

NINE · Laura Pulido

Erasing Empire: Remembering the Mexican-American War in Los Angeles

To the brave men and women [who] with trust in God faced privation and death in extending the frontiers of our country to include this land of promise.

—INSCRIPTION, FORT MOORE PIONEER MEMORIAL, 1957

The title of a recent book, *How to Hide an Empire*, invites us to explore the historical geography of the United States, its national identity, and how we map the past.¹ Besides framing the United States as an empire, the title implies ongoing attempts to obscure such processes. Scholarly efforts to rethink the past and present were energized in 2020 when activists began removing statues honoring colonizers and white supremacists en masse.² The topplings sparked a vibrant public discussion: How do we understand the United States as a country that began as a business venture and replaced Indigenous peoples by any means necessary? What does it mean that the United States conquered hundreds of nations but disavows an imperialist identity? What is the significance of centuries of racial slavery and our refusal to grapple with its ballast? In this moment, cultural memory and the history of racial capitalism merged.

This essay explores the cultural memory associated with the Mexican-American War as one chapter in the history of racial capitalism. Imperialism is fundamental to US capitalism and history but is rarely acknowledged. The United States has largely eschewed an imperialist identity in order to distinguish itself from European modes of empire. Instead, it has crafted an identity as a nation of immigrants in order to avoid having to contend

1 devaluation or pathologization of non-Anglo-European land and prop-
2 erty relations that form the driving rationale for territorial aggression
3 and cycles of accumulation fueled by expansive and ongoing forms of
4 dispossession.”⁸

5 Given its history as a settler empire, the United States, like all nations,
6 forged a national identity and narrative that justify its actions. Thus, we
7 celebrate pioneers, pilgrims, and plantations while “forgetting” the social
8 relations that initially produced them. Forgetting, of course, is a form of
9 remembering, one that is central to hiding an empire.⁹ In this essay I ex-
10 amine how historical sites commemorating the Mexican-American War
11 (1846–1848) in Los Angeles County erase empire while affirming US in-
12 nocence and benevolence.

13 14 15 **The Mexican-American War and Imperialism**

16
17 In the United States, outside of Chicana/o/x studies, the Mexican-
18 American War is a “forgotten war.”¹⁰ Propelled by manifest destiny in the
19 1840s, the United States offered to purchase land from Mexico. Mexico re-
20 fused. Unable to accept “no,” President Polk sent troops into disputed terri-
21 tory, knowing it would provoke a response from Mexico. The United States
22 subsequently invaded Mexico, won every major battle, and acquired over
23 half a million square miles. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed
24 in 1848, and the United States paid Mexico \$15 million to compensate it for
25 the loss of half its territory.

26 The war was divisive precisely because it was imperialist and racist.¹¹
27 More than fifty thousand men volunteered, greatly outnumbering regular
28 militia. Support in the South was strong because the planter class hoped
29 to expand slavery, but there was opposition in the Northeast. Many public
30 intellectuals considered it a racist, imperialist landgrab and believed that
31 its justification was manufactured. Indeed, Thoreau wrote *Civil Disobedi-*
32 *ence* in response to the war. Even some proponents of manifest destiny
33 opposed it because of the “undesirable” character of Mexicans: “Annexa-
34 tion of the country to the United States would be a calamity. Five million
35 ignorant and indolent half-civilized Indians, with 1,500,000 free negroes
36 and mulattoes. . . .”¹² Despite such sentiments, presidents Polk and Tyler
37 understood that the majority of the United States supported western ex-
38 pansion, so they pursued the war.

1 A third contribution of the war to racial capitalism was the consolida-
2 tion of the Anglo-Saxon race.¹⁸ Reginald Horsman argues that prior to
3 the war, whites were more fragmented in the racial hierarchy. The war was
4 pivotal in uniting whites as Anglo-Saxons in opposition to Mexicans, In-
5 digenous peoples, and African Americans. Because the United States was
6 a consciously white nation until World War II,¹⁹ conquering nonwhite
7 peoples posed a problem: how do such peoples fit into a white nation?

8 Although the United States wanted Mexican territory, it did not want
9 its people. Indeed, the war racialized Mexicans and, by extension, other
10 Latina/o/x peoples. The popular press supported the war, and magazines
11 and newspapers portrayed Mexicans as racial mongrels, greasers, dirty, and
12 morally unfit for independence.²⁰ Such attitudes helped justify conquest
13 under the guise of “uplifting” Mexico. Consequently, the United States
14 debated what portion(s) of Mexico to take based on its population. One
15 option was a complete takeover, but this was rejected because of Mexicans’
16 “undesirability.” In the end, the United States took half of Mexico’s terri-
17 tory but only 1 percent of its population.

18 The treaty and annexation altered the racial formation of the United
19 States in profound ways.²¹ Concerned for its people in the newly con-
20 quered territory, Mexico negotiated various protections, including land,
21 religious, and citizenship rights, as well as legal whiteness. Knowing the
22 United States was a white supremacist country, Mexico sought to safe-
23 guard ethnic Mexicans by having them declared legally white. Although it
24 is understandable why Mexico would insist on whiteness, it’s important to
25 realize that Mexico, as a former Spanish colony, was itself a white supra-
26acist country with a long history of anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity.²²
27 The treaty actually marked the intersection of two distinct but overlap-
28 ping white supremacist racial formations. Consequently, declaring Mexi-
29 cans to be white did offer some protections, but it also reproduced white
30 supremacy. Laura Gómez has argued that conferring whiteness on Mexi-
31 cans created a potential “wedge” population, with deep implications for
32 Indigenous nations and African Americans.²³ Nevertheless, the veneer of
33 whiteness afforded only limited rights, including partial citizenship in Ari-
34 zona and New Mexico. Indeed, both states were denied statehood for years
35 because of their large Indigenous and Mexican populations.

36 In short, white supremacy was integral to the Mexican-American War,
37 including its formulation, execution, justification, and treaty negotiations.
38 Likewise, the war played a profound role in the development of US and
39 global capitalism.

1 Transition narratives are key to the US cultural memory of the Mexican-
2 American War. These are discourses that explain shifts in racial property
3 regimes. As Laura Barraclough writes, “Transition narratives reframe the
4 experience of conquest in a way that recuperates the legitimacy of the col-
5 onizing force and its social and cultural precepts, thus securing hegemonic
6 rule in conquered territories through appeals to a shared heritage.”²⁹ The
7 effectiveness of transition narratives is evident in their hegemonic nature:
8 we are largely oblivious to them. Taken as a whole, historical markers over-
9 whelmingly reflect hegemonic narratives that affirm white innocence.

12 Narrating the Mexican-American War in Five Scenes

14 Although the Mexican-American War covered a vast area, the fighting was
15 concentrated in several places, including Matamoras, Mexico City, Vera-
16 cruz, and what is now Arizona, Texas, and California. Los Angeles played
17 a crucial role. Not only was the last battle fought there, but Mexico surren-
18 dered and the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were negotiated
19 there. Consequently, one might expect to see numerous monuments and
20 markers commemorating the war. There is a total of five.³⁰ However, more
21 important than the number is how the war is represented.

22 The sites employ three strategies to erase empire. First, sites focused
23 on the military dimensions of the war are devoid of any social context.
24 Second, the violence of the war is largely evacuated, including widespread
25 violence against Mexican civilians. Third, the ethical dimensions of the war, in-
26 cluding its fabricated rationale, the attack on Mexican sovereignty, and its im-
27 perialist nature, are never mentioned. Rather, the ethical superiority of the
28 United States is highlighted because it compensated Mexico \$15,000,000 for
29 the loss of land (i.e., good works). The US desire for continental dominance
30 is portrayed as inevitable and unproblematic, whereas the racialized nature
31 of the war is unspoken. Instead, the cumulative narrative is one of manifest
32 destiny, in which expansion, US military prowess, and Anglo-American cul-
33 ture are valorized and conquest is inevitable and beneficial to all.

35 BATTLEFIELDS

37 I begin with two battlefields. However, I first wish to reflect momentarily
38 on the memorialization of battlefields themselves. Although such places are
39 obviously fundamental to any war, the Mexican-American War included

1 It is only because the riverbed is part of the region's flood-control system
2 that it still exists intact.

3 Both the narration and design of the site foreground military dimen-
4 sions of the war. The plaque reads: "Near this site on January 8, 1847 was
5 fought the Battle of the Rio San Gabriel. Between American forces com-
6 manded by Capt. Robert Stockton, US Navy Commander-in-chief, Brig.
7 Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, US Army, and Californians commanded by
8 General Jose Maria Flores." There is no context for the war, why the two
9 countries were fighting, or even the outcome of the battle. For those not
10 familiar with California history, there are no clues as to what happened and
11 why. Given the careful curation of the site and its durable features, we must
12 assume that the erasure of empire was also deliberate.

13 The next site is La Mesa Battlefield. Located in an old industrial sec-
14 tion of Vernon, several miles south of downtown, it sits on a north/south
15 railroad easement, enabling one to glimpse the vastness of the Los Angeles
16 plain (see figure 9.2). In 1847 Mexico mounted its last battle of the war, the
17 Battle of Los Angeles, from here. Mexican soldiers marched into Los An-
18 geles proper and were outgunned by US forces. This defeat was the basis
19 for their eventual surrender. The marker consists of a tall pole, which likely
20 once flew a flag, and a plaque at its base, which has been vandalized. In ad-
21 dition to the abandoned condition of the site, its location is problematic:
22 there is no precise address. I had to park at the closest intersection and
23 search for it on foot. It is impossible to know what transpired at the site
24 without previous knowledge.

25 Because of the marker's location and defacement, Vernon built a new
26 marker at its city hall in 2018. The plaque reads: "During the United States
27 Occupation of California in the Mexican-American War, La Mesa served
28 as a campsite for the Californio forces under General Castro in the sum-
29 mer of 1846. The last military encounter of the California front was fought
30 here on January 9, 1847. Also known as the battle of Los Angeles." Once
31 again, the text addresses only the military dimensions of the battle. Despite
32 Vernon's replacement marker, the abandonment of the original marker
33 suggests a general disregard for the memory of the war.

34 FORT MOORE PIONEER MEMORIAL

35
36
37 Fort Moore is not an officially recognized site but a public art installa-
38 tion. The memorial is a bas-relief honoring the raising of the US flag and
39 is dedicated to the US soldiers who fought in the war (see figure 9.3).

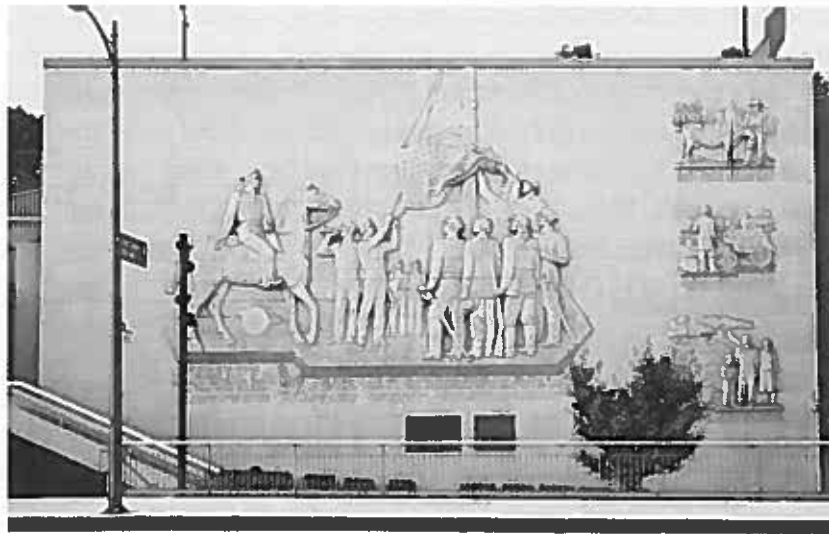


FIGURE 9.3. Fort Moore Pioneer Memorial, Los Angeles. Photograph by Audrey Mandelbaum.

The monument valorizes US conquest, culture, and history. The primary image, the soldiers raising the flag, reads, "On this site stood Fort Moore built by the Mormon Battalion during the War with Mexico. This Memorial honors the troops who helped to win the Southwest. The flag of the United States was raised here on July 4, 1847 by United States Troops at the first Independence Day celebration in Los Angeles." Flag raising, of course, is one of the most iconographic symbols of conquest.

Adjacent to the flag-raising scene are three smaller images. First is a quasi-bucolic scene of a pioneer with a cow, covered wagon, house, and trees. The caption: "On ranchos where herds of cattle ranged pioneers built homes and planted vineyards and orange groves." Because cattle are associated with the Mexican era and oranges are distinctly American, the sequencing illustrates Bhandar's ideology of improvement.³³ Anglo settlers believed that Mexicans were lazy, cattle ranching was unproductive, and irrigated agriculture was an improvement.

The next two images highlight technology and overcoming nature. The transportation scene features a white settler, a stagecoach, and a railroad. As the text notes, "The Prairie Schooner stage and iron horse brought many settlers who made Los Angeles a city." Because settler colonization is about replacing Native population(s), how they arrived is deemed

1 Mormons are mentioned. This is yet another way of “forgetting” the fact
2 that other peoples had lived in the region for centuries. Also significant is
3 the West’s depiction as isolated, which reflects an imperialist perspective.
4 Presumably, isolation was not a problem for Native peoples. Indeed, they
5 probably longed for the “isolation” of the pre-Hispanic era.

6 Fort Moore performs significant ideological work. First, it uncritically
7 celebrates territorial conquest. The true motives for the war are never men-
8 tioned, but are implicitly referenced, as “extending the frontiers of this
9 country.” This indicates a powerful sense of entitlement and righteousness.
10 Not only did the United States feel entitled to this land, but its expansion
11 is seen as an unquestioned good. Neither Native peoples nor Mexicans are
12 mentioned, so presumably the memorial is speaking to white settlers—the
13 central subjects of the US nation. Once again, “the performance of good
14 works” is essential to the transition narrative and settler fantasies.³⁷ Sec-
15 ond, the memorial ignores previous peoples, both Indigenous and Mexi-
16 can, and posits US actors as the only ones with agency. Anglo-Americans
17 supposedly built Los Angeles, despite the fact that the Spanish conquered
18 the area in 1771 and the Tongva had lived in the region at least five thou-
19 sand years prior to that. This is especially egregious when one considers
20 the importance of water to the region and the profound knowledge and
21 labor invested by Spanish, Mexican, and Indigenous peoples in harnessing
22 water. Dismissing previous water infrastructure and technology not only
23 erases previous civilizations but also reinscribes Anglo-Americans as the
24 sole bearers of technological progress.

25 26 27 NEGOTIATING PEACE

28 The final two sites represent the conclusion of the war: the Catalina Ver-
29 dugo Adobe and Campo de Cahuenga. They center negotiations, the
30 treaty, and troop withdrawal, all of which are equated with peace. Mexican
31 and US representatives negotiated elements of the Treaty of Guadalupe
32 Hidalgo at the Catalina Adobe in Glendale. Supposedly, the representa-
33 tives sat underneath a massive oak tree (roble de paz, or peace tree) and
34 conducted their work. The site has been converted into a bucolic, lush 1.3-
35 acre park that offers picnic spaces and an inviting place to visit. The site’s
36 buildings and landscaping are carefully tended and evoke the “Spanish
37 fantasy” myth.

38 Coined by Carey McWilliams, the myth refers to Anglo-Americans’ ef-
39 forts, beginning in the late nineteenth century, to portray the Mexican and



FIGURE 9.4. Catalina Verdugo adobe (CHL 637, CA Parlor 247). Photograph by Audrey Mandelbaum.

Stagecoach Stations in California. Finally, it has played an important role in American history, having served as a Union fortress and garrison during the American Civil War, giving it a significant place in the history of the great American struggle to become a United States of America. Indeed, the Campo is one of the most historic sites in America.

Such an uncritical celebration of manifest destiny signals an earlier era of historical preservation and the work of amateur docents. Certainly, a professional contemporary team would offer a more balanced view. But it is precisely the site's community-based nature that reveals its hegemonic nature. In fact, the majority of historical sites are developed and managed by amateurs. It is only the largest and most significant sites, such as Monticello, or those managed by the National Park Service, that employ professional staff and are more inclusive.

Campo de Cahuenga is known as the site of Mexico's "capitulation," which is an obscure word meaning "surrender," and ostensibly used in order to avoid having to reference an actual war. The site features a series of large panels that explain why the United States entered the war and explaining the outcome. As such, it is the only historical site that narrates in detail why the war occurred. It is steeped in manifest destiny. For instance,

1 least one bilingual brochure. However, it was not commensurate with the
2 English one. The English version referenced the "American Acquisition
3 Period," while the Spanish version called it, "El perío/oodo de la Con-
4 quista Norteamericana" (the period of North American conquest). The
5 Spanish version foregrounds power and domination, through *conquista*,
6 whereas the English version employs the neutral *acquisition*.

→ SP. periodo

7 But the real place where Mexican/Chicana/o/x and Indigenous voices
8 can be seen is at the Metropolitan Transit Authority train stop. Universal
9 Studios is on the Red Line, a rail line running from downtown Los Ange-
10 les to North Hollywood. The train station is below ground and, like most
11 stops, features public art. The installation is called *Tree of Califas*, by artist
12 Margaret García and architect Kate Diamond (see figure 9.5).⁴¹ The project
13 features four massive pillars telling the history of the region and spec-
14 ifically the war. The story is told chronologically through brightly painted
15 ceramic tiles on each pillar from Indigenous and Mexican viewpoints. The
16 first pillar is devoted to Spanish conquest, Indigenous people, the mission
17 system, and Mexico. There are some rustic scenes, but García shows the
18 enslavement of Indigenous peoples, indicating their coercion and oppres-
19
20



can caption include text?

FIGURE 9.5. *Tree of Califas*. Source: Author photograph.

NOTES

Research for this essay was made possible by a Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship.

1. Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire*.
2. "Monuments and Memorials Removed."
3. On denying empire, see Jacobson, "Where We Stand"; Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*; Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire*; Williams, *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*; and Karuka, *Empire's Tracks*.
4. Recent analyses of US empire include Frymer, *Building an American Empire*; Ran, *Two Faces of American Freedom*; Saler, *Settlers' Empire*; Patnaik and Patnaik, *Capital and Imperialism*; and Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*.
5. Against equating white supremacy and colonization, see Byrd, *Transit of Empire*.
6. Cacho, "Racialized Hauntings."
7. Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism*; Patnaik and Patnaik, *Capitalism and Imperialism*.
8. Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 7; Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*.; see also Launius and Boyce, "More Than Metaphor," 168; On contracted conceptions of capitalism, see Singh, "Race, Violence"; and Glassman, "Primitive Accumulation." Regarding slavery, see Baptist, *Half Has Never Been Told*.
9. Sturken, *Tangled Memories*. *The*
10. Van Wagenen, *Remembering the Forgotten War*. The war and its aftermath were central to early Chicana studies: Acuña, *Occupied America*; Griswold del Castillo, *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*; Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest*; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*; De Leon, *They Called Them Greasers*; Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*; Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*; Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*; Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*. Subsequent work highlighted gender and interracial formations: Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines*; Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest*; Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics"; Benavides, "Californios! Whom Do You Support?"; González, *Refusing the Favor*.
11. On regional and class tensions, see Streeby, "American Sensations."
12. Streeby, "American Sensations," 4.
13. Quoted in Frymer, *Building an American Empire*, 149.
14. Port of Los Angeles. "By the Numbers." *add chpt?*
15. Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*; Wilm, *Settlers as Conquerors*.
16. Streeby, "American Sensations"; Grandin, *End of the Myth*; Ostler, *Surviving Genocide*.
17. Burrough, Tomlinson and Stanford, *Forget the Alamo*. Mexico also invited US settlers to move to Tejas in 1821 to help dispossess Native peoples.

- 1 41. Metropolitan Transit Authority, "Tree of Califas."
 2 42. The Monument Lab, National Monument Audit.
 3 43. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading."
 4

5
6 **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- 7
8 ✓ Acuña, Rodolfo. *Occupied America*. New York: Harper Collins, 1972.
 9 ✓ Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Faultlines*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
 10 ✓ Baptist, Edward. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American*
 11 *Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.
 12 ✓ Barraclough, Laura. *Making the San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscapes, Urban*
 13 *Development, and White Privilege*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.
 14 ✓ Barrera, Mario. *Race and Class in the Southwest*. Notre Dame, IN: University of
 15 Notre Dame Press, 1979.
 16 ✓ Benavides, José Luis. "'Californios! Whom Do You Support?' *El Clamor Público's*
 17 *Contradictory Role in the Racial Formation Process in Early California.*
 18 *California History* 84 no. 2 (2006): 54–73.
 19 ✓ Bhandar, Brenna. *Colonial Lives of Property*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018.
 20 ✓ Brown, Jason. "The Fortifications and Catacombs of the Conquests of Los
 21 Angeles." In *Latitudes: An Angelenos' Atlas*, edited by Patricia Wakida, 73–84.
 22 Berkeley, CA: Heyday.
 23 ✓ Burrough, Bryan, Chris Tomlinson, and Jason Stanford. *Forget the Alamo: The Rise*
 24 *and Fall of an American Myth*. New York: Penguin Press, 2021.
 25 ✓ Byrd, Jodi. *The Transit of Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
 26 ✓ Cacho, Lisa. "Racialized Hauntings of the Devalued Dead." In *Strange Affinities:*
 27 *The Sexual and Gender Politics of Comparative Racialization*, edited by Grace
 28 Hong and Rod Ferguson, 25–52. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
 29 ✓ Carpio, Genevieve. *Collisions at the Crossroads: How Place and Mobility Make Race*.
 30 Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019.
 31 ✓ Castañeda, Antonia. "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest"
 32 In *Building with Our Hands*, edited by Adela de la Torre and Beatriz Pesquera,
 33 15–33. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
 34 ✓ Chávez-García, Miroslava. *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California,*
 35 *1770s–1880s*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.
 36 ✓ de la Loza, Sandra. *The Pocho Research Society Field Guide to L.A.: Monuments*
 37 *and Murals of Erased and Invisible Histories*. Seattle: University of Washington
 38 Press, 2011.
 39 ✓ De Leon, Arnaldo. *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes toward Mexicans in*
Texas, 1821–1900. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
 ✓ DeLyser, Dydia. *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California*.
 Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

- 1 ✓ Jacobson, Matthew. "Where We Stand: US Empire at Street Level and in the
2 Archive." *American Quarterly* 65 no. 2 (2013): 265–90.
- 3 ✓ Kaplan, Amy, and Donald Pease. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham,
4 NC: Duke University Press, 1993.
- 5 ✓ Karuka, Manu. *Empire's Tracks*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019.
- 6 ✓ Kropp, Phoebe. *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place*.
7 Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- 8 ✓ Launius, Sarah, and Geoffrey Boyce. "More Than Metaphor: Settler Colonialism,
9 Frontier Logic, and the Continuities of Racialized Dispossession in a South-
10 west City." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 111 no. 1 (2021):
11 157–74.
- 12 ✓ Lewis, Pierce. "Axioms for Reading the American Landscape." In *The Interpretation*
13 *of Ordinary Landscape: Geographical Essays*, edited by Donald Meinig, 11–32.
14 New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- 15 ✓ Martinez, Maria Elena. *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and*
16 *Gender in Colonial Mexico*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- 17 ✓ McWilliams, Carey. *North From Mexico*. New York: Praeger, 1990 (1948).
- 18 ✓ Melamed, Jody. *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial*
19 *Capitalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- 20 ✓ Metropolitan Transit Authority. "Tree of Califas." Accessed May 1, 2021. www
21 .metro.net/about/art/artworks/untitled-garcia.
- 22 ✓ Modlin, Arnold, Stephen Hanna, Amy Potter, Bridget Forbes-Bright, and Derek
23 Alderman. "Can Plantation Museums Do Full Justice to the Story of the
24 Enslaved?" *GeoHumanities* 4, no. 2 (2018): 335–59.
- 25 ✓ Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in*
26 *Frontier California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- 27 ✓ Montejano, David. *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986*. Austin:
28 University of Texas Press, 1987.
- 29 "Monuments and Memorials Removed During the George Floyd Protests."
30 Wikipedia. Accessed May 1, 2021. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd_protests)
31 [_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd_protests)
32 [_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd_protests).
- 33 ✓ Ostler, Jeffrey. *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States from the*
34 *American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019. *should be*
- 35 ✓ Patnaik, Utsa, and Prabhat Patnaik. *Capital and Imperialism*. New York: Monthly
36 Review Press, 2021.
- 37 ✓ Pitt, Leonard. *Decline of the Californios*. Berkeley: University of California Press,
38 1966.
- 39 ✓ Port of Los Angeles. "By the Numbers." Accessed May 4, 2021. www
40 .portoflosangeles.org/tariffshurt.
- 41 ✓ Ramos, Raul. *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio,*
42 *1821–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

DUP Guidelines

Page Proof Correction and Indexing

Please make your corrections in the PDF file using Acrobat's commenting tools. See the attached annotation guidelines for guidance on how to do this. This video also may be helpful:

[https://urldefense.com/v3/https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWUmWhFFmKc;!!OToaGQ!6FJMEziMpd5-ZSnyh50iziJ7aKz5wz-qUhHc6V2O4fxY82uKEaauW4K-6vRMgibtV8EQk\\$](https://urldefense.com/v3/https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWUmWhFFmKc;!!OToaGQ!6FJMEziMpd5-ZSnyh50iziJ7aKz5wz-qUhHc6V2O4fxY82uKEaauW4K-6vRMgibtV8EQk$)

Let me know if you have any questions or concerns.

MAKING PROOF CORRECTIONS

- This is not the time for rewriting. **At this stage, we can make only very limited changes to the proofs to correct the following:**
 - misspellings
 - incorrect information
 - grammatical errors
 - inconsistencies
 - errors in the typesetting such as bad word breaks.
- Any other changes will be made at my discretion.
- Corrections should also retain approximately the same number of character spaces as the material that they are replacing to avoid page content reflow (when additions or deletions cause lines to move to previous or subsequent pages), which can be complicated and costly and impact the index.
- NOTE: Excessive corrections can introduce errors, add time to the production schedule, and cause the project to be delayed.
- In addition, typesetters currently charge around \$2 for each line. You will be billed for excessive changes. Generally speaking, if you make less than one change every five pages or so, you should be within your limit.

INDEXING

See the index guidelines attached for more information. Here are some basic points to remember:

- Please use a run-in subentry style and sort the subentries alphabetically.
- Follow the book's style for page number ranges (known as abbreviated or Chicago style): i.e., 37-38, 122-24, but 100-101, 106-7.



Copyeditor's Style Sheet (updated 4.30.2021)

Author/Title: Koshy, Byrd, Cacho, Jefferson (eds.), *Colonial Racial Capitalism*
Project Editor: Lisa Lawley
Copyeditor: Donald Pharr

Use *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th ed.) and *Merriam-Webster's Online* to make style decisions as needed.

NUMBERS AND DATES

- Spell out under 100 and if number can be written as two words (e.g. seven thousand)
- Ensure that figure numbering is consistent and in a double-numbered format (e.g., 1.1, 1.2, etc.)
- 10 percent (10–15 percent)
- nineteenth century, not 19th
- Years in titles and headings: 1988–1989
- Number ranges:
 - 77–78; 386–92; 401–2; 400–406
- Date style: American: June 15, 1992
(sometimes OK to follow British: 15 June 1992;
check here if British style is followed)

SMALL CAPS

Use small caps for initialisms in all running text (front matter, main text, back matter, captions). Initialisms in chapter titles and heads should be kept in full caps. See the document "Small Caps" for guidance. Only exceptions should be noted in the terms list.

SPELLING AND PUNCTUATION

- In general, use the serial comma, but do not alter quotations, titles of works, or institutional names where a serial comma is lacking.
- Punctuation following, but not part of, an italic element such as a title should be roman.
- Use only one set of em dashes within a sentence.
- In general it is OK to silently capitalize or lowercase the word at the beginning of a quote or extract without brackets. Brackets generally are not needed around ellipses.
- Follow *CMS* on possessives: James's; United States' approach; Deleuze's and Habermas's works; Masters and Johnson's book.
- Compound words (open, hyphenated, closed) should follow *Webster's Online* and *CMS* 7.89. Where they disagree, note choice in the terms list below.

MISCELLANEOUS

Extract style: quotes of 100 words or more set as extracts; shorter prose quotes run in

Words or phrases as words: use italics rather than quotes

Non-English words (those that do not appear in *Webster's Online*):
X roman throughout (unless being used as a term)

<p>D data (pl.) différance: in Derridean sense</p> <p>data (plural noun) de facto de jure death-dealing (s.a.) debt-collection (s.a.) decision making (n.) double-edged (s.a.) dream catcher (n.) due to (use to mean “owed to,” not causation) dumpster</p>	<p>E the early twentieth century (n.) early twentieth-century (adj.: e.g., “early twentieth-century art) email</p> <p>each other (two entities)/one another (three or more entities) early nineteenth-century (s.a.) earth (dirt) Earth (planet) email emergency manager system ensure (make sure) entitled (eligible for) ethno-racial (s.a.) Eurocentric extra-economic (s.a.) extrajudicial</p>	<p>F figure 1.1 Foucauldian</p> <p>facade face-off (n.) fait accompli Ferris wheel filius nullius fine-tune (v.) firebomb First World (etc.) first-tier (s.a.) full-time (a., adv.) fund-raiser</p>	<p>G</p> <p>gender-nonconforming (s.a.) geo-economic (s.a.) global North global South grassroots (s.a.) Great Depression</p>
<p>H a historic (not an historic)</p> <p>hand in hand (adv.) hardworking (a.) health care (n.) heteropatriarchy historic, a (not <i>an historic</i> or <i>an historical</i>) historical (general past) home buyer home owner home ownership human-trafficking (s.a.) hunter-gatherer hyper-exploitation hyper-policing hyper-segregated (s.a.)</p>	<p>I–J–K Internet Indigenous studies (singular) indigenous (Ch. 7) iPod</p> <p>infra-legal (s.a.) insure (protect financial value) intercity internet intragroup (s.a.)</p>	<p>L the late nineteenth century (n.) late nineteenth-century (adj.; e.g., late nineteenth-century art) long-standing</p> <p>land-development (s.a.) landgrab (n.) law-abiding (a.) law-and-order (s.a.) lawbreaker lawbreaking lawmaker lawmaking Left (n.: political position) lifeworld like (avoid using to mean “for example”) live-stream (v.) long-standing (s.a.) longtime (s.a.)</p>	<p>M #MeToo millenarian: single “n” millennium: double “n”</p> <p>makeup (n.) manifest destiny meltdown (n.) middle-aged (a.) middle-class (s.a.) millworker mixed-race (s.a.) monopsony</p>

X-Y youths (plural of “young person”--avoid “youth” as the plural)	Z		
--	----------	--	--

COMMON PROPER NAMES

Alarcón, Norma
 Anzaldúa, Gloria
 Arendt, Hannah
 Bakhtin, Mikhail
 Bové, Paul
 Certeau, Michel de
 Cixous, Hélène
 de Man, Paul
 Du Bois, W. E. B.
 Fanon, Frantz
 Ferreira da Silva, Denise

Foucault, Michel
 García Márquez, Gabriel
 González Echevarría, Roberto
 Guattari, Félix
 Habermas, Jürgen
 Holloway, Karla FC
 Irigaray, Luce
 Jameson, Fredric
 Kant, Immanuel
 Krafft-Ebing, Richard von
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude

Lukács, Georg: or “György”
 Lyotard, Jean-François
 Menocal, María Rosa
 Nietzsche, Friedrich
 Pérez Firmat, Gustavo
 Poe, Edgar Allan
 Said, Edward
 Smith, Barbara Herrnstein
 Sommer, Doris
 Wynter, Sylvia
 Žižek, Slavoj

