Mexico rather than Britain) that denied local representation. This framing of Texas independence as a second American Revolution served a dual purpose—it skillfully marshaled the War into the service of the nation, and thus presaged Texas' annexation by the U.S. in 1845. Casting these two historical events under the banner and tune of “Yankee Doodle” creates a shared historical past between Texas and the U.S., and transforms the annexation of Texas into an organic, seamless union.²⁹

Aside from precipitating the U.S.-Mexican War, the invasion of Texas, and its incorporation into the nation, raised the anxious question of citizenship. What would the domestic look like after 1845? Numerous scholars have recently documented the ways in which American culture and its modes of representation and contestation were transformed. The cheap publication of dime novels, development of the American sheet music industry, and unexpected boom in minstrel shows at mid-century all contributed to mutually constitutive ties between the domestic sphere and an expanded landscape. Historian Robert Johanssen mentions the public craving for Mexican maps and histories of the Spanish Conquest as examples of the War's impact on cultural and national production at home.³⁰ Even the mid-century increase in domestic fiction was not immune. As Amy Kaplan notes, “the development of domestic discourse in America is contemporaneous with the discourse of Manifest Destiny.”³¹ Lott illustrates this point by linking the popularity of minstrel shows to dime songbooks' mass publication, “usually only printed lyrics without music . . . [which] evidently allowed fans of blackface to sing the words at home to tunes they knew by heart from the theater.”³² Stephen Hartnett and Robert Branham remark on the increased production of pianos at mid-century, many of which were used in homes as part of a domestic ritual of evening entertainment: “The typical family repertoire included many patriotic and military songs.”³³ Sheet music publishers were able to print lyrics alone not only because theatergoers were familiar with the tunes from the minstrel shows, but also because so many of the songs, as has been true for military songs, were adapted to already familiar tunes.³⁴

Because the metaphor of home and nation so dominated national discourse, the notion of annexation appears as marriage not only in war song lyrics, but also in dime novels, and domestic fiction set in and during the U.S.-Mexican War.³⁵ Kaplan argues that U.S. imperialism penetrated the “privileged space of the domestic novel—the interiority of the female subject—to find traces of foreignness that must be domesticated or expunged.” This is the dialectic of domestic/foreign on the smallest scale. If one were to imagine this relationship mapped in concentric circles, the next level would be the protection of the home from the foreign threat posed by domestic slaves and servants. At the largest, national level, Kaplan writes, “‘Manifest Domesticity’ turns an imperial nation into a home by producing and colonizing specters of the foreign that lurk inside and outside of its ever shifting borders” (602). In terms of the U.S.-Mexican

War, the political—and thus the racial—identities of residents in the Southwest are located in the constant struggle between “foreign” and “domestic.”

In the next tune from the *Rough and Ready Songster*, one can see how the nation wrestled with the Mexican Question, framing it largely as parallel to the Slave Question, not merely because of uncertainty about whether the new territory would upset the balance of slave and free states, but also because of the debate over the racial identity of Mexicans and thus their fitness for U.S. citizenship.

“Get Out De Way”—Old Dan Tucker and Gen. Santa Anna

With a willing bride in Texas, U.S.-Mexican War songs painted the Mexican government, embodied in its soldiers and in General Antonio López de Santa Anna, as “foreign,” transforming them into a threat to Mexican women and land. Through these grotesque and disfigured Mexican male bodies, the war songs erase the guilt of conquest and western expansion by demonstrating that victory is inevitable, that Manifest Destiny will be fulfilled. And yet, creating the spectacle of the Mexican male body as unhealthy and effeminate serves another purpose—it nearly compels miscegenation in the form of Anglo males rescuing Mexican and Mexican American women from Mexican men, as we’ll see in the final poem, “They Wait for Us.”

“Uncle Sam and Mexico”—tune “Old Dan Tucker”

Throughout de land dar is a cry,
And folks all know de reason why,
Shy Mexico’s two-legged b’ars,
Am ‘tacking Uncle Sammy’s stars,
Chorus wid drum—

Den march away,
Den march away—

Den march away, bold sons of freedom,
You’re de boys can skin and bleed ‘em.
Dey’re kicken up gunpowderation,
About de Texas annexation,
Since Mexico makes sich ado,
We’ll flog her and annex her too.

Den march away &c
Young Texas came on de Rio Grandy,

We showed ‘em Yankee Doodle Dandy
But when brave Taylor cross de line,
He’ll make ‘em snort like a steam
bullgine

Den march away &c
Little Texas when quite in her teens,
Did give ‘em a dose of leading *beans*,
An’ now old Sammy is called out,
Dey’ll catch salt-petre sour crouit.

Den march away, &c
Since Texas cut off Sant Anna’s peg,
We’ll *Amputate* Ampudia’s leg,
An’ so his carcass de air shan’t spoil
We’ll boil it in his own hot oil.

Sung to the tune of “Old Dan Tucker,” “Uncle Sam and Mexico” fixates on the dismemberment of Mexican generals Ampudia and Santa Anna as a metaphor for the splitting apart of the Mexican nation through the annexation of nearly a third of Mexican territory by the War’s end. In his study of Dan Emmet, Hans Nathan dates the rapid increase in minstrel song production to the early 1840s.

It is therefore not surprising that this popular form of entertainment, which reached its apex in the years preceding the War, would inform the military songs both in form and content. Nathan notes minstrel songs' "heritage of borrowing or [creating] adaptations of texts to well-known tunes."³⁶ Nathan includes "Old Dan Tucker" among those songs.³⁷ Daniel D. Emmet, probably best known for writing or plagiarizing "Dixie," reportedly composed "Old Dan Tucker" at the age of fifteen and performed it during a Fourth of July celebration at Mount Vernon in 1830.³⁸ The tune is reported to have first gained national recognition in 1843 when Emmet's quartet, the Original Virginia Minstrels, performed it at the Bowery Amphitheatre in New York. The coterminous rise in minstrelsy and westward expansion via the U.S.-Mexican War is not lost on Eric Lott who writes, "It is in every respect striking, therefore, that black minstrelsy should have moved to the cultural center at precisely this moment, and . . . by means of the matter of the West."³⁹

Although some historians argue that not until Jim Crow days in the South would Mexicans and African Americans be conflated,⁴⁰ the texturing of "Uncle Sam and Mexico" over "Old Dan Tucker" perhaps hints at the recognition by politicians and U.S. citizens alike that the U.S.-Mexican War would increase southern territory and thus upset the balance of abolitionist and slave states.⁴¹ Overlaying war song lyrics on top of a minstrel song illustrates racial ambiguity on two levels: there is the mixing of racially-marked melodic structure and the unknown racial identity of Mexicans, depicted by many newspaper editorials as a "mongrel race." In his study of nineteenth-century music, Richard Middleton draws a key distinction between forms of repetition: musematic repetition, which is characterized by riffs and shouts of African American music, and discursive repetition, which is a repetition of musical phrasing typified by Anglo American popular music. The musematic repetition of "Get out de way" in "Old Dan Tucker," replaced with the phrase, "Den March Away," in "Uncle Sam and Mexico" keeps racial difference a key issue at the level of melody. Preoccupation with Mexican savagery on the battlefield maintains this issue at the level of the lyrics.

Just as the first song analyzed takes up a host of issues animating Texas' annexation, *afromestizos*, the Black Legend, and the Slave Question haunt "Uncle Sam and Mexico."⁴² In *Recovering History, Constructing Race*, Martha Menchaca outlines Mexico's connection with Africa and slavery via Spanish colonialism.⁴³ As Menchaca writes, Portuguese slave expeditions coincided with Spanish colonialism and the "discovery" of the New World. Thus, black slaves began arriving in Mexico in 1519.⁴⁴ The result was the creation of *afromestizos*, who were a mixture of indigenous and African peoples. When the U.S.-Mexican War ended in 1848, Mexicans' black roots were a source of panic, based on the fear of miscegenation and the loss of white racial purity and national identity. This panic played itself out in the same way that it did for black men: lynchings, myths of sexual promiscuity and lasciviousness, and a general incapacity for civility and other markers of citizenship.⁴⁵

Although church and census records bear out a sustained pattern of interracial marriages between Spaniards, Mexicans and Anglo Americans, these unions threatened the domain of Anglo American men once territorial conquest was achieved.⁴⁶ Indeed, Whig opposition to the War cited the popular “scientific” racial theories of the day, arguing that the nation could not absorb millions of Mexicans and still maintain its Anglo Saxon heritage. Just as Mexican American claims to land were immediately contested by squatters and newly arrived Anglo Americans (California instituted the Land Commission to survey and rule on Spanish and Mexican land grants as early as 1851), Mexicans’ claims to a privileged racial position in the American racial hierarchy as necessary to gain access to legal rights were equally suspect. Tomás Almaguer, Martha Menchaca, and others have studied the creation of “white Mexicans” in California who were granted the rights and privileges of U.S. citizens based on their claims to pure Spanish blood. “Non-white” Mexicans, on the other hand, struggled through the court systems in their respective states for legal rights. Included in these struggles was the right to marry. As Menchaca notes, the black/white binary was an overpowering lens for viewing all interracial marriages. If Mexicans were deemed to be black, then their marriages to whites were illegal.

Mexicans’ black ancestry was a subject for concern in the question of annexation because of the issue of incorporating black citizens in the U.S. Just as musematic repetition peppers a song with African American shouts, the original lyrics of “Old Dan Tucker” weave into the song’s new lyrics and create a chorus as they test the mettle of Mexican masculinity along lines of black male identity. In the original song, Dan Tucker is a foolish African slave whose “nose so flat, his face so full,/ De top ob his head like a bag ob wool.”⁴⁷ Fixating on Dan Tucker’s body, and its tell-tale racial markers, provides the racial undertones to a musical tune and lyrical background for soldiers to overlay lyrics about Mexico’s generals.

In the song, General Santa Anna is imagined in violent states of current and future dismemberment. He is figuratively castrated, “since Texas cut off [his] peg.” It was well known that General Santa Anna lost a “peg,” one of two prosthetic legs at the Battle of Cerro Gordo.⁴⁸ To this day, his leg remains a national spectacle, a site of American heartiness and triumph over the dandy Mexicans. Currently housed in the Illinois State Military Museum, General Santa Anna’s leg is a spoil of war and as such, cannot be returned to Mexico.⁴⁹ It did, however, tour during the World’s Fair of 1851. General Santa Anna’s extravagance, coded as a feminized unfitness for war, is related in the story of his lost leg—he was eating a lunch of roasted chicken when an infantry unit from Illinois surprised him and he was forced to make a hasty retreat without chicken or the leg—and in the popular song “The Yellow Rose of Texas,”⁵⁰ his other famous surprise during the Battle of San Jacinto, which also led to a hasty retreat, this time without his pants. In both instances, the songs create an image of Santa Anna as unfit for military service. General Santa Anna’s defeats at both battles are synecdoches for Mexico’s losses: Texas Independence in 1836 and

the annexation of the southwest territory in 1848. Further, his physical body and its well-noted shortcomings, his height⁵¹ as well as his prosthetic leg, index the inadequacies of Mexican soldiers and the Mexican government.

The threat of boiling General Ampudia's leg in his "own hot oil" retaliates against Mexican cruelty by supposedly mastering the sadistic art of decapitation, and mixing in just a dash of cannibalism. Texturing the song over "Old Dan Tucker" furthers the cannibalism reference, as the original song's chorus concludes, "You're too late to come to supper." The (black) legend behind this verse refers to Ampudia's order to decapitate a disobedient officer under his command in the Yucatán. This head was then boiled in oil (it is unclear if this action was taken at Ampudia's request or under the soldier's own initiative) and stuck on a pole as a warning to other insubordinate soldiers.⁵² In "Uncle Sam and Mexico," the U.S. Army brags of its ability to outdo the savagery of the Mexicans, which involves amputation, decapitation, cannibalism, and emasculation.

Unlike the "Yellow Rose of Texas" which indirectly addresses General Santa Anna's prowess as a lover, "Uncle Sam and Mexico" directly attacks his virility, with the line "dey'll catch salt-petre." Also known as potassium nitrate, saltpeter was reported to prevent erections, and legends abound that military food was dusted with saltpeter to limit the number of rapes committed during wars. In the song, saltpeter clearly enhances the emasculating overtone. Perhaps we should read the reference to cutting off Santa Anna's peg and "catching salt-petre" as direct reactions to his virility; he is emasculated precisely because his virility is inappropriate—he's sexual with a light-skinned African American woman.⁵³ In the case of Santa Anna, legends of his hyperbolic sexuality, and its aberrant, indeed pathological nature, cast doubt upon his masculinity altogether. Because of its "excessiveness," Santa Anna's sexual prowess is called into question and he is effectively castrated. Moreover, in reading these two songs alongside each other, coupled with a knowledge of the widespread practice of interracial marriage between Anglos and Mexicans, we recognize the nuanced and fluid nature of anti-miscegenation laws.⁵⁴

In Texas in the 1840s, the category of "white" was as much in flux as that of "Mexican." In the *Geography of Marriage*, lawyer William Snyder explicitly addresses how statutes regarding the legality of certain unions varied drastically from state to state. In Texas, Snyder notes, marriages were forbidden on the basis of incest, bigamy, and miscegenation. In the case of the latter category, miscegenation is defined exclusively as the marriage between "any person of European blood or their descendants" and "Africans or the descendants of Africans" who are also referred to as "a person of mixed blood descended from negro ancestry to the third generation inclusive."⁵⁵ However, what is much more striking and speaks directly to the issue of whiteness as a fluid category is the statement that follows: "all persons not included in the above definition of negro are *deemed in law white persons*."⁵⁶ Thus, the term "white" comes to signify exclusively "not negro." By opening up the category of white, ostensibly all

other races, like Mexican and American Indian, are eligible to legally claim the rights and privileges enjoyed by whites.⁵⁷

They Wait For Us—Spanish Brides

The Spanish maid, with eye of fire,
 At balmy evening turns her lyre
 And, looking to the Eastern sky,
 Awaits our Yankee chivalry
 Whose purer blood and valiant arms,
 Are fit to clasp her budding charms.
 The man, her mate, is sunk in sloth—
 To love, his senseless heart is loth:
 The pipe and glass and tinkling lute;
 A sofa, and a dish of fruit;
 A nap, some dozen times a day;
 Sombre and sad, and never gay.

Originally published in the Boston *Uncle Sam* on June 20, 1846, “They Wait For Us” appears among a handful of patriotic poems in McCarty’s compilation of *National Songs, Ballads, and Other Patriotic Poetry* and is unique for the absence of any language of war, mention of bravery, or reference to a particular battle or victory. And yet, this patriotic poem becomes the culmination of the work performed by the war songs: it quite deliberately effeminizes Mexican men as a means of sanctioning romance and marriage with Mexican women. The description of the “Spanish maid” is a far cry from the “tall-haired Indian gal” of the first song discussed; and this transformation should be read as a precursor to an international rather than interracial union.

“[H]er mate,” is described as the corruption of wealth—decadence. He is “loth” to love; we might imagine that his heart has become “senseless” from overindulgence in the lute, the pipe, the glass, the nap, and the dish of fruit. Not only does the laundry list of luxuries convey his decadence, but their elevation in value above the Spanish maid glosses the inappropriateness of his wealth and desires. He is effete. Historian Antonia Castañeda interprets this poem succinctly: “The meaning is clear—Mexicans cannot appreciate, love, direct, or control their women/country.”⁵⁸ In the absence of an attentive lover, the Spanish maid pines for “Yankee chivalry,” with “purer blood and valiant arms.” Clearly, the racialization cuts across gender and class lines; yet unlike Cecil Robinson’s argument, class status does not secure whiteness for the Mexican male.⁵⁹ He in fact is “senseless” from an inability to balance his various temptations, so much so that he has neglected his mate. This image of the dandy Mexican male is not, however, far removed from the reading of General Santa Anna.

This racialization of Mexican suitors arises from the preoccupation with arranged marriages, a Spanish custom among the aristocratic class, and a

profound desire to remove the land-grubbing character from Anglo colonists, gold diggers in their marriages to Mexican women. There exists, however, another aspect of the characterization of Mexican men that is not fully addressed in the criticism of Myers, Paredes, or Robinson—the Mexican dandy. Travel writers in the Southwest consistently remarked about the elaborate costuming of Mexican men, caballeros, and rancheros, and their stubborn sense of pride that was nearly always translated as arrogance.

It is in the figure of the Mexican dandy, who is likewise the rival suitor of Anglo soldiers in U.S.-Mexican War dime novels, that we witness the crossover between literature and war song.⁶⁰ Overly attentive to his dress, to the silver studs on his charro suit (and, I might add that we would not be aware of these sumptuary details were it not for writers like Dana and Susan Magoffin who painstakingly recorded them in their own travel narratives), the Mexican ranchero is routinely described in derisive terms as a dandy.⁶¹ This reading is, of course, shot through with the anxieties of the colonists not encountering their fantasy in the Southwest—a de-peopled frontier at best, or at worst, a hostile “savage” population that can be overcome easily. There was no literary precedent for writing about the original inhabitants of the Southwest; they had to be invented to secure the rights of Manifest Destiny that animated them. Not only were Anglo travelers like Susan Magoffin and Richard Henry Dana dismayed by the presence of three hundred years of Mexican, Spanish, and indigenous cultures, they were perhaps even further bewildered by the opulence of Spanish landowners. Thus, the figure of the Spanish dandy was formed. He was extremely arrogant, superficial, interested only in his appearance and in pleasure.⁶² Indeed, if we consider Leslie Fiedler’s thesis that the frontier was specifically characterized in literature as a male space created in the absence of women’s “civilizing forces,” then we can recognize the mechanism that emasculated the Spanish don.⁶³

The figure of Old Rough and Ready, which appears as the frontispiece of the *Rough and Ready Songster* (1848), embodies the United States. He is tall, confident, leaning a bit leisurely against a fence. In light of the above discussion of the emasculation of Spanish dons, we can recognize ironically how a U.S. military aesthetic of clean lines, and an almost European uniform, functions as the standard by which all subsequent figures will be judged. In direct contrast to his name, rough and ready, Zachary Taylor appears refined and relaxed. He takes pride in his appearance, but he does so through the masculine civilizing structure of the military; his leisurely pose stems from his confidence in inevitable U.S. victory rather than in the ennui that befalls pleasure-seekers such as the dandy.⁶⁴

Anxieties over the nation’s robustness—its strength as an international force invading Mexico, an ongoing inferiority complex with Britain, and the racial tensions of slavery and the slave question in the newly acquired southwest—in short, all of these anxieties about a nation that we know to have been on the verge of the Civil War are gendered as masculine and displaced onto the figure



Figure 2: Sketch of General Zachary Taylor, Old Rough and Ready, from the *Rough and Ready Songster*. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

of the Mexican male. It is not enough for Anglo soldiers to turn suitor and woo Mexican women, they must test their mettle on the battlefield as well. White male panic turns Mexican foes into one of two images: the fearsome, barbaric heathen represented by Generals Santa Anna and Ampudia, who rape women and order decapitations, and the effete dandy, also represented by General Santa Anna, whose moral character and fortitude have degenerated through overindulgence in luxuries. The rhetoric surrounding the U.S.-Mexican War, which manifested itself in contradictory attacks on the enemy's masculinity, reappeared over fifty years later in the Spanish-American War, targeting Spanish soldiers. In Kristin Hoganson's analysis of the gendered politics towards Spain that attended the Spanish-American War, she writes of the seemingly contradictory attacks on the enemy's masculinity: "Like the stereotypically savage Spaniards, the seemingly childlike and feminine Spaniards seemed to exemplify perverted gender roles."⁶⁵

Far from an exclusively male discourse, war songs borrow heavily from the feminine realm of sentimentality, which as Shirley Samuels argues, was a

“national project: in particular a project about imagining the nation’s bodies and the national body” (3). What better discourse to address the literal and metaphorical question of the post-1848 national body than sentimentality? After all, marriage as a domestic metaphor for annexation appears in two of the three texts, and in both cases, as in the dime novel plots, the unions are characterized by mutual feeling and are set in opposition to arranged marriages. But, as Gillian Silverman has demonstrated in “the paradox of sentimentalism,” this discourse of political egalitarianism can also reinforce racial and socio-economic hierarchies.⁶⁶

**“That the Indian race of Mexico must recede
before us is quite as certain as that that
is the destiny of our own Indians”**

Waddy Thompson, minister for the Whig administration in 1842, traveled to Mexico and wrote the above sentence in his *Recollections of Mexico*.⁶⁷ Although he opposed aggressive expansionism, Thompson imagines Mexico’s indigenous population mysteriously disappearing in a manner akin to James Fenimore Cooper’s vanishing race.⁶⁸ In *Home Fronts*, critic Lora Romero recognizes that much of the anxiety in the nineteenth century about racial difference, land entitlement, and miscegenation had earlier been grafted onto the bodies of American Indian characters who were depicted hurling themselves *en masse* headlong off of cliffs and other precipices.⁶⁹ As Romero argues, the top-heavy, suicidal American Indians conveniently rid the United States of themselves, voluntarily abandoning their former lands to the more hearty Americans for cultivation and further western expansion. Romero cleverly links the particular form of death—head long plunging—with the “anxiety over the decorporealization of power [that] compels the advice offered time and again in educational treatises in the early nineteenth century: more emphasis should be placed upon the cultivation of the juvenile body and less upon the development of the juvenile mind.”⁷⁰

The unhealthy (read dead) bodies of American Indians buttress Anglo American masculinity, which was dangerously undermined by the feminizing teachings of true women.⁷¹ Weak male subjectivity is displaced onto the bodies of American Indians and Mexicans, and Anglo American males (re)gain their physical and mental supremacy. The fantasy of a vanishing race, extended to include Mexico’s indigenous population, would erase the fear of miscegenation and other threats to the newly-created notion of Anglo Saxonism fashioned by expansionism. Here we witness how the dominating metaphor of home and nation can work against its intended purpose. The perpetual struggle of foreign and domestic is inadvertently continued by this act of U.S. imperialism, and the threat *to* the domestic becomes the threat *of* the domestic. In other words, the newly-acquired territory is at once feminized (as in the marriage of Miss Texas to Uncle Sam and the pining Spanish maid in the last poem) to shore up the

masculinity of an over-domesticated Anglo American male population; Mexican men are dandified to the same effect; Mexican women are deracialized and depicted as eager brides to Anglo suitors; but an overreliance on the domestic metaphor is not without cost.

Taken together, the war songs and patriotic poetry collected in the *Rough and Ready Songster* and *National Songs, Ballads, and Other Patriotic Poetry* simplify and mollify the fears of white masculinity and the sanctity of the national family romance surrounding the U.S.-Mexican War. They dress up annexation in wedding clothes and take Texas to the altar; they castrate or otherwise emasculate Mexican men through their obsession with Santa Anna's leg, and they oppose the effeteness of Mexican wealth—coded as male—with the body of Zachary Taylor, Old Rough and Ready. What results from these lyrics and poetry is a national discourse of Manifest Destiny that sugarcoats marriages of convenience, the disenfranchisement of landed Mexican families, and the gold-grubbing desires that animated the U.S.-Mexican War. As I have argued, the culmination of these documents of popular culture—war songs, patriotic poetry, and dime novel plots—converge over the issue of gold, specifically the gold discovered at Sutter's Mill soon after the U.S.-Mexican War. Taken together, these elements of mid-nineteenth-century popular culture work assiduously to justify gold digging of various kinds: interracial marriages intended to fatten up the pockets of Anglo settlers and a war that doubled the U.S. territory.

Notes

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1. *Rough and Ready Songster: Embellished with Twenty-five Splendid Engravings, Illustrative of the American Victory in Mexico* (St. Louis, Mo: Nafis and Cornish Publishers, 1848). Nafis and Cornish published other texts relevant to the U.S.-Mexican War: T.J. Farnham's *Life and Adventures in California with Travels in Oregon* (1849), *Life of Francis Marion, Brigadier General of the U.S. Army* (1847) and A.B. Lawrence's *A History of Texas* (1844). In terms of songbooks, Nafis and Cornish produced *Forget Me Not Songster* (1835) and *Nigger Melodies: Being the Only Entire and Complete Work of Ethiopian Songs Extant* (1850).

2. John O'Sullivan, editor of the *Democratic Review*, coined the phrase "manifest destiny" in 1845. He wrote of the United States' "manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." For more, see chapter one in Robert Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

3. As Reginald Horsman notes, phrenology and physiognomy were widely embraced theories imported from England at mid-century. Indeed, *The Phrenological Journal* had a high subscription rate, and appeared in middle-class homes. Linking the two "scientific" theories together is their mutual faith that unknown or potentially hidden qualities about a person, most central to this article are race and moral character, could be quantified, measured "scientifically" and rendered known and visible. The complex racial identities of Mexicans confounded phrenologists and physiognomists. Soldiers singing lyrics and viewing sketches from *The Rough and Ready Songster* would certainly be versed in these "scientific" methods for reading a body. For more, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

4. Homi K. Bhaba quotes Jacques Derrida in explaining the doubleness that appears in writers about modern nations. For a nation like the United States, "the future (present) and the

past (present) [are] a present of which the past and the future would be but modification" (293). National historical time, then, travels in both directions (past and future) simultaneously and, its mutually constitutive movements in seemingly opposite directions, is thus described as "double time." For more on this concept, see Homi K. Bhaba, "DiseminNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation & Narration* (New York: Routledge, 1990: 291-322).

5. See Paredes' "The Image of the Mexican in American Literature," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1973.

6. Take, for example, the first U.S. text about Northern Mexico, Zebulon Pike's 1810 *Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1925 reprint) in which he champions the democratization of Mexico as a government equal to the United States. Far from espousing the expansionist beliefs that led to the War, Pike inspired other writers to view Mexico's independence from Spain as a revolutionary event on par with the American Revolution. For more, see Lyon Rathbun, "Champions of Mexico in Antebellum America," *Journal of Popular Culture* 35 (Winter 2001): 17-23.

7. Michael Rogin, *Subversive Genealogy: The Politics and Art of Herman Melville* (New York: Knopf, 1983). For more on the ability of popular cultural production, specifically minstrelsy, to mediate class, regional, and racial tensions, see Eric Lott's classic *Love and Theft: Black Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), especially chapter 7. For more on the paradoxical nature of sentimental fiction, see Gillian Silverman's "Sympathy and its Vicissitudes," *American Studies* 43 (Fall 2002): 5-28.

8. Lott, *Love and Theft*, 169.

9. See the Naturalization Act of 1790, Chapt. 3, Section 1; Naturalization Act of 1795, Chap. 20, Stat. 2, Sec. 1. For more on Mexican residents' declarations of whiteness to receive citizenship rights, see Fernando Padilla, "Early Chicano Legal Recognition in 1846-1897," *Journal of Popular Culture* 13.3 (1979): 564-74.

10. The war doubled the U.S. territory by taking one-third of Mexico.

11. As early as 1778, John Adams asserted that the "foundation of national morality must be laid in private families" *Diary of John Adams*, ed. L.H. Butterfield et al., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 4.

12. This line, "An' then annex 'em too, gal," does not appear in *The Rough and Ready Songster*, but is in William McCarty's collection, *National Songs, Ballads, and Other Patriotic Poetry Chiefly Relating to the War of 1846* (Philadelphia: William McCarty, 1846), 101.

13. For more on literary romances doing the political work of reconciliation after wars, see Shirley Samuels, *Romances of the Republic: Women, Family, and Violence in the Literature of the Early American Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), which addresses the literature of the American Revolution, and Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), which examines Latin American literature.

14. Although we might associate Johnny Cake (cornbread or corn pone) with the South generally and as a staple of an African American diet in particular, Johnny Cake appeared on tables throughout the United States until wheat became more common. Indeed, as Pamela Goyan Kittler and Kathryn P. Sucher, mention in *Cultural Foods: Traditions and Trends* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning, 2000), Rhode Island's legislature ruled during World War II on the state's spelling of the food, Jonnycake, and on its central ingredient, "finely ground whitecap flint corn", 402.

15. One such proponent of the "All Mexico" campaign was Jane McManus Storms Cazneau, who wrote for the *New York Sun* and functioned as a spy and potential peace broker while traveling to Mexico in the middle of the War. For more on Storms, see Linda Hudson, *Mistress of Manifest Destiny* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2001).

16. Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 42.

17. See Andrea Tinnemeyer, "Enlightenment Ideology and the Crisis of Whiteness in *Francis Berrian and Caballero*," *Western American Literature* 35 (Spring 2002).

18. See Stephen John Hartnett *Democratic Dissent and the Cultural Fictions of Antebellum America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002) for a thoughtful analysis of how the threat of Britain making a colony or a politico-economic ally of/with Texas spurred debates about U.S. annexation. As Thomas Walker Gilmer's editorial in the *Baltimore Republican and Argus* stated quite plainly, "England, whose possessions and jurisdiction extend over so large a portion of the globe, whose influence is felt everywhere, will either possess or control Texas, if it does not come under the jurisdiction of the United States" (reported in Hartnett 112).

19. Reginald Horsman *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 238.

20. *Ibid.*, 238.

21. Sam Houston said in 1848, "The Mexicans are no better than Indians and I see no reason why we should not go in the same course now, and take their land" (reported in Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* 243).

22. Article VIII of the Treaty states: "Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States."

23. The history between race and the enlightenment principle of natural rights traces its origins in the United States with the revolutionary thinkers' use of the slavery metaphor. As Peter Dorsey argues in "To 'Corroborate Our Own Claims': Public Positioning and the Slavery Metaphor in Revolutionary America," use of this metaphor "destabilized previously accepted categories of thought about politics, race, and the early republic" and became the basis for African Americans who petitioned for their freedom (355, 367). *American Quarterly* 55 (September 2003): 353-86

24. As Henry May illustrates in *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), there were four categories of the Enlightenment (moderate, skeptical, revolutionary, and didactic) that occurred chronologically. My point here is more general: the nation fashioned the principles commonly associated with the Enlightenment as their banner for invading Mexico. The American Revolution thus became a usable past for the U.S.-Mexican War.

25. This group included José Francisco Madero and his surveyor, José María Carbajal, who were imprisoned by Colonel Juan Davis Bradburn. Mary Austin Holley, *Texas: Observations, Historical, Geographical, and Descriptive* (Austin: The Overland Press [1836] 1981).

26. Holley, *Texas*, 72. As David Weber notes in *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982) the pledge to the Constitution of 1824 was disingenuous as it was no longer in force, 245.

27. Holley, *Texas*, 75.

28. See Homi K. Bhabha's *Nation and Narration*. As a testament to the mutually reinforcing notions of sentimental literature and nation-building, *Godey's Lady's Book* carried an entire series, "Women of the Revolution," highlighting the heroic women of the American Revolution during the years of the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-1848).

29. In Harry Halyard's dime novel, *Heroine of Tampico, or Wildfire, the Wanderer* (Boston: Gleason, 1848), Wildfire compares Texas' independence with the American Revolution: "the United States were once English colonies. They fought for and gained their independence, and so did the Texans. Mexico therefore having acknowledged the independence of Texas, of course the latter State had an undoubted right to annex itself to the Ethiopians, if they had a mind to received such annexation" (55).

30. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas*.

31. Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70 (September 1998): 581-606, 583.

32. According to Dena J. Epstein, by 1860, there were at least 65 music publishing firms, ed. *Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works, 1870* (New York: Da Capo, 1973), 171. For more on the technoculture of nineteenth-century popular music, see Leslie C. Gay's "Before the Deluge: the Technoculture of Song-Sheet Publishing Viewed From Late Nineteenth-Century Galveston" *American Music* 17 (Winter 1999): 396-421.

33. Stephen J. Hartnett and Robert J. Branham, *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and Democracy in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 131.

34. Robert James Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and Democracy in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Branham discusses the North's and the South's use of "Dixie" during the Civil War, as well as the adaption of "God Save the Queen" to American revolutionary sentiment voiced in "Come, Thou Almighty King".

35. The very titles of some of the dime novels bear witness to the formulaic stitching of foreign and domestic through warfronts and homefronts: Harry Hazel, *Inez, the Beautiful; or, Love on the Rio Grande* (Boston: Harry Hazel, 1846); and Robert Greeley, *Arthur Woodleigh: A Romance of the Battle Field in Mexico* (New York: William B. Smith and Co., 1847).

36. Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmet and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 175.

37. Hans Nathan writes that "at the time [Old Dan Tucker] was said to have been sung, perhaps oftener, than any melody ever written" (*Ibid.*, 179).

38. In *Sweet Freedom's Song*, Robert Branham and Stephen Hartnett trace the ironic history of "Dixie," which by 1861 "had become the Confederate battle hymn and national anthem." Branham continues: "Yet in a deliciously ironic twist indicative of the blurred lines of association and allegiance of both the period and popular music in general, the song was composed by an African American and popularized by Dan Emmett, the son of an Ohio abolitionist" (129-30).

39. Lott, *Love and Theft*, 203.

40. As historian David Montejano notes in *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), "Intermarriages, which had been common from 1835 to 1880 throughout the region, gradually declined. Distinctions between Mexican and Anglo were drawn in sharp racial terms: the train's passenger car, according to one passenger, was 'equally divided, 'For Whites' and 'For Negroes'—which in the south-west of Texas reads 'Mexicans'" (92).

41. In *Letter on the Annexation of Texas*, Robert Walker focuses on Mexican's affinity with African slaves. For Walker, the Mexican question was the slave question, and he believed the inclusion of Texas into the United States would relieve the slavery issue by drawing free blacks, escaped slaves, and slaves into Mexican territory and outside of the United States. In this manner, Walker applies the same "logic" of those who imagined American Indians willingly removing themselves from contested territory. For more on Walker's letter, see Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny* and Stephen Hartnett's *Democratic Dissent*. See the Wilmot Proviso (1846) for an example of the connection between the U.S.-Mexican War and the Civil War.

42. Slavery became an issue in Mexico's reaction to Manifest Destiny doctrine. Since Mexico had abolished slavery in 1821, "Mexicans could portray themselves as morally superior to Anglo Americans proclaiming the extension of human liberty while actually seeking to spread the institution of slavery" (46). See María del Rosario Rodríguez Díaz, "Mexico's Vision of Manifest Destiny During the War of 1847" *Journal of Popular Culture* 35 (Winter 2001): 41-50.

43. Menchaca, Martha, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), esp. chapters 1, 2, 8, and 9.

44. Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race*, 41-8.

45. See Raymund Paredes' unpublished dissertation, David Montejano's *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, and chpts. 11 and 12 of Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny*.

46. Rebecca McDowell Craver, "The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-American Inter-marriage in New Mexico, 1821-1846," *Southwestern Studies* 66 (1982): 1-79.

47. For alternate lyrics of "Old Dan Tucker," see Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy*.

48. As reported on the website for the Illinois State Military Museum, General Antonio López de Santa Anna paid Charles Bartlett, a former cabinetmaker, \$1,300 for two cork legs covered in leather. General Santa Anna's actual leg had been shot during the 1838 war between Mexico and France, known as the Pastry War.

49. I am grateful to Jesse Alemán for making me aware of the whereabouts of one of General Santa Anna's prosthetic legs.

50. For more on Emily Morgan West, the "Maid of Morgan's Point," see Claud Garner, *Sam Houston: Texas Giant* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1969) and Francis Edward Abernethy, *Singin' Texas* (Dallas: E-Heart Press, 1983).

51. General Santa Anna was known as a Mexican version of Napoleon.

52. As Peter Linebaugh argues in *The Many-Headed Hydra* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), "capital punishment embodied the ultimate, spectacular power of the regime of terror" (50). He continues, "in all its forms, terror was designed to shatter the human spirit" (53).

53. It is the legend of the Yellow Rose rather than the song lyrics per se that address the interracial escapade. In his 1915 silent film, *Martyrs of the Alamo*, Christy Cabanne, protégée of D.W. Griffith, describes Santa Anna as a drug fiend fond of wild orgies. Cabanne emphasizes Santa Anna's unnatural sexual prowess by placing in his tent not one but four women who distract him during the Battle of San Jacinto.

54. For more on interracial marriages between Mexicans and Anglo Americans, see William R. Swagerty, "Marriage and Settlement Patterns of Rocky Mountain Trappers and Traders," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 11 (April 1980): 168-9; Rebecca McDowell Craver, "The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-Anglo Inter-marriage in New Mexico, 1821-1846"; Antonia Castañeda *Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770-1821*; Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

55. Snyder, William, *Geography of Marriage, or Legal Perplexities of Wedlock in the United States*. (New York: Putnam and Sons, 1889), 304.

56. *Ibid.*, 304, emphasis mine.

57. What critic Kathleen De Grave has described as "a famous case of passing that is pretty well documented," bears out the living truth of this racial binary in mid-to late-nineteenth century Texas. Lucy and Albert Parsons, who married in 1872, "evaded the Texas laws banning miscegenation by creating fictional parents" for Lucy (102). Because she could not reveal her racial identity as an escaped plantation slave, she concocted the story that she was "the child of John Waller, a Native American, and Marie del Gather, a Mexican woman" (102). See *Swindler, Spy, Rebel: The Confidence Woman in Nineteenth-Century America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995).

58. Castañeda argues that the early writings of Hubert Howe Bancroft and Theodore H. Hittell, specifically *California Pastoral* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888) and *The History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-90) respectively, were responsible for promoting stereotypes of Mexican women that "have been propagated not only by other nineteenth- and twentieth-century popularizers but also by scholars" (144). For more on Castañeda's analysis of nineteenth-century characterizations of Mexicanas, see "Gender, Race,

and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California,” in *Chicana Leadership* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 149.

59. In *With the Ears of Strangers* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963), Cecil Robinson writes that class heavily influences racialization: “While the ordinary Mexican encountered every day in the border country was treated with unremitting scorn, the aristocratic owners of the large haciendas in the interior of Mexico were objects of interest and curiosity to the writers of the dime novels, who treated them with a combination of hostility and respect” (26).

60. As I’ve written elsewhere, the conventional plot for U.S.-Mexican War dime novels ended in a wedding between a Mexican bride and an Anglo American soldier turned suitor. The War itself becomes a larger, national struggle that appears in the texts in microcosmic form with rival suitors, Anglo American officer and Mexican officer, meeting on the battlefield. The Mexican officer is consummately dressed as a dandy, and is ineffectual or else treacherous on the battlefield. For specific texts in which this plotline appears, see *The Volunteer, or The Maid of Monterrey; Inez, the Beautiful*; and *Arthur Woodleigh: A Romance of the Battle Field in Mexico*.

61. See Richard Henry Dana’s description of attending a wedding in California in *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1840) as a typical reading of the costuming of Mexican rancheros and hacendados. See Susan Magoffin’s *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

62. David Weber attributes the Black Legend to Anglo Americans’ view of Spaniards as “unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, and indolent” (336). *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

63. Leslie A. Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (New York: Criterion Books, 1960), esp. chpt. 7.

64. In *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), Kristin Hoganson attributes the bellicose spirit that led to the Spanish-American War to “Darwinian anxieties” that the nation, middle-class masculinity in particular, was degenerating. “[Jingoists] viewed war as an opportunity to build the fighting virtues that allegedly were being undermined by industrial comforts” (12). Leisure depicted in the sketch of Taylor signified arrogance and the assurance of manifest destiny at mid-century, but degeneracy and decline at the century’s end.

65. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 50.

66. Silverman, “Sympathy and its Vicissitudes.”

67. Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846).

68. Mexican newspaper *Siglo XIX* recognized this very connection between the imagined fates of American Indians and Mexicans, declaring that the Hispanic race would be extinguished in the same vein (Oct. 29, 1848), reported in Rodríguez Díaz’s “Mexico’s Visions of Manifest Destiny During the War of 1847,” 46.

69. Romero looks at James Fenimore Cooper’s extremely popular *Last of the Mohicans* in *Home Fronts: Nineteenth-Century Domesticity and its Critics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

70. Romero, *Home Fronts*, 46.

71. Catherine Beecher worried specifically about the unhealthy look of young American lads in comparison with the noble physique of untamed Native Americans. She wrote in support of modeling the U.S. educational system on the Greeks; physical as well as mental strength should be taught to create a well-balanced, well-proportioned citizen who was not prone to the top-heaviness of progenies (reported in Romero, *Home Fronts*). Also see Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977).