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# Exploration, Disruption, Diaspora: Movement

# Of *Nuevomexicanos* to Utah, 1776 – 1950

**By**


**Linda Catherine Eleshuk Roybal**

B.S. Psychology, Weber State College, 1973
B.S. Communications, Weber State University, 1982
M.S. English, Utah State University, 1997


**DISSERTATION**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
**Doctor of Philosophy**
In
**American Studies**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May 2019

## Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my children and grandchildren, born and yet to be —

Joys of my life and

ambassadors to a future I will not see,

*Con mucho cariño*.

# Acknowledgements

I am grateful to so many people who have shared their expertise and resources to bring this project to its completion. First, I thank my dissertation committee, Professors A. Gabriel Meléndez, chair, American Studies; Kathleen Holscher, Religious Studies and American Studies; Michelle Hall Kells, English; and Enrique Lamadrid, Spanish and Portugese. They stayed with the project from inception to completion. I deeply appreciate their expertise and encouragement throughout.

I am indebted to the residents of the villages of northern New Mexico who welcomed me in my journeys through the Tewa Basin, answered my questions, and shared their stories off the record with me, giving me a sense of place and belonging. I am especially grateful to the mayordomos of San José de Gracias Catholic Church in Las Trampas, NM, who included Ted and me in the preparation work for mudding the old church, a practice that has been ongoing for almost three centuries and, except for the use of some modern tools, is virtually the same now as it was at the beginning.

Uncle Richard Roybal, formerly of Embudo, affirmed family narratives gleaned from cited memoirs in this study, corrected some of my misconceptions, and, over the course of many Monday morning breakfasts in Bernalillo, gave an off the record oral history. I hope one day we can go on the record with those magnificent stories that could not be included in this project.

Professor Emeritus Anselmo Arellano of New Mexico Highlands University generously shared his knowledge and understanding of the people of Spanish descent who settled and continue to live in northern New Mexico's villages through the project he spearheaded to collect their oral histories and personal narratives and to preserve them in

the Carnegie Public Library in Las Vegas, NM. In reading the histories and narratives, and in conversation, Prof. Arellano opened for me the soul of northern New Mexico. I am grateful for his sharing both his time and this invaluable resource.

I have heard it said that the professions make a living; the arts make a life. In New Mexico, in many cases, arts are both living and life. For teaching me the depths of Latino art and whose aid influenced this project, I thank Tey Marianna Nunn, Director of Visual Arts, and David Gabel, Chief Registrar, of the National Hispanic Cultural Center.

For several summers, De Colores Galleria, owned by Dora and the late Roberto Gonzales, in Old Town Albuquerque, hosted an artist group where a number of New Mexico's santeros, artists, writers, and musicians gathered on Saturday mornings to work together, comment on each other's work, swap stories, and eat local food. The regular artists who participated in the artist group and influenced this project were Roberto and Dora Gonzales, santeros, Debbie Carrillo, potter; Charles M. Carrillo, santero; the late Gary Sanchez, painter; the late Ricardo Hooper, tin artist; Gustavo Pimentel, musician; Ray Michael Baca, author; Ernesto Salazar, santero and grand-student of Patricino Barela; and Ted Roybal, wood carver. My students were always welcome at these sessions and each spring semester class had a site visit to the De Colores Galleria courtyard where my students sat with and were taught by the masters, who also taught me.

The late Ann Massmann provided research guidance to the Center for Southwest Research and help in my work there on numerous occasions and also gave guest lectures to classes I taught on main campus and at UNM-Gallup to help students accomplish their

own research. Students found her eminently approachable and helpful in completing their work, as did I.

Merlin and the late Donna Cheney, retired Weber State English professors; Kathryn MacKay, history professor at Weber State University; Justina Parsons-Berenstein, Heritage and Outdoor Education Resources Coordinator for the State of Utah; and Christine Jensen Sundstrom, recently retired Director of the Graduate Writing Center at the University of Kansas, followed this project from the beginning and have provided information and encouragement throughout. I am sorry that Donna did not live to see its completion.

Monte Ogden, retired economics professor, and David Iverson, retired from the U. S. Forest Service and one of the designers of FORPLAN, an historical and analytical study of Forest Service planning models, shared their knowledge of economic history, theory, and practice, and suggested a course of reading in the subject, which informed this project.

Among them, Karen Roybal, Carmen Samora, Judith Long, and Ted Roybal read the entire document. They asked pertinent questions, suggested improvements, challenged me, laughed with me, and celebrated over many meals. I will forever be indebted to them for their contributions and for so much more. Much of what is good in this project is to their credit. Errors of omission or commission in this study are mine and mine alone.

I am grateful to Sandy Rodrigue and Mercedes Nysus, Department Administrators in succession for American Studies, who helped this project begin and without whom it

might not have come to fruition, for guiding me through the graduate maze, and for so much more, a thousand thanks, which is not enough.

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I am grateful to my family of origin: Mom, Dad, Grandma Ruth, Grandma Mary, Grandpa Jake, Teresa, Steve, Joseph, Charles, and Ruth, and their spouses and young people, our nieces and nephews, they brought into the family. The narratives of my familial elders taught me the value and sacredness of story.

And to *mi familia*: Theodore (Ted), my spouse of more than four decades, our sons Roger, Thomas, David, our daughters in love they brought into our family, Claire, Roxanne, and Vanisha, and our perfect grandchildren. Thank you for your love and support. This project could not have been accomplished without you.

# Exploration, Disruption, Diaspora: Movement of Nuevomexicanos to Utah, 1776-1950

**by**

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## ABSTRACT

*Nuevomexicano* villages of northern New Mexico have experienced disruptions throughout their existence. This dissertation is a study of what occurred in early disruptions leading to the great departure of the 1940s, during World War II and immediately following, known as the New Mexico diaspora, where a number of villagers moved out of New Mexico to other states, including Utah, most expecting to settle for a time with hopes of return to their home villages. The study asks what happened especially during the great disruption, discourses of disruption and movement, what Nuevomexicanos carried with them in movement, whether they returned to their home villages, and what transpired in Utah. In the great disruption of the 1940s and early 1950s, many New Mexicans left but few returned, stretching, and in some cases breaking, ties between home villages and the branch of the regional community that grew in Utah. While there may be cultural memory of home villages among those in Utah, once the elders have passed on, connections weakened and cultural practices, traditions, religious

observance, and use of the home language have also dissipated or disappeared in subsequent generations.

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# Exploration, Disruption, Diaspora: Movement of *Nuevomexicanos* to Utah 1776-1950

## Chapter 1: Foundations of Diaspora

### Introduction

On September 21, 1971 I met the man I would marry. We were both students at Weber State University in Ogden, Utah. He had left the Army after returning from the Vietnam War and resumed his studies. I was a new transfer student from the University of Wyoming. While we did not date in the traditional sense, we closely associated with the students of the Newman Center. We saw something in each other that no one else seemed to notice, and others saw something in our ethnic differences that we did not consider significant.

Neither of our immediate families initially supported or welcomed our marriage, cutting contact with us. However, several months after our wedding we visited with my husband's paternal relatives in Denver, where his grandmother Eloisa, the family matriarch, was also visiting. As was tradition in his family, when we were ready to depart, we knelt for his grandmother's blessing.[1] As Grandmother Eloisa blessed us, she

---

[1]The custom of giving and receiving a blessing extends beyond the Roybal family. In an interview with Bright Lynn as part of the Works Project Administration (WPA) project to collect New Mexican narratives, Guadalupe (Lupita) Gallegos of Las Vegas, NM, described her blessing and welcome into her husband's family. "When the groom's parents came to receive her [immediately prior to the wedding ceremony] she went to the boy's father, as was the custom, and said, 'Recognize me as your daughter.' The father replied, 'I shall always be at your service.' Then Lupita went to the boy's mother and to each of his relatives [for their blessing]." Following the blessings, the wedding ceremony began (Weigle, 1987, 42). In

welcomed us into her family and stated in Spanish, "This is my daughter and no one will speak a word against her." With her blessing, her people "became my people" and the Roybal family became my family.[2] It was within this rich culture that our children had an experience of family and culture. Spanish became our children's language when in New Mexico, as it was and still is the language spoken in family gatherings, even though many of the elders in the family have passed away. Since Grandma Eloisa and several other relatives lived in or near Española, New Mexico, that community became our frequent vacation destination, along with Embudo, where the family farm is located on the Rio Grande in the canyon narrows.

### Rationale and Research Question

Marrying into the Roybal family presents a variation on the "insider-outsider" dilemma and perspectives as posited by Herr (1996). In this family and cultural context, I am neither completely an insider nor completely an outsider. I am not privileged to be part of the long history of the Roybal family in New Mexico, yet I have come to an appreciable familiar and academic understanding of this family and their cultural experience.

At Aunt Cleopatra Roybal's funeral in Santa Fe in 2010, an elderly gentleman approached my husband with the question, "Are you Eppie Roybal's son? You look just like him." After a brief conversation where he identified himself as a childhood friend of Epifanio's in Embudo, NM, he gave some details of their friendship and the upheaval

some families, the blessing is given by the parents of the couple, other relatives, and, in some cases the community after the wedding ceremony. More information is in Chapter 4 of this study.

[2] This statement is adapted from the book of Ruth 1:16 (New American Bible).

around World War II that caused many people from Embudo and Dixon to leave Then he said, "The War changed everything."[3]

Conversations with Professor A. Gabriel Meléndez and preliminary research inspired the question: What causes community destabilization and what transpires during that destabilization of *Nuevomexicano* villages that would result in significant numbers of people, individuals and entire families, to leave their ancestral home villages in a movement that could be considered diasporic; and what happens to people of these *Nuevomexicano* communities who move from a stable position to a new habitat?

Derivatives of the research question initiate a more thorough development of the argument. When groups of people left their villages, in this case with Utah as a destination, what did they carry and what did they leave behind? This project examines the extent that a regional community established and maintained and how issues of Utah as a cultural contact zone were articulated and managed. For those who returned to New Mexico, what were conditions of return, and how did the concept of *querencia*, the longing for home and family, affect individuals and community? This project also explores issues of how race, class, gender, economy, and religion computes into the movement of *Nuevomexicanos* into Utah and how being of *Nuevomexicano* heritage influences subsequent generations of the first community.

Discursive practices among diasporic *Nuevomexicanos* during periods of movement and engaging in new and unfamiliar cultural contact serve to draw connections between language and other semiotic practices (Johnstone, 2008). Individual factors that

---

[3] Cleopatra Roybal's obituary appeared in *The Santa Fe New Mexican.* (Obituary: Cleopatra Marie Roybal. *The Santa Fe New Mexican.* 29 July 2010. *www.legacy.com/obituaries/santafenewmexican/obituary.aspx?pid=*144344729)The gentleman who addressed my husband did not identify himself.

influence discourse, such as ethnicity, gender, economic status, and religion, for example, also influence discursive practices and are significant to this project (Johnstone, 1996).

The definition of "diaspora" used in this research is borrowed from Jewish tradition. Rabbi Brad Hirschfield stated that a Diaspora is a "people who worshipped the same way but were scattered all over the place" (2013). This augments Sarah Horton's argument that "diasporic New Mexicans" were those who had been pushed out "of New Mexico over a succession of decades" and yet "retain a sense of Northern New Mexico as 'home'" (2007, 187). While diasporic New Mexicans did not all practice a singular religion, Sarah Deutsch (1987) notes that *Nuevomexicanos* in Colorado were primarily Catholic and Protestant, worshipping in liturgical religions. Rudolfo Anaya notes that the diaspora from once stable New Mexico villages to larger urban areas began in the 1940s and has continued through subsequent decades (2009, 90.) Rabbi Hirschfield further stated that one of the tasks of a diasporic people, and for all people with a concept of the sacred, is to "carve out the sacred from an undifferentiated world" (2013). A lived and practiced faith that is central to life experience was carried in outmigration. Religion became one aspect of cultural contact, and I suggest cultural conflict, as *Nuevomexicanos* carved out their spaces in Utah.

In addition to religion, it is important to know what aspects of language, material culture, and traditional practices *Nuevomexicanos* carried in their moves to Utah, and what they left behind. Through this study, I examine what was determined meaningful enough to carry and what was important enough to retain in the new habitat, and how those practices, items, and values influenced personal and cultural identity formation and in development and practices of community.

Discursive practices of time and place among the various groups in home villages, during times of movement and taking up residence in Utah as a culture contact zone, as well as articulations of claims to space and place are essential to study of people, especially in uses and practices of language, communication, knowledge construction, and culture (Johnstone, 1996 and 2008; Mignolo, 2000; Nystrand and Duffy, 2003). For *Nuevomexicanos* who moved to Utah, discourses of survival and reconstitution of the village in Utah have been and are significant. Part of my methodology includes the examination of self-narrative, with attention given to adaptations people have made in translocation to a new environment. This project also investigates how this particular diasporic movement functions in United States cultural history and its current importance, thus calling attention to a significant cultural, religious, and community movement that has never been fully recognized in scholarly accounts.

**Significance and timeliness**

Utah has had a presence of people arriving from what is now New Mexico since Spanish explorers first mapped the region and wrote about the landscape and people they encountered in 1776. Franciscan Fathers Domínguez and Escalante are the most noted early explorers and several places in Utah are named for Escalante, especially.[4] One still sees signs indicating the Spanish trail they mapped as a major historical route into Utah from New Mexico (Alexander, 1996; Gallenstein, 1998; Mooney, 2008). Others, both before and following the time of the Franciscan priest-explorers, traveled from New Mexico to Utah whose stories are lesser known (Alexander, 1996; Rutter, 2003). In an

[4] There is a growing movement in Utah to name certain land features for Fray Domínguez as it has been recognized that he was in charge of the exploratory expedition and Fray Vélez de Escalante was his assistant and scribe.

examination of Utah history, one might expect to find information on the large group of *Nuevomexicanos* who arrived in Utah beginning in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, through the years of the Great Depression and World War II primarily to obtain work. However, very few formal historical texts indicate the presence of what may be a large influx of people, and those that acknowledge this influx, with a few exceptions, say very little about Nuevomexicanos as a distinct people with a unique heritage, but rather aggregate Nuevomexicanos as part of collective groups usually labeled as "Mexican," "Hispanic," or "Latino." This study emphasizes that Nuevomexicanos are, and have been since 1848, United States citizens and were not "imported" as particular texts discussed in Chapter 4 would suggest.

For example, *Utah the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (1996) by Thomas G. Alexander lists nine references to New Mexico with one reference each given to Native Americans, early Spanish explorers, and outlaws, and no reference to what may have been several thousand individuals, if not more, from New Mexico, who moved to Utah seeking work in agriculture beginning in the nineteenth century, in mining around the turn of the twentieth century, during the Great Depression, World War II, and in the decade after the War. Alexander indicates that there were people from outside Utah who came for work at the military installations in the state and in defense related industries. Many lived in new housing projects built specifically to provide quarters for workers and their families. However, he gives no indication in his text that any of these workers were Nuevomexicanos. Latinos as a whole are given a passage consisting of two paragraphs that identify some as being Mexican (391), but in the *Centennial History*, people from

New Mexico are not specifically identified or individuated as an ethnic or cultural group distinct from other groups having Spanish heritage in Alexander's work.[5]

## Data and Literature

Existing literature applicable to this project can be considered in three categories. The first is analysis of the Nuevomexicano village, which includes discussion of village life as commonly lived and changes in the community during times of destabilization. The second category of literature focuses on research methodology and theoretical intervention. The third literature category examines the experiences of Nuevomexicanos in their migrations to Utah, reconstitution of the village modeled on the ancestral village as part of a regional community, and encounters in the culture contact zone. There is a substantial body of work on village life in New Mexico, especially research based and in personal narrative. The literature on the New Mexico village that is included in the research for this project has been deemed pertinent to the research question. In contrast, there has been little research done on the Nuevomexicano experience in Utah in the twentieth century. This project fills that space in the literature.

Foundational to the research in this project is the concept of the regional community model as proposed by Sarah Deutsch (1997). Historically, the earliest northern New Mexico Hispano[6] villages date back to the Spanish colonial period when settlements petitioned the government to establish communal land grants that would provide

[5] It may be that, as New Mexicans moved into the state of Utah that they may have been believed to be generically Mexican or Latino as expressed throughout Alexander's (1996) text, rather than acknowledged specifically as Nuevomexicanos.

[6] Personal and collective terms indicating heritage as utilized in this project are determined by the textual passages in cited literature or are self-referential as in personal narratives.

resources for the growth and sustenance of the villages. While each family unit usually lived in a house in the village, residents had access to and use of common lands, which often exceeded the amount of land allocated to the village proper. Labor was pooled, and while men's work and women's work could be differentiated, labor that contributed to the village economy by both genders was considered of equal value. Members of individual families contributed their talents and labor to the family and to the village. While there was some differentiation in regular labor, there was also flexibility that allowed for seasonal absences by men who went outside the village for work. As women's work and men's work were considered equally important, daughters as well as sons could inherit from the estate of their parents.[7] Because the economy of the villages was not cash based, agricultural products were a major means of exchange (14-16).

An exchange economy based in barter could extend beyond boundaries of particular villages and thereby link multiple villages in commerce. The changing economy of the village necessitated rethinking survival and how to provide a living for families. A solution for many was that men began to migrate seasonally from the village to earn money in a developing cash economy especially as the United States moved in and displaced Mexico as the colonizer after they won freedom from Spain. With village growth, depletion of grazing, and influence from outside, groups of people left their villages of origin and, with migration out of the state, established new communities while maintaining strong ties to the home village, thus forming extended regional communities (Deutsch, 1997, 18-19).

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[7] Depending on the custom, daughters and sons could either inherit land, or, in some villages, daughters more often inherited "livestock, furniture, or household goods in lieu of land" where sons would inherit land (Deutsch, 1987, 15).

The northern New Mexico Hispano village has been, and I would suggest still is, ascribed with layers of meaning depending on the perspectives and intentions of the individual and community. Personal narratives of individuals who have resided in the villages for most, if not all, of their lives, and those who have ancestral ties to the land (Arellano 1990, 1993; Cabeza de Baca, 1954; Jaramillo, 2000; Garcia, 1992, 1992, 1994; Quintana, 2012; Rivera, 1998; Rodriguez, 1986, 2007; Valdez, 2008) have inside knowledge and understanding of the familial, religious, social, cultural, economic, and political environments that have helped villages to survive and prosper. In addition to maintaining the village as home for people who live there or have ancestral and regional community ties, New Mexico villages have continued with other purposes as well. For example, Suzanne Forrest (1989) notes that the policies of the New Deal disrupted the villages of northern New Mexico while attempting to preserve the exotic experience of the village as a communitarian way of life, with its quaint crafts and rural lifestyle, as New Mexico moved into an economy based on money and land reform as promoted by and favoring an Anglo-dominated culture. Forrest examines social processes over political processes, in managing change and striving to insure community survival.[8]

The Tewa Basin Study (Weigle, 1975) was instituted to research the peoples, land, and resources of the upper Rio Grande Valley north of Santa Fe, New Mexico in the mid-1930s, during the Great Depression. One of the early conclusions was that the people, whether Native or Hispano, were largely dependent on the land for their

[8] See Montgomery (2002) for further examination of the effects of the New Deal on New Mexico. Refer to Gonzales and Witt (1996) and Nunn (2001) for a close investigation of artists and their arts as influenced by the New Deal. Watkins (1993) presents an overview of the Great Depression in the United States and helps place the changes that happened in New Mexico in context with changes that occurred throughout the country at that time.

sustenance (6, 21). Weigle (1975) also helps frame the discussion of how changes in the economy of northern New Mexico, from depletion of resources and the imposition of a new economy from outside the region acted as destabilizing forces in the villages of northern New Mexico. Kosek (2006) furthers the discussion of contemporary community, resource allocation, economy, and imposed public regulation centering on the forest region around Truchas, NM. Once belonging to land grants given by Spain, the forest has been made part of the national forest system, now "owned" by the public of the United States and regulated in ways that have changed traditional land grant usage of the resources, while opening up forest land to other uses. Noting that access to water is essential, Rivera (1998) advances the acequia culture as an element of continuity from the Spanish colonial period through the twentieth century. In communities that began and often continue as rural and unincorporated, generally as land grants, acequia associations form local governmental entities to insure the community and its residents have necessary resources and are able to maintain traditional ties to the land. As land and water remain precious, and, since the American invasion, commodities, maintaining traditional ties to the land can involve legal battles within the United States legal system to settle disputes with origins in Spanish law of the sixteenth century.

Ties to the land, belonging, and a sense of place include common language and traditions. In northern New Mexico, Spanish was the common language from the time Spain became the colonial power (Cobos, 2003). Northern New Mexico Spanish, a language that extended into southern Colorado from the mid-nineteenth century, consists largely of a regional dialect comprised of archaic Spanish, Native American languages, Mexican words and phrases, and with more recent additions, English. However, as

English has become an official language and the primary language of commerce, the northern New Mexico regional dialect is becoming less common (vii-xvii).[9]

Theories express that language, the stories told within and about a geographical space, and the act of naming serve to construct a place that has meaning attached to it. (Buell, 2005; Ryden, 1993; Spirn, 1998). Living in a place that has historical meaning ascribed to it aids in identity formation, individually and communally (Anderson, 1993; Anzaldúa, 1987; Arellano, 1990; Arellano, 1993; Gómez, 2007 Gonzales, 2007; Horton, 2007; Johansen and Maestas, 1983; Nieto-Phillips, 2004; Ruiz, 2000; Vila, 2003, Villa, 2000; Weber, 1973).

Place stories can be expressed in multiple forms that are interwoven and complex. The term "resolana," for example, encompasses a complex structure of meaning. The resolana is comprised of the narratives, the group of people who tell the narratives, and the place where the narratives are told. The composition of the assembly and traditional narratives may change with time, but they have been essentially consistent in and about a particular place and determine to convey a history and continuity of the people in that place, as well as the locus of that place in the larger world. The resolana can also be a place where conversations of resistance to change and modernization occur (Montiel, Atencio[10], and Mares, 2009). I would suggest that the resolana is also a rhetorical move from a physical space to an ideological place.

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[9] In class notes from a course I took on English as a Second Language in northern Utah (c. 1998), the instructor, Santiago (Jim) Sandoval, who had been born and raised in Las Vegas, NM, stated, "When you lose your language, you lose your culture." If that is the case, and the regional dialect of northern New Mexico fades as Cobos (2003) notes, it would seem that the culture of the village could also fade.

[10] Disclosure: Tomás Atencio was a close friend of the author's husband's uncle, Louis Roybal, as they were coming of age in Dixon, NM (Roybal, T. Unpublished memoir, n.d., n.p.).

Conversations of place and cultural identity are preserved in local media, as well. In New Mexico, Spanish language media has served as a unifying factor for communities, The Spanish-language press also enacts discursive agency, contests imposed hegemonic influences, and counteracts moves toward erasure (Meléndez, 2002).[11] Spanish-language newspapers and other media in Utah have served primarily diasporic Nuevomexicano and immigrant Latin American constituencies in similar ways in their communities (Gallenstein, 1998).

History, tradition, and continuity of people in a particular place are also enacted in visual arts and in cultural performances. Visual arts and crafts have been traditionally used for personal and community purposes and particular art forms are still associated with specific places as well as with the artists and schools of art from which they arose (Forrest, 1989; Montgomery, 2002; Nunn, 2001, Pettit, 2012, Weigle and White, 1988).[12]

Stories significant to culture and tradition are also performed. For example, the cross-cultural, inter-cultural, emphatically mestizo "Los Comanches" dances dig deep into history and bring to the present a complex interwoven discourse that is Spanish, Moorish, Native American and Nuevomexicano at the same time, in a shared space. The performance reaches to captivity narratives of the Spanish when Spain was under Moorish rule, yet, at the same time, presents captivity and kinship narratives in relationships among the Spanish, Native Americans, and New Mexicans in subsequent centuries (Lamadrid, 2003). Another form of historical narrative in is expressed through Matachines dance. Frequently situated within ceremonial contexts, the Matachines

[11] See also David Gold (2012) for information on Spanish language newspapers in west Texas (25).
[12] The National Hispanic Cultural Center (NHCC) in Albuquerque, NM opened a Community Gallery in July, 2008 to showcase the works created by New Mexico's Hispana and Hispano artists (Eleshuk Roybal, 2008).

dances portray conflict between good and evil. Characterizations of various aspects of the dance vary from cultural group to cultural group. The elders or abuelos in the dance are generally present, but may be represented differently as are the presence or absence of the Spanish bull and the young girl portraying La Malinche. In some places women, in addition to the La Malinche performer, will dance, while in other traditions, no females are included. The dance transcends space, place, and border (Gonzales, 2007; Stephenson, 2008; Weigle and White, 1988).[13]

Spoken narrative and portrayals of history and culture aid in place-making, belonging, and identity formation with the possibility that they can be translocated to a new space, in this case, Utah (Iber, 2000; Gallenstein, 1998; Kelen and Stone, 1996). The New Mexico diasporic movement to Utah parallels, in many respects, the movement documented by Deutsch (1987) in her research of Nuevomexicanos who moved as groups to Colorado to find work when there were economic difficulties in New Mexico. They took language, culture, some belongings, and their ties to their ancestral homes. It seems that a significant number of the villagers in the extended regional community expected to return to New Mexico permanently after their improving their circumstances.

Danny Quintana notes that parents and grandparents never let their children and grandchildren forget where they were from by telling the stories of home villages and by teaching young ones their Spanish language (2012). Nuevomexicanos maintained ties to home villages in New Mexico by the annual ritual of returning home for fiestas, which affirmed belonging to extended family, community, and culture even while living and

[13] Utah has one documented *Matachines* group, based at Our Lady of the Light Catholic Mission in the town of Beaver (Vallejo, 2013).

working in an extended, regional community that could be far from New Mexico (Horton, 2007; Quintana, 2012).[14]

The basis for this study is to fill a gap in the current literature on Nuevomexicanos who moved to Utah for work and to improve their lives. Groups of Nuevomexicanos attempted to reconstitute their villages as regional communities with ties to their home villages. This study is also personal as it stems from my marriage to the son of a Nuevomexicano couple who found work in the defense industry in Utah during World War II. Specifically, the couple, Epifanio Roybal, from Dixon, NM, and Griselda (Hilda) Aragon Roybal Williams, from Polvadera, NM, moved independently to Utah, met, married and were involved in creating and sustaining community with other Nuevomexicanos, first in Roy, Utah, then in Ogden. Almost all of their neighbors west of Washington Boulevard between 30th and 36th Streets had originally come from villages in New Mexico. It was in this community that they raised their children. As part of the Roybal family, and in association with their friends, although I was not culturally knowledgeable, I had been too close to being inside, in Herr's (1996) terminology,[15] to fully realize and appreciate the significance of what I have since learned from my adviser, Professor A. Gabriel Meléndez, is an important diasporic and cultural movement.

[14] Until his death, my father-in-law, Epifanio Roybal, began planning to attend Santa Fe Fiesta every July. He alerted his mother and his siblings in New Mexico. He also asked his children to go with him, and later, to drive him to New Mexico in September, in time for Fiesta. From the time I married his son, he never went.

[15] Herr (1996) indicates that an insider in a particular sociocultural situation knows the social terrain of a given milieu, while an outsider operates from a position of social negativity and lack of knowledge. A task of the insider is to hold back, or bracket, knowledge and an outsider is to guard against hegemonic imposition of a position in order to be open to new knowledge (2). Citing Jameson, Herr notes that social negativity "occupies all that we desire, and it is the energy of this negativity that we can draw on to rotate us toward mutual articulation in a critical regionalist cultural studies" (20). It would seem, then, that a dialogue between insider and outsider positions could create connections to gain a more thorough knowledge of a culture.

However, my personal ties have allowed me to better recognize and understand the importance of this cultural movement, both regionally and in its impact in the nation. This investigation considers Nuevomexicanos in Utah as a growing population, especially from the Great Depression and World War II years, and, finally through the rise of the Chicano movement (Gonzalez and Rivera, 2000; Iber, 2000; Gallenstein, 1998; Kelen and Stone, 1996). Utah had a proximity to New Mexico that fostered the idea of going out to another place, making a better life there, and in many cases, desiring return.

In focusing on the NM-Utah connection, this study looks at the gateway communities of Monticello and Price-Helper, as well as the cities and towns along the Wasatch Front in proximity to military installations and defense-related industries. These include Salt Lake City, Ogden, and small towns near them where Nuevomexicanos established new homes. Through this study I examine the purposes for which Nuevomexicanos moved in groups to Utah, including comparisons and contrasts of how family, work, gender, race, class, and identity have been perceived and enacted in New Mexico and Utah. Also investigated are means and methods of place-making and the extension of the regional community into Utah, including to what extent members of the first Utah communities of Nuevomexicanos, their children, and grandchildren maintained ties with the home villages in New Mexico.

Information pertaining to particular points of contact and interface between the host community in Utah and the influx of Hispanos, many of whom were Nuevomexicano and accustomed to being the host community in New Mexico is limited in existing literature. This investigation also considers the influences of religion in the

interaction between the mostly Anglo members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (also referred to as LDS or Mormon) and Nuevomexicanos and other Hispanos who were mostly Catholic and Protestant, with other denominations in lesser numbers (Gonzalez and Rivera, 2000; Iber, 2000; Kelen and Stone, 1996).[16]

For example, Catholics and Protestants who moved from New Mexico to Utah found that church facilities of their denominations, in communities where they did exist, were distant from each other making it difficult to attend regularly and it is probable that in the early to mid-Twentieth Century, only a few offered services in Spanish or were able to meet the needs of newly arrived Hispanics. Some work has been done in this area, notably that of Iber (2000), however a more complete treatment is warranted. A significant consideration in this study is how religious encounters and religious conversions affected individuals, families, diasporic communities, and the regional community extending from Utah to New Mexico. An extension of the question arises as to what churches of various denominations did, and do, to attract and keep Hispano members in the fold.

Through this research I examine relationships at work and in the community that have been based on culture and religion, which put Nuevomexicanos at a disadvantage as non-members of a dominant majority, at least initially. This project provides insight into how they were able to survive and sometimes thrive in such a setting. This study also looks at means of resistance within the adaptation process to Utah culture.

Personal narratives and oral histories of Nuevomexicanos, both in Utah and New Mexico who are members of families and communities involved in the diaspora open up

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[16] Deutsch (1987) identifies the majority of Protestant *Nuevomexicanos* as Presbyterian, although other denominations were also represented. See also Gallenstein (1998), Heyck (1994) and Quintana (2012).

discursive space in the research. Particular narratives of what individuals carried with them such as photographs, journals, Bibles and other religious texts, and other material goods. It is just as important to note what people left behind and reasons for doing so. While not specifically material, Nuevomexicanos had language and dialect, traditions, and cultural production to carry on the move. Nuevomexicanos relinquished segments of their own culture in order to accommodate the dominant host culture in Utah, or to assimilate into it. While Nuevomexicanos encountered problems in their new setting, personal and collective strengths emerged to counter difficulties that occurred. The desire to return to New Mexico was evident in some narratives, and some Nuevomexicanos did go back, either for a visit, as economic situations shifted, or permanently. Narratives from the extended regional community and from those who stayed in New Mexico suggest the complexity of this movement.

Following the chronology of place making and community building in Utah, this project examines changes within the Utah branch of the Nuevomexicano regional community through the period of the rising Chicano Movement and developing multiculturalism in Utah. Following this trajectory is important because it reveals that although remnants of the regional community remain, their descendants have increasingly moved into mainstream Utah and many are notable for their contributions to community and state (Iber, 2000; Kelen and Stone, 1996; Quintana, 2012; Valdez, 2008). It is important to acknowledge the continued presence of Hispanos who are descendants of the Nuevomexicano diasporic group contrasts with the Colorado regional community of Deutsch's study (1987) that dissipated during the Great Depression, while the Utah branch of the regional community appears to have existed for a longer time frame and

seems to have been more fluid in its connection to home villages, perhaps because of the existence of gateway communities between New Mexico and the Wasatch Front. This project thus invites a comparison concerning dissipation, acculturation, and assimilation as issues of the respective regional communities.

Finally, a question remains as to whether Hispana/os in general and Nuevomexicanos in particular have become fully part of Utah society and whether it has been possible to maintain their own cultural identity and traditions through the third generation into the Twenty-First Century.

## Methodology

Archives and special collections, including those at universities, churches, and schools, provide primary sources that complement personal narratives and private documents, which include journals, letters, and religious books where families record their histories.

Information in each chapter in the study is framed within historical context, and, where warranted, are also situated within contemporary events that, although may have occurred distantly, influenced developments in New Mexico. Select genealogy locates individuals, families, and cultural groups within New Mexico and western United States historical events leading to the New Mexico diaspora and Nuevomexicanos' movement to Utah.

Published, unpublished and self-published memoirs and journals provide sources of personal information on families and individuals in history and contemporary times. Information in these memoirs is cross referenced in the text wherever possible. Personal

journals and unpublished memoirs also yield information on personal and family experiences. Again, the information is cross referenced when possible.

Scholars in New Mexico and Utah have collected oral histories and personal narratives. Some have been published and others not. Oral histories and personal narratives present people who understand and express who they are and where they come from in history, place, culture, and identity.

Professor Anselmo Arellano led a major project to collect and preserve oral histories and personal narratives of residents of several of the villages of northern New Mexico, especially those of los viejos,[17]that is of particular importance to this study. Aided by colleagues and students of the New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico, the collection of interviews was completed under the auspices of the Carnegie Public Library in Las Vegas. After the interviews had been collected, translated where necessary, and transcribed, the Library published the collection in 1975 for the benefit of the community, for individuals who wanted to research their family histories, and for those who would study and learn from the collection. The Library Special Collections has two hardbound sets of the collection, and the tapes of the interviews are also located in Special Collections. Most of the people who contributed their histories and narratives have old roots in New Mexico tracing back to the earliest Spanish settlers.

I have included select vignettes from fiction written by Nuevomexicano authors and Arthur Conan Doyle are also used in several places in the text. These vignettes are applied as illustrations, pictures in words as it were, to offer revealing commentary on life views and changing culture of Nuevomexicanos in disruptive times where peoples and

[17] *Los viejos* is translated to be "the elders."

communities had to change and adapt, particularly to impositions by outside forces. The fictional narratives are included to illustrate episodes of cultural contact. These illustrations are noted as such in the text. As Ryden notes, fiction can be considered as a kind of map that illustrates and distillates real life in symbolic form, moving the particular to the universal. Employing illustrations from fiction focuses on a geographic space and the events that occur in that space in order to discover larger truth (1993, 49).[18] In the Preface to The Book of Archives and Other Stories from the Mora Valley, New Mexico, A. Gabriel Meléndez (2017) posits, "Memory is powerful as means to collect and hold things for other generations, but it is dead if the everlasting yeast of imagination fades and dries up" (xv). I offer that fiction also enters discourse by the author's expressing and illustrating in language what is said and also what is held in imagination about a particular subject, as in this study of disruption of northern New Mexico villages and in the lives of Nuevomexicanos that precipitated major movement away from the home village.

## The Regional Community as Foundation to the Project

Foundational to the dissertation is the theory of the regional community model as expressed by Deutsch (1987). The branches of the regional community in this study consist of Nuevomexicanos who left their villages in mostly northern New Mexico seeking work and a better life in Utah. In Deutsch's study, Nuevomexianos who left New

[18] Ryden (1993) includes passages from Faulkner in *Mapping the Invisible Landscape* to illustrate the American Deep South, particularly geographical locations in Mississippi, as particular places and as loci of culture and of the development of individual and cultural identity in his characters' particular locales (46-49).

Mexican villages sought their livelihoods in Colorado.[19] In both cases, Nuevomexicanos encountered challenges in encountering a new host community where cultural values and economic structures conflicted with traditional modes of community of the home village. In Utah, however, Nuevomexicanos encountered cultural and religious challenges that were not usually experienced in Colorado (Gallenstein, 1998; Gonzales and Rivera, 2000; Iber, 2000; Kelen and Stone, 1996; Quintana, 2012). Discussions of space, place making, and place attachment are influenced by Buell, Ryden, and Spirn, and this project also employs Ryden's concepts on the imagined landscape and its relationship to sense of place.

Additionally, the study also explores several perspectives of Utah-based Nuevomexicanos and their children, and analyzes cultural changes in Utah's Nuevomexicano communities. Herr (1996) says that while history has been written by the victors, the vanquished also are called upon to write their history (20). I would contend that, in writing history from the perspective of the conqueror, the sum of history has not always been considered a multi-faceted collection of narratives reflecting manifold perspectives on the same historical events. There is benefit gained by examining the negative spaces inherent in that dualism, as Herr suggests.

That Nuevomexicanos moved to Utah for work and to improve their lives has been established in existing literature. Byrne, Maldonado, and Rivera (1974) argue that movement of Nuevomexicanos to Utah can be considered an example of the internal colonialism model of entry into a dominant culture, where colonized people enter the culture of the colonizers by a forced involuntary process. The model addresses that

[19] Some of the Colorado Nuevomexicanos eventually made their way to Utah and became part of the communities there.

colonized peoples are generally recruited to move, or are forcibly moved, to a new area to provide cheap labor in menial jobs on either a temporary or permanent basis, but are not readily welcome to become part of the mainstream society of the colonizers. It seems Nuevomexicanos and other people of Spanish descent were selected because they were thought to be docile and would not want to mix with the white race. Nuevomexicanos were thought to bring economic advantage to employers, without wanting to have any influence on the society of the dominant culture. The internal colonialism model of entry into a dominant culture could explain why Nuevomexicanos and Hispanos in general have not been completely accepted in Utah and why there has apparently been a concerted effort to diminish or eradicate cultural practices, language, religion, and traditions they carried with them from their home villages (80-83).

The extent of the diasporic movement of groups of Nuevomexicanos to a new habitat in Utah that resulted from the instability of home villages, to examining building of regional communities with ties to home, what Nuevomexicanos carried with them culturally and materially, and an examination of junctures where Nuevomexicanos and the predominant culture in Utah intersect necessitates more thorough articulation.

## Chapter Outline

Following the concept of the regional community, the study is an investigation into the cultural contact movement of Nuevomexicanos into Utah during the Twentieth Century.

- Chapter 2: ¿Que donde eres?[20] Making a place at the intersection of history, culture, and identity in the Nuevomexicano village. This chapter situates place making and belonging in northern New Mexico villages, first in an historical context. I have given a more extensive historical context than may at first appear necessary. However, several people in the transitional generation (Quintana, 2012) have asked questions during the research process that indicate that they do not know their history and heritage. As I understand, a knowledge of one's history is valuable in determining one's future. Also included in this chapter is analysis of place-making as it intersects with cultural practices, beliefs, and community institutions that help identity formation prior to the World Wars.
- Chapter 3: Nuevomexicano Villages Disrupted: No hay nada permanente excepto el cambio examines destabilizing forces beginning within an historical context of disruption, particularly concerning economic and social conditions that have been imposed on the people in northern New Mexico home villages that set in motion the movement of Nuevomexicanos to Utah.
- Chapter 4: The New Spanish Trail: Nuevomexicanos in Utah looks at Utah as culture contact zone between a host community of long-term Utahans and newer

[20] ¿De dondé eres? is translated as Where are you from?

permanent arrivals, Nuevomexicanos, in their quest for work to make a better life for themselves and their families.

- Epilogue: ¿Adónde vamos? The epilogue at the end of Chapter 4 concludes the study with consideration of the changing community of Nuevomexicanos and their subsequent generations in Utah.

**Conclusion**

Through archival research, public and personal documents, and collected oral histories, as well as in analyzing the extended regional communities of Nuevomexicanos in Utah, a picture emerges of a changing culture of diasporic Nuevomexicanos. This study looks at movement from New Mexico into Utah by examining historical contexts and perspectives from the time of exploration, the turn of the twentieth century, to the Great Depression, and through the rise of the Nuevomexicano diaspora, with its effects on subsequent generations. By examining that move, this project fills a gap in the literature and provides insight into a significant cultural movement in the United States.

## Chapter 2: *¿De donde eres*?[21] Place-making at the intersection of culture and identity in the Nuevomexicano village

### Family Litany

When my husband's branch of the Roybal family gets together, during the meal the conversation inevitably includes a litany of where each of the family members in my father-in-law's generation and the previous generations were born, the various places family members had lived, and, if they are no longer alive, where they died and are buried. No matter where each of the Roybal siblings in my father-in-law's generation was born, in or out of New Mexico, the specific place each person names as home is El Rancho in Embudo. The particular part of Embudo in which El Rancho is located lies along the Rio Grande, in the neck of the funnel where the canyon narrows. For three generations, the sole connection with the main highway through the canyon was a rickety footbridge, built by my husband's grandfather, which traversed the Rio Grande between El Rancho and the highway and swayed enough to dump the unwary bridge crosser into the river.

The presence of Eloy Roybal and Eloisa Leyba Roybal dominate narratives of the past abound and in those stories El Rancho. That part of Embudo was populated almost entirely by the extended family of the senior Roybals. As the family has grown and children moved into their own lives and, in many cases, different places, El Rancho remains centered as the home place in family narrative. Although only one of the daughters of Eloy and Eloisa Roybal currently lives on the smaller El Rancho property

[21] "¿De donde eres?" is translated as "Where are you from?"

with her family, the surviving members of her generation still refer to the ranch as home and the family place.

The valley has experienced a population boom of newcomers and few of the residents are Roybal kin. At this writing, most of the residents of the valley are not of Spanish descent, but are Anglos newer to the area than the Nuevomexicanos who have lived there for generations. Access to the valley is by a paved road over the Rio Grande a mile or so south of El Rancho, and the rickety footbridge has been removed. Over time, the concept of place has remained a central part of the Roybal family identity; however, with the changes in demographics, one must question how, or if, this sense of connection is maintained.

**A Sense of Place: Identity and Community**

The Roybal family is an example of how a family group and the individuals in that family consider a specific place as home when few members of the family have come to reside there, and visits from geographically extended kin to the place and their people do not often occur. While the Roybal family is but one example of the experiences of many families who originally arrived in New Mexico during colonial periods, the experiences of the family then and into later times is not unique among Nuevomexicanos. Fray Angélico Chávez (1992) documents similar experiences of multiple Nuevomexicano families, as well as their interconnectedness that began in in the first 200 years of settlement and that continues into the 21$^{st}$ century. While the Roybal family is featured in this study, they are far from unique in their experiences.

Through the Roybal family story and in examples from other families in other New Mexico villages, I examine the conception of a village as extended family, as was

the section of Embudo along the Rio Grande that was once comprised mostly of Roybal relatives. Although the Roybal family is centered in this study, the works of Chávez (1992) and others cited in this study include stories of numerous Nuevomexicano families whose narratives parallel and overlap the Roybal narrative. Any of the families discussed in the texts could be centered in a study such as this with similar conclusions drawn. The Roybal family is centered here because it is the Nuevomexicano family I know best. The Roybal narrative thread is in no way meant to exclude or minimize other Nuevomexicano families. Rather, the Roybals are one example of many possibilities.

Further, I examine how a collective longing for that village is enacted within geographically distant kin. Contingent to the discussion are how individual and cultural identity within a concept of a home place articulated among Nuevomexicanos and, perhaps, Mexican-Americans in general. Finally, I investigate several of the institutions and structures; beliefs and convictions; productions and practices that are manifested in northern New Mexico villages that aid in their cohesiveness as community and that leave an indelible mark in memory.

In the first chapter, I introduced concepts of individual and cultural identity among Nuevomexicanos. Terms of identity, both individual and cultural, such as "Nuevomexicano," as used in this work, are self-referential, or as given in a reference text whenever possible, and shall refer to people who have origins in New Mexico and are of Spanish descent. They are also generally *mestizo,* of heritage that is Spanish combined with the First Peoples of the Americas. An explanation that is completely singular and differential is complex to express. However, Barbara Johnstone, formerly Professor of Linguistics at Texas A & M University, at the time of this project is

Professor at Carnegie Mellon University, notes that speakers use discursive language and resources available to them to express shifting personal and group identities. The linguistic individual's dialect and grammar in context can be considered in discourse and in historical and literary texts (1996, 180-183). Barre Toelken, Professor Emeritus of English and American Studies at Utah State University says, "Noting—and taking seriously—how a group calls itself at any point in history will tell us a lot about that group's sense of identity in their own terms, not in the technical jargon of the sociologist or the fearful labels of the political analyst" (1996, 300). A search for personal and cultural identity can be expressed within a framework of language.

This chapter presents several major themes connecting Nuevomexicano village life to develop the concepts of community, culture and personal identity in the villages to consideration of the magnitude of the disruption that produced the NM diaspora. While some of the themes presented in this study have received prior scholarly treatment as noted in the text, they are used here as resources to further the discussion on what I determine to be the most significant and irrevocable disruption of New Mexico villages that occurred as a result of the Great Depression, the New Deal, and the World War II years.

Theories, concepts, and practices of place-making also receive scholarly treatment, both to identify Nuevomexicano villages in context of "home" with which to identify and grow in, and through times of disruption, particularly during the New Mexico diaspora, as numbers of villagers departed to establish themselves as they created new places and homes elsewhere. I suggest that it is important to understand how spaces become places and how places become home, especially as people and groups move and

become rooted in disparate locations from where their heritage comes, where their families of origin established themselves, and where they themselves were born, raised, and rooted. This project looks at Nuevomexicanos displaced from their home villages into Utah, and how they their new place in that location.

While the Roybal family is centered in this project, additional voices are included in order to construct more thorough discourses of identity, place, culture, disruption, and diaspora. As people are adaptable to situations and circumstances, the individual life story is usually constructed to produce a coherent identity narrative even while a person performs various identities different contexts (Johnstone 2008, 155). Personal life narrative, as Paul John Eakin, Professor Emeritus of English at Indiana University, suggests, is symbolic of how people represent themselves in forms shaped by culture and its institutions in which they live and act (108-109). A person's story is also shaped by the people in his life who act on his life (131). He also infers that the telling of a life story is an attempt to assess if one's life has value and if the person has, or will have, left a trace (129). Although complete life stories extend beyond the scope of this work, individual brief narratives are used to engage and illustrate the discussion on identity, place, disruption, and diaspora.

Consideration of what and whom Nuevomexicanos are not can be part of a search for identity. According to Chris Baca, previous generations of New Mexicans did not refer to themselves as particularly Spanish, Mexican, or New Mexican. "Mexican" was often a term of derision used by Anglos to denigrate his culture and heritage, and to distinguish from their own "whiteness."[22] Baca refers to himself as "Nuevo Mexicano,"

[22] Laura E. Gómez (2007) states there have been numerous terms of derision directed at Mexican Americans including "Mexican," often preceded by negative adjectives, and "greaser" defined in California

because New Mexican culture is distinct from the various cultures he has experienced while traveling in Mexico. In response to a question from his son, Baca said he did not know whether they were "Chicano, Mexican, Hispanic or Latino" because he thinks "we are still under that search for identity." It is impossible to locate exactly where the Mexican, Indian, Spanish is in a person. Baca concludes that he identifies as a "New Mexican American," a "Nuevo Mexicano, whatever that means!" (1994, 41).

It can be a matter of dignity to say, as does Father Jerome Martínez, "I am a native New Mexican. My family, as far as I have been able to trace the genealogy, goes back at least ten generations." He continues by stating that Hispanic peoples have been in search of their history, first as Spanish, then as citizens of the Mexican Republic, and finally as conquered peoples in the United States. Martínez repeated a saying of his father's, "' We never crossed the border; one day the border crossed us.'" Although remaining in the same place that was historically theirs, Nuevomexicanos became part of a country they did not wish to be part of, while desiring to keep their language, culture, and traditions. (1994, 415).

If one looks at identity formation as a lifelong process, it is in the examination of the past and the telling in the present that one forms what Eakin calls "memories of the future" (158-159). In telling themselves, people fit language to their own needs, often

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for those of mixed Spanish and Indian blood (63). John M. Nieto-Phillips (2004) notes that, historically, persons of Mexican, or mixed Spanish and Indian descent were considered inferior and subversive, and would never be able to participate in government, including self-government (52-53). Mitchell states that, at the turn of the twentieth century, ninety per cent of New Mexico's population were listed as "white" in the census. Yet, in most of the United States, New Mexicans were considered a "mongrel population" of Mexicans comprised of Spanish, "Negro," Apache, Navajo, and "white horse thief" who were too lazy and ignorant to be granted statehood (2005, 17.) While acknowledging that negative identity terminology exists and is used as Gómez and Neito-Phillips note, it is usually imposed from outside Hispano culture. As noted in the first chapter, terminology I use throughout this project is how individuals and groups of people refer to themselves and to members of their culture(s).

breaking rules and sometimes developing new linguistic styles, uniquely fashioned by the speaker or writer. It is in doing so that language becomes an art form (Johnstone 1996, 180-181).

In language style that is almost more poetry than prose, A. Gabriel Meléndez (2017), draws from his memory, imagination, and stories of elders of the Mora Valley to give voice to the heritage from the beginning of everything in that particular place, as written in *The Book of Archives* (6-7), to the expression and understanding of the indelible voices that permeate the lives of the people of the Mora Valley.

> "Most certainly we have never thought to discard the litany of ancestral souls that accompanies the birth of each person born at the foot of La Jicarita Peak, nor can we neglect the accompanying clamor of voices that fills the air we breathe and is with us at each moment of the day and night. Our ancestors are the unseen visitors who sit at our kitchen tables when we speak of the past; they are the ancestral countenances we believe we've recognized on the faces of strangers we pass on the street. Now they are the elongated shadows that move in the old abandoned patios and the unearthed bones that walks on the earth and do not know eternal rest or peace" (3).

A second illustration of culture and personal identity formation and the importance of the home village in that process can be taken from native New Mexican author Ray Michael Baca[23], who, in the conclusion to his novel *Brotherhood of the Light,*

[23] Cover notes on *Brothers of the LIght* about the author, Ray Michael Baca, include "On leaving New Mexico in 1988, he contended, 'I have been trying to make my way back home ever since.'"
Baca did eventually return to the Albuquerque area to live, and while he was in the area he was a member of the De Colores artist group that met for several years on Saturday mornings, spring through fall, in the courtyard at De Colores Galleria in Old Town Albuquerque. The artist group, spearheaded by Roberto and Dora Gonzales, owners of De Colores, included regulars Michael Baca, Charles Carrillo, Richard Hooper, Gustavo Pimentel, Ernesto Salazar, Gary Sanchez, and Ted Roybal. A number of other artists, writers, and musicians would sit in from time to time when they were in Albuquerque to share their talents and enjoy the company.
As disclosure, when I taught classes at UNM Main Campus and UNM West Campus, I would take my students on Saturday field excursions to De Colores to meet the artists, sit with them, ask questions, and learn.
At this writing, Baca has again departed New Mexico and is living outside the state.

has his protagonist, Castillo, come to full realization of who he is as an individual and how he is connected to home of birth and to his cultural ancestry. His realizes that his connections to his past run deeper than blood and wider than history.

> "Much further to the east, well beyond the horizon, was home. He imagined the rolling green of the considerable Sangre de Cristos in the north. And the steep rise of the Sandias, standing watch above the valley. He imagined the waters of the Rio Grande flowing languorous and cool through the *bosque* of cottonwoods. And he saw the faces from where he came, Castilian, Sephardic, Moroccan, and Native faces, too. Those visions of home finally rallied his strength, and he stood once again with purpose" (2008, 320).

While the illustration from Baca's novel is fictional and not intended as a scholarly treatise, it can be considered an illustration of the depth of rootedness one may experience when re-encountering "home." The language of this illustration indicates that even in displacement and distance from their ancestral place, Nuevomexicanos maintain a sense of connectedness to their village of origin and to the idea of home (Deutsch 1989, 180).

Recovering and reclaiming cultural memory is important in realizing identity and that the endeavor has proved challenging, especially for a minority and marginalized community. Cultural memory involves finding historical documentation of a past that has been colonizing and colonized, particularly in the Southwest Borderlands. Rudolfo Anaya reaches to a pre-Columbian past to find the beginnings of his own identity, and the cultural and personal identity of his characters (Aranda 2000, 9-12).[24]

As an illustration of the significance of home in identity formation, particularly in the Nuevomexicano village, Rudolfo Anaya, in his novel *Randy Lopez Goes Home*, has

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[24] Aranda's (2000) essay predates publication Anaya's novel *Randy Lopez Goes Home* by over a decade and refers to works that had been published by the year 2000, yet I would contend that his commentary on Anaya's character's cultural and personal identity formation holds for the later work.

Lopez return to his home village, Agua Bendita, a place familiar, yet strangely unfamiliar. Lopez poses questions about his place, his identity, and his people to his *Padrino.*[25] In acknowledging their mestizo heritage, the *Padrino* explains to Lopez some of the intricacies of their identity.

> "Some of the old people called themselves Indo-hispanos. Some said mexicano. When the Americanos arrived, the kids in school were called Spanish Americans. Then Mexican American, then Hispano, Chicano, Latino, on and on. Labels changing the exterior. The soul remained true to its history.
> Destino. The concept was driven like a nail into the mestizo soul.
> Yes! The time of the mestizo had arrived!" (2011, 46-47).[26]

I would suggest that there is an intersection where individual and cultural memory, cultural identity and personal identity, and place intertwine. Nuevomexicanos' ties to place can be said to be part of the larger, global and cultural narrative about the meaning of place to native inhabitants of that place.

In some cultures, including those of European descent, "place" in narrative often connotes rootedness, a lifelong commitment to a geographical location. Kraig suggest that such a commitment to a location may reframe a place as more a social construct than an exact geography and landscape. Yet, place is integral to identity formation, a discovery and affirmation of who one is and indicates what will become one's place in the world (Kraig 2005, 240-241). Poet and philosopher Gary Snyder asserts that, for some time, the idea of living in a particular place for a long time, or even a lifetime, has "usually been dismissed as provincial, backward, dull, and possibly reactionary." However, living in such a community provides opportunities to become invested in the

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[25] "Padrino" is usually translated as "godfather," which can be in Catholic sacramentality for baptism or confirmation.

[26] See Chapter 1 for information on terms of reference for self and cultural identity as presented in this project.

"politics of local engagement" (1995, 231). Investment and engagement in a community foster the idea of establishing and belonging in a place.

Harvard English Professor and environmental critic Lawrence Buell asserts that to become "place" a space has to have perceived value, can be expressed in narrative, and can be either, or both, mentally and physically mapped. The most important places have the strongest emotional identification extending into time and the imagination (2005, 72-73)[27]. Li-Fu Tuan, retired professor of geography at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, concurred that places with the strongest emotional identification are also those places where the greatest human needs such as those for food, shelter, warmth, and intimate human connection, are met. People learn what places are most important through the process of growth and gaining experience within a particular culture in a particular place (2005, 4-7)[28]. Part of the process of growth and gaining experience is learning one's own story and the stories of one's most significant place. Buell suggests that the nature of

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[27]Lawrence Buell, in *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* (2005), states that a traditional conception of place can be expressed in concentric circles expanded through distance and time, with the most significant places, such as home, at the center of strongest emotional attachment, with other places extending outward from the center, having diminishing emotional attachment due to the amount of distance and time one is removed from the emotional, and often physical, home place. With modernization, he suggests that the modern expression of place is "more like an archipelago" as the place of work has been removed from home, and people both commute and travel more, extending the possibility of dispersed spaces becoming places beyond anything experienced in traditional societies. Additionally, Buell notes that people in modern societies can experiences places of the imagination, fueled by media such as television and films that traditional societies could not have experienced because modern media did not previously exist (72-73).

[28] Yi-Fu Tuan (2005) recounts a conversation between physicists Neils Bohr and Werner Heisenberg that illustrates how a space becomes a place in imagination and reality because of the connected narrative. Visiting Kronberg Castle in Denmark, Bohr remarked that they, as scientists, should be mainly concerned that the castle consists of stones put together in an admirable structural form, having a roof with a natural green patina, and beautiful wood carvings in the chapel. It is remarkable, too that the building has lasted so long. However, the significance in the castle, that carries the building beyond stones, roof, and chapel, is that it is the place where Hamlet lived. Hearing and understanding the narrative makes the castle a place, although Hamlet may have only existed in a thirteenth century chronicle, and may not have actually lived at all. Understanding the narrative made the castle a different place for Bohr and Heisenberg (4). Tuan is retired professor of geography at the University of Wisconsin – Madison and is credited with establishing the field of human geography (Author note).

a place largely depends on a person's narrative of embodied activity in relationship with people and objects in that physical space that gives a sense of one's past, present, and potential future (2005, 73).

Henri Lefebvre, Marxist philosopher and social critic known for his works on the city and public space, poses the problem as to whether language would "precede, accompany, or follow social space." Social spaces seem to have a common terminology, regardless of the language used. For example, terminology expressing marketplace, cultural center, or room in a home, have counterparts in multiple languages. Since these are common terms, in general everyone who hears them knows the social spaces they distinguish, what constitutes such spaces, what activities are performed in the spaces, and how discourses are employed about the social spaces themselves and the activities that occur there. Signifiers of such spaces are constructed in language employed about those spaces which, as language develops and changes in form and usage through time, informs the changing social practices that help to give physical spaces their meanings (1991, 160-18).

Physical spaces, or landscape, can be mapped cartographically and are more likely to be mapped in that way by newcomers or professional cartographers rather than by long term residents or by the people who have lived in a region for generations. Even though the languages of cartographic maps and spoken maps may seem incompatible, Kent Ryden, cultural geographer at the University of Southern Maine, states that people with long experience in a landscape may use cartographic maps. However the more significant maps exist in multilayered narratives that reveal an invisible landscape that becomes "visible" to people with deep roots in the region. Representations in art and

narrative by those with longstanding familiarity and deep roots in a place reinforce the "visibility" to those in the know, although they, too, may refer to physical maps in their works. Citing Johnstone (1990, 5), Ryden notes that a geographical or physical space is as much a verbal space within narratives that describe the place, express what has happened in that place and give meaning to that place (1993, 41-43).

Discourses about a particular place are shaped by narratives within and about that place, which are individual, and yet serve several purposes within the community. Narratives create meaning as they indicate what events have occurred in the speaker's world that are considered worth reporting and they are personal in that the speaker tells her or his own story, and the stories of those events from an individual perspective. Furthermore, narratives create and shape interpersonal relationships, and therefore, are used to build community. Social relationships created and expressed in story serve to develop community identity as groups of people tell the same stories in the same way, using similar rhetorical strategies (Johnstone 1996, 56-58). I would suggest that, following Johnstone, discourse implies an interrogation of the languages and narratives within social structures and both social and discourse communities in a particular place.

In addition to interrogation of language, story can also bring the past into the present by utilizing a colloquial vernacular to reinforce kinship ties, cultural history, celebrations, the reality of the representations on tombstones, the deeper meanings underlying letters, journals, and memoirs, and belonging. Narratives told within family and community circles substantiate and reinforce collective memory and preserve what

may be considered the most important record of a community, or of a New Mexico village (Davis-Undiano 2017, *xi*).[29]

A sense of place and community identity can remain, although the physical location has altered or a person's position has changed, by keeping memory alive by whatever methods individuals and community are able to do so. Stories remain even when the people or places have changed or even vanished. A sense of place still survives and sustains community, identity, past and present. While narratives are rooted in a particular place, they also can transcend that place in time, maintaining a solid foundation in an ever-changing world (Ryden 1993, 95).

For Mexican Americans[30], a sense of place often revolves around the family, community structures and institutions. Narratives of place in Mexican American cultures suggest an impermanence dating back to early colonial structures that continues to the present. Displacement from traditional lands and stories of working the land as migrants, comprises many personal and community narratives. Before the conclusion of the Mexican American War in 1848, traditional lands from the Yucatán to the Great Plains, and from Florida to the California coast held a diverse population with their own systems of governance. After 1848, settlers imposed a new colonial power structure on the people and their place that resulted in the geographic space becoming re-territorialized, with many traditional lands being divested and partitioned in favor of the new settlers. Place, for Mexican Americans, has become a dislocation that results in the question whenever

[29] Family, close community, and the village can all be considered as discourse communities for the purposes of this study in their use of common language and in their collective memory.

[30] Aranda (2005) uses the term "Mexican Americans" in his presentation as his term of cultural and personal identification. Other terminology identifying the cultural group are given in this dissertation as indicated by individuals and referential sources in their own words.

two Chicana/os meet, *"¿De donde eres?"* ("Where are you from?) Since a definitive sense of place may be difficult to map geographically, ideas and narrative become landscapes Mexican Americans inhabit (Aranda 2005, 321-323).

**Historical Perspective and Nuevomexicano Place**

The Spanish *entrada* in 1540 and colonization marked the beginning of Spanish culture in New Mexico and the entry of Pueblo peoples into written history. Initially coming as conquerors and seekers of gold, the Spanish hopes of acquiring extreme wealth eventually faded and the new settlers became part of a problematic move to spread Spanish culture throughout the Southwest. That Iberian culture that arrived in New Mexico was a mixture of European and Moorish influences, along with the influences of Native peoples of Mexico. In the region that would become New Mexico, they forged a new identity in a place they would claim as their own (deBuys 2009, 25). Most of the men who were part of the entrada in New Mexico were single and under 30 years old. According to muster rolls, the youngest was 15 and the oldest was 60. Approximately half of the men said they had been born in Spain. Among the men were Greeks (Griego), Portugese, and Flemish. Some of the officers brought their wives, children, servants, and slaves (Gutiérrez, 1991, 47).

Along the Rio Grande, the Spanish encountered several dozen Pueblos that had similar cultures and architecture within different language areas. Each village was relatively independent with its own economy based on irrigated agriculture, yet there was some interrelationship between the villages. While the Pueblos were generally stationary and agrarian, they were surrounded by small bands of Apaches, who populated the

landscape, were mobile, and lived largely by hunting and gathering. Apache economy and lifestyle were based in raiding their neighbors and in trading (Meinig 1971, 11)[31].

The Spanish move into northern New Mexico originally had the intent of annexing all of Pueblo territory and to colonize and settle the region, as well as to impose Spanish government, military, and ecclesiastical control on the people already living there along with the new settlers. There the Spanish established farms, military posts, villages, and larger towns that were supplied by caravans traveling from the Rio Arriba territory to Chihuahua, the trading center of the northern frontier of (Meinig 1971, 11-12.)

Among the early settlements were Hispano villages established in mountain valleys of northern New Mexico. Homes were built of adobe and many of these villages, while yet somewhat isolated, still exist in the modern era (deBuys 2009, 23). New Mexico is the state with the highest proportion of people living in villages and the villages are a major reason why the Hispano influence is significant and distinctive. Nuevomexicanos know the land intimately in and around their native villages and they maintain "an intense love for their community of birth" wherever they may go (Nostrand 1992, 220-223).

Water is a necessity in farming and in growing a village. In the mountain valleys of northern New Mexico, where rainfall is not abundant, water had to be captured and brought to where it was to be used. Spanish settlers developed a system of *acequias* to deliver water from its sources to where it was needed. *"Acequia"* is a derivation of the

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[31] Also see David J. Weber *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680* (1999), James F. Brooks *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002), Marta Weigle *Telling New Mexico: A New History* (2009), and Joseph P. Sánchez, et al, *New Mexico: A History* (2013) for additional perspective on early settlement in New Mexico.

Arabic term *"as-saquiya."* The term *"acequia"* refers both to the irrigation canals and to the association that governs, works, and uses the canals as well as to the water that flows in them (Crawford 1988, np).

Archaeological evidence indicates that Native peoples had developed irrigation systems beginning at least with the intricate system developed by the Anasazi and continuing into the Pueblo cultures. When the Spanish settled the region of the northern Rio Grande, they combined their prior irrigation and farming knowledge with what they learned from the Pueblos about irrigating and cultivating the land. The Spanish, however, did not constrain themselves to residing in areas where only rainfall and runoff could be used, but took advantage of rivers and streams in building their irrigation systems. Spanish law allowed colonial settlers to used and improve ditches that had been abandoned by the Pueblos, but prohibited intrusion on irrigation systems in use by Pueblo peoples. In early settlements, building the mother ditch, the *acequia madre,* for a village was nearly as important as building the church, and construction often occurred simultaneously (Rivera 1998, 1-4).

The acequia system has been at the core of the agrarian community economy of northern New Mexico. Governance of the acequias, originally according to Spanish law, became a balance between extremes of Old and New World thinking, between a governing body comprised a of *mayordomo*, or ditch supervisor, with his *comisión*, a group of several men who assisted the mayordomo in governing the acequia system, and the *parciantes*, or owners of the water rights, and between competition and cooperation. The water is apportioned so that, in times of abundance everyone belonging to the acequia has plenty and in times when water is scarce, no one goes without (Rodríguez

2007, 28-30). Each acequia system had its specific rules, written or spoken and understood, for construction, maintenance and apportioning the water, however a general rule was that parciantes were to meet on a specific day and time and at a specific place on the acequia madre, each bringing his own tools, to clean and repair the ditch that would supply the water for the community. The amount of labor required, or cash equivalency, of each parciante could depend on the distance he lived from the acequia madre, and in how the rules were stated for that particular acequia. A parciante whose land abutted an acequia was often directly responsible for that stretch of the ditch. It was also the duty of the mayordomo to keep a record of work on the acequia and to report to the community anyone who was responsible for repair and maintenance, but did not do his duty, which could result in water rights being denied for a period of time or imposition of other penalty within the community. Rules were established by the community and enforced by the community. In the upper Rio Grande region, isolation from authority, fragility of the bioregion, and risks associated with living there made conditions that helped create "self-government anchored in the democratic principles of equity, fairness, access, and local control" (Rivera 1998, 83-86).

In the sixteenth century throughout Spanish America, as well as in Europe at the same time, organized towns based on monetary commerce more than on agrarian activities came into being. New towns developed their own meanings as urban centers with mutually dependent residents, rather than having individuals and small groups being almost entirely dependent on rural agrarian enterprises and nature to provide for them. However, these newly developed towns on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean were ultimately dependent upon, and subject to, the state, be it be a European nation such as

Spain, or later in the Americas, Mexico. Thinking of the town as an entity unto itself, with its common architecture and spatial practices, and with its people having interpersonal dependency while being subject to a sovereign power, helped shape the discourses of towns (Lefebvre 1991, 271-272).

During the early seventeenth century, the Spanish government resolved to determine the state of development of settlements in northern New Spain. Therefore in 1609, the Spanish Vice-regal instructed Governor Peralta to become informed on the state of the settlements of the region around Santa Fe and to report back to his government on their conditions and their attempts at permanence (Sanchez, Spude, and Gómez 2013, 44).

It was part of European colonial practice to name the regions of the world they explored and conquered as new versions of older, more established cities or regions. These regions and cities were usually considered successors and inheritors to something distant, and possibly vanished, although kept in memory. In the Americas, however, naming practices by some colonial powers, including the Spanish, indicated a parallel to a place in the New World with a place in the Old World, of cultural development on a similar pace, at least in perception. Even though the regions may change national affiliation, many retain the names early colonizers gave them.[32] For example, as significant numbers of Spanish people moved into New Spain, including both Mexico

[32] In New Mexico, however, I suggest other areas where Native nations continue in their survivance, places carry the names bestowed by the Spanish, in addition to retaining their Native American names, and most recently names given by the Americans who began to move into the area in force during the mid-1800s. Usage of particular names for geographic spaces and places likely depends on the culture to which one belongs. For some examples of these naming practices, see regional maps, such as those published by AAA, "The United States;" North Star Mapping, "Road Map of Navajo and Hopi Nations;" and High Desert Field Guides, "Tony Hillerman's Landscapes: Southwest Map & Guide."

and New Mexico, and the original population was overwhelmed militarily, economically, and technologically, new norms with political and cultural ties to Spain were established, along with claiming the privilege of naming places (Anderson 1993, 187-189).

**The First Roybals in New Mexico**

It was recorded that during the Reconquista of 1693 that the first of the Roybal family came to New Mexico from Galicia in Spain. Ignacio Roybal[33] was given land grants in the Santa Fe and San Ildefonso districts and was significant to de Vargas' Reconquista campaigns. Ignacio served as "High Sheriff of the Inquisition" and the "Confraternity of La Conquistadora" during his life and he died in Santa Fe at well over eighty years of age. His wife, Francisca Gómez Robledo, lived to be over a hundred years[34] (Chávez 1992, 273-275).[35] Ignacio Roybal also achieved high military rank, by 1708 was *alcalde* of Santa Fe[36], and was consulted by the governor and other officials on governmental and military matters (Ebright, 2008, 250).[37]

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[33] Descendants of Ignacio Roybal, also referred to as Ignacio Roybal de Torrado, have developed various spellings of the family name, including Roibal, Roival, Ruibal, and Ruival. The spelling of the surname on a land purchase agreement subsequent to the initial land grant is usually given as Roibal (Maestas, 2016, 69-70). The 1790 Spanish colonial census of the Villa de Santa Fe spells the name as "Roibal," while the spelling "Roybal" appears in the Mexican colonial census of 1823. Various spellings of the name, as listed above, appear throughout the census reports. For more information see the *New Mexico Spanish & Mexican Colonial Censuses: 1790, 1823, 1845,* the revision published by the New Mexico Genealogical Society in 1975.

[34] The family name "Roybal" is noted on monuments in New Mexico, specifically at the Camino Real Visitor Center south of Soccoro and at the Coronado Monument in Bernalillo, among a number of other family names common in NM as being among the first Spaniards in the area.

[35] Fray Angélico Chávez is a descendant of Ignacio Roybal and Francisca Gómez Robledo, apparently by six generations. His mother was Nicolasa Roybal, who married Fabián Chávez (1992, 274).

[36] During and following the Reconquista of New Mexico, formal local government of towns and land grants with royal charters was minimal, and most reported directly to the Governor. Groups such as ditch associations and militias had specific functions and strict limits on their activities. Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de Cañada, and, after a time, Albuquerque, as communities of some status, had *alcaldes* as head of community government. It was the *alcalde* who reported to the Governor (Kutsche 1979, 10).

[37] The position of *alcalde* was significant in a community as that man served either as mayor of the entire community or as a delegate of the mayor of a large community to the neighborhoods. Ebright notes that a

While Ignacio Roybal and his descendants are centered in this study, similar narratives of multiple individuals and families of Spanish descent who settled in northern New Mexico exist and could be centered in such a work. In this case, numerous familial narratives proceed along similar paths, especially of those who entered New Mexico with de Vargas during the Reconquista. There are, however, more extended and extensive narratives handed down within the families and communities of the first Spanish settlers, who arrived in New Mexico at the beginning of the Spanish Colonial Period. Even those narratives from earlier times contain common elements with narratives of those who arrived later in the Reconquista. Limited genealogies of some of the families, with the Roybals centered, serve to place individuals and families in their historical contexts.[38]

Ignacio Roybal de Torrado was born in 1673 in Galicia, Spain, not far from Santiago de Compostelo. Diego de Vargas recruited Ignacio Roybal in Spain to serve in what is now New Mexico as a military leader in the Reconquista after the Pueblo Revolt. Roybal was twenty one years old. (Romero 2012, 27[39] and Ebright 1994, 250).

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major responsibility was to advise the governor as to whether a particular land grant should be made, and to whom, as a private land grant or community land grant. Should the land grant be made, the *alcalde* performed the ceremony giving possession. When possible the alcalde, grantee(s), and neighbors of the property walked the boundaries of the land grant, placing markers denoting the borders, and especially the corners, of the new grant (2009, 211-212).

[38] See Fray Chávez (1992) for documentation of genealogical information and interconnectedness of the families of New Mexico's Spanish Colonial Period. See works of Anselmo Arellano, Nasario Gárcia, Abe Peña, Joseph P. Sánchez, Denis Heyck, for examples of *Nuevomexicanos'* personal narratives and oral histories illustrating individual and family lives extending back to New Mexico's colonial periods and the connections that continue into the 21st century. Weigle, Nieto-Phillips, and Villa, for example, utilize and include personal narratives and oral histories to develop and further their histories and discourses.

[39] Eloyda Roybal Romero, now of Albuquerque, NM, compiled her memoir, *The Roybal Legacy*, to leave a record for her children and grandchildren of what it meant to her to grow up a Roybal in Peñasco, NM. Romero compiled an extensive genealogy of her branch of the Roybal family tree leading back to Ignacio Roybal y Torrado, the first of the family in the Southwest. Romero also collected narratives from her branch of the Roybal family (2012). Information of an historical nature and of genealogy are corroborated in the text by academic sources. Most narratives are also corroborated by academic sources in the text, however some are noted as family stories.

Family stories in the branch of the Roybal family into which I married say that the first Roybal family men who came to New Spain and New Mexico did so because they had committed crimes and were avoiding prison or worse. According to the stories, it was safer to join the military, leave Spain and take one's chances with the unknown than to remain and face the consequences of one's criminal acts.[40] Family lore includes a narrative that several brothers came to New Spain through Mexico and some of the brothers returned to Mexico, but it is thought that none went back to Spain (Roybal, T, nd, np).[41]

If Ignacio Roybal y Torrado had been a criminal, it is possible that his criminal act was either practicing Judaism or having Jewish heritage. According to Father Martínez, New Mexico was a major destination for people of Jewish and Arabic heritage, including those who had converted willingly or by force to Catholicism, known as the *conversi.* They were people who wanted to remain Spanish but were faced with expulsion from Spain after the Moors were driven out of the country in 1492. The people who came from Spain to New Mexico with the conquest and Reconquista were mostly poor or were sons who were not in position to inherit land or wealth. That, combined with the number who had converted, and those who had no future in Spain, saw the expeditions of conquest as means of hope for some future possibility (1994, 416).

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[40] Fray Chávez states, "[M]any of us New Mexicans have dreamed of our Conquistador forefathers as some sort of knighted gentry—to the secret, and sometimes undisguised, mirth of our non-Spanish neighbors, who wrongly believe them to have been nothing but peons and convicts" (1992, *xviii*).

[41] The number of brothers who came to New Spain and the number of brothers who returned to Mexico varies with who presents the narrative, with different narrators insisting that they have the correct number. However, evidence as presented by Chávez (1992), Ebright (1994), Romero (2012), and Maestas (2016) indicates that Ignacio Roybal was the first Roybal who came from Spain to New Spain and remained in what is now New Mexico.

It is likely that Ignacio Roybal y Torrado was the first of the Roybals in what is now New Mexico and is considered the progenitor of a large family that now extends throughout the Southwest (Maestas 2016, 69, and Romero 2012, 13).[42]

Francisca Gómez Robledo was born into a wealthy and influential family who lived near San Ildefonso Pueblo and was baptized in the Pueblo church. Her father had been granted the title of nobleman (in Spanish, *caballero hidalgo*) by royal decree for his service to the Spanish crown and had accumulated large land holdings in the Santa Fe area. Francisca's royalist father did not always agree with, and often clashed with, the Franciscan clergy, and he was eventually arrested and confined for secretly practicing Judaism,[43] [44]which was an offense punishable by incarceration or worse. After his release, he was able to regain his status and continued in service to Spain in the colony until he was killed during the Pueblo Uprising (Romero 2012, 28-30).

As the Spanish Colonial settlers returned from their exile in El Paso del Norte in 1693, Francisca Gómez Robledo traveled in a caravan with her mother and sisters. One of

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[42] (Santiago) Domingo Roybal also arrived in the region around the same time as Ignacio Roybal. Chávez notes that he could have been a younger brother of Ignacio Roybal as Ignacio was about five years older than Domingo. He married Juana Gómez Robledo, likely a sister of Francisca Gómez Robledo. They seem to have had only one child, a son, who was registered. According to Fray Chávez, "nothing more is known of him" (1992, 276). It is a possibility that (Santiago) Domingo Roybal is the brother who returned to Mexico. (See note 10.)

[43] The Inquisition as practiced in Spain also extended to Mexico and New Mexico. Spanish Jews who had hoped to move to Mexico or New Mexico to have religious freedom were disappointed at best. If a person, or a family, was suspected of practicing Judaism secretly, punishments could be severe as the religious practice could be treated as a capital offense. Some people were suspect, as Spanish surnames ending in "-ez," such as Gómez, were considered names of Jewish origin (Romero, 2012, 29-30). Córdova states that his ancestors' Jewish worship had to take place secretly in private homes and the "-ez" that was added to the family surname served to let other Jews know who they were (1994, 124).

[44] The Gómez Robledo family, as part of their contributions to the Santa Fe colony and the Catholic Church, were in service to the statue known as La Conquistadora, both before and after the Pueblo Revolt. The family held and maintained the garments for the statue and Francisco served as Mayordomo for her care (Chavez, 1983, 28-45). It is possible that the family's devotional practices to Our Lady under the title of La Conquistadora preserved the men of Gómez descent from the direst consequences of their suspected Judaism.

the soldiers accompanying that caravan was Ignacio Roybal y Torrado (Romero 2012, 31).

Ignacio and Francisca were married in the military chapel in Santa Fe on February 8, 1694 (Romero 2012, 31).

Following the marriage of Ignacio Roybal y Torrado and Francisca Gómez Robledo, he was given a private land grant in Santa Fe, about a mile from the plaza, where they built a home (Romero 2012, 31). Ignacio Roybal y Torrado kept the home in Santa Fe with servants for the remainder of his life, but he seems to have spent most of his time at Jacona (Ebright 2008, 251).

In 1702, Roybal y Torrado petitioned Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero for a grant of the remaining land from the abandoned Jacona Pueblo. Captain Jacinto Peláez[45] had previously been granted two *fanegas* of the Jacona land, which is measured as the amount of land on which four bushels of seed corn can be grown. Roybal's petition for the rest of the abandoned pueblo land was granted without the requisite investigation. Written documentation of the grant has not yet been discovered and none may have survived, therefore there is currently no apparent evidence that the customary ceremony of the giving of the Jacona grant took place (Ebright 2008, 249).

Individual land grants, such as that given to Ignacio Roybal[46], were generally issued as a reward for service to those who had helped to conquer the region. The grantees had full property rights over the grant, but had to abide by certain regulations,

[45] Peláez was Ignacio Roybal's brother-in-law, as he had married Margarita Gómez Robledo, sister to Roybal's wife, Francisca (Ebright 2008, 250).

[46] The historic surname "y Torrado" was dropped within the first generation of Roybals born in New Spain. Ignacio Roybal y Torrado, progenitor of the Roybals in the Southwest, is further identified in this project as Ignacio Roybal without the historic surname (Romero 2012, 198). Some heirs in later generations also were given the name Ignacio Roybal, and will be so identified as necessary.

especially in improving the property and providing governance under Spanish law, or the grant could revert to the Spanish government. The individual who was awarded the grant became the alcalde as a rule, and other residents of the grant served on the governing council (Leonard 1970, 96-97).[47] In subsequent years, Ignacio Roybal purchased and traded for additional lands, thus increasing his land holdings. In 1705, Roybal purchased land near the Rio Cuyamungue from another colonial officer, Captain Juan de Maestas. He later bought more of the Maestas land. Captain Maestas had begun a house on the second parcel of land, which Roybal enlarged to become the hacienda (Maestas 2016, 70).[48] Roybal received an additional land grant for grazing his livestock on a parcel that bordered San Ildefonso Pueblo. The boundary between the Roybal grant and the Pueblo was disputed and San Ildefonso took Roybal to court several times to determine the exact boundary and which entity would have use of that land and water. These issues have yet to be resolved (Ebright 2008, 250). Eventually, Ignacio Roybal had purchased and gained titles to over 68,000 acres of land, including the acquisition of several grants with houses and livestock already on them (Romero 2012, 33).

Ignacio and Francisca had nine children, four daughters and five sons. Most, if not all, of the children were born on San Ildefonso Pueblo (Hispanic Genealogy Research

[47] Leonard (1970) lists three types of Spanish land grants in Colonial New Mexico. First was a community land grant, given in order to form a town, the *consijiles.* The second type of land grant were given to favored subjects and distinguished individuals as privately owned lands, the *de dominio particular.* Finally, the third type of lands were the royal lands, where ownership was retained by the Spanish Crown. They were considered vacant lands, the *terrenos valdios.* Royal lands consisted of all the land the Spanish considered empty and could be used by settlers who petitioned successfully to the King, and later, to his appointed representatives to expedite settlement of the territory. In later colonial years, permission was easier to acquire in order to use the royal lands for agriculture and livestock (97-98).
[48] Maestas wrote that the hacienda still stands and is used as the home of the present owners. The hacienda is “listed in the New Mexico Register of Cultural Properties” (2016, 70).

Center of New Mexico [electronic source without pagination]).[49] As a family of some wealth and prominence, Ignacio and Francisca were able to send their eldest son, Santiago, to Mexico City for his education and to become a priest (Ebright 2008, 251). Santiago Roybal was the first native New Mexican to become a priest and was the first secular priest[50] and prelate in what has become the United States (Chávez 1992, 275).[51]

Father Santiago Roybal is held in high esteem in the Roybal family. In the early years of our marriage, when he was mentioned in family discussions, it seemed to me that he was probably a contemporary of my husband's paternal great grandfather, Antonio Roybal,[52] who was born in the late 1800s. I was surprised to realize many years later that Santiago was born in the early 1700s and was possibly the first Roybal male born in New Mexico.

Upon Ignacio Roybal's death, the land and house in Santa Fe were deeded to his wife, Francisca, while the Roybal portion of Jacona was divided among his children and at least one grandchild, with Santiago serving as executor. Ignacio Roybal also deeded some of his lands to the servants who had worked for the family during his lifetime and to other family members (Romero 2012, 33-34, Ebright 1994, 251).

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[49] The Hispanic Genealogy Research Center of New Mexico (HRGC) database indicates that a number of people who lived on or near San Ildefonso Pueblo have had the family name Roybal. It seems, as Jacona was adjoining property and many of the first Roybal children were born on the Pueblo, that there was significant interaction and likely intermarriage between the Roybals of Jacona and the residents of San Ildefonso ([electronic source without pagination]).

[50] A secular priest is also called a diocesan priest and serves in a particular diocese in obedience to a local bishop. In this case, Father Roybal served in what is now the Santa Fe Archdiocese. A "religious" priest is a member of a religious order such as the Franciscans, who were especially prominent in New Mexico at the time. A religious priest is in service in a particular region, but his first obedience is to the superior of his order, such as an abbot or provincial.

[51] Father Santiago Roybal is considered notable in the Archdiocese of Santa Fe by having his image etched in a window located in the narthex of the Cathedral of Saint Francis of Assisi in Santa Fe.

[52] Antonio Roybal is spoken of as "Don Antonio" out of respect and honor.

Ignacio's son, Mateo, petitioned Governor Juan Bautista de Anza to recognize the portion of the Jacona land grant given in the partition. In acknowledging and granting the request, de Anza in effect validated the 1702 grant to Ignacio Roybal, thus correcting any defect in the method or lack of appropriate ceremony during the original act of possession in which the original land grant was given (Ebright 1994, 251-252).

The community on the Jacona land grant grew much larger into the early 1800s. As an agricultural community, Jacona and the surrounding villages required irrigation to provide water for their crops and the *Acequia Madre de los Señores Roybales de Jacona* was the conduit for irrigation water. The ditch association was in conflict with San Ildefonso for a number of years during the nineteenth century, in a dispute over control and use of the water that flowed in the acequia. By the end of the nineteenth century, about fifty families lived on the land grant, with approximately half living directly south of the Nambé River at Jacona, also known as *Los Roybales* (Ebright 2008, 252).

**Place, Village, and Cultural Identity: Village Life in Jacona and Beyond**

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Spanish and Mexican colonial powers continued exploring and settling the region westward from the Rio Grande and northward to the area around what is now Denver in present day Colorado and to the Great Salt Lake in what would become Utah. By the time the United States moved to annex the region, over three hundred Spanish and Mexican land grants had been issued to settlers in New Mexico, with the expectation that their presence would be permanent. The legacy of land grants has been their continued existence as cultural enclaves that preserve colonial language, culture, religion, and tradition (Sanchez, Spude, and Gomez 2013, 44-46).

By the early 1800s, marriages and casual contact between the Spanish and Native Pueblo peoples along the Rio Grande resulted in a *mestizo* population, often more Native in heritage, but more Spanish in culture. Within a few generations, people of mixed ethnic heritage became the majority in most of the settled towns. Centuries long practices of land cultivation and herding, for example, were adapted from traditional Pueblo culture, while language, religion, and some traditions were adapted from the Spanish (Meinig 1971, 13-14). With the help of the Pueblos, early New Mexican villages were able to survive, in part by occasionally operating outside Spanish colonial power. The Native population became trading partners, friends, and, often family. At the same time, the Natives have maintained cultural autonomy more than in most other places and Nuevomexicano villages have been able to continue in their cultural identity (Swadesh 1979, 59-61).[53]

Through the 1800s the Roybal family expanded outward from Jacona and had built homes and farms throughout the New Mexico Territory (U. S. Census 1860). By 1870, there were Roybals living in Embudo[54]. Antonio, often referred to as Don Antonio as an adult, had been born in 1864 (U. S. Census 1870). By the turn of the twentieth century, Antonio had established himself as a farmer in Embudo, had married Emilia, and had become a father (U. S. Census 1900).[55] According to Roybal family lore, Antonio

[53] With their close interactions with adjacent and nearby Pueblos and other Native cultures in the vicinity, it would seem inevitable that the Roybals who lived at Jacona and their progeny, including those who moved to different parts of New Mexico, would develop economic, friendship, and kinship relationships with their neighbors.
[54] U. S. Census records indicate the same region in some census years as Embudo, and in other years as Dixon.
[55] No records for the1890 Census of the New Mexico Territory remain as most of the 1890 Census was destroyed in a fire in the Commerce Department in Washington, DC, where it was stored. Only fragments of that census exist (U. S. Census 1890).

purchased the portion of land in the neck of the funnel along the Rio Grande for thirty five dollars in silver and a cow. It took him a year to pay off the thirty five dollars.[56]

In 1940, most of Antonio's children were living on that portion of land and his sons helped with the farming. His son, Eloy, was termed as a "common laborer" while working on the family farm (U. S. Census 1940).[57] Eloy picked up other work for wages when and where available.

Cultural contact and interaction between the Spanish and Mexicans with Pueblo peoples influenced both cultures and their traditions. For example, as the Pueblos adapted a Spanish form of government, leadership in the Pueblos was symbolized by a silver topped cane presented to each Pueblo governor by the Spanish. The main symbol engraved on the cane was a cross, indicating the blessing of the Catholic Church and the support of the Spanish crown for each Pueblo and its leaders (Sando 2009, 125-126).[58]

Pueblo cultures can be described as tribal. I contend that the one of the reasons that northern New Mexico villages can be difficult, if not impossible to leave, in fact or in memory and imagination, is that the culture in the villages can also be identified as tribal.

In tribal cultures, people take responsibility for each other and their well-being that goes far deeper than a query into one's health. In a tribal culture, when one belongs to that culture, they have to take you in when you return. There is a compulsion toward communal sharing, even to the last of one's food. Among the people in a tribal culture,

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[56] A bill of sale has yet to be discovered for the land purchase by Antonio Roybal in Embudo, so it is possible that the transaction was completed on a handshake and honor (Roybal, Theodore, unpublished memoir, n.d.).

[57] The U. S. Census for 1940 was recently released and is the largest and most recent census available for the public to view.

[58] The practice of giving canes to Pueblo governors was continued and new canes were presented by the Mexican Government when the region came under their control and, later President Abraham Lincoln had new canes made and these were presented in 1863 in belated recognition of the sovereignty of the Pueblos (Sando, 2009, 125-126).

there exists loyalty, an experience of belonging, and the sense that within the context of the culture, their lives are meaningful and they, themselves, are necessary (Junger 2016, *xv-xvii*). Rudolfo Anaya states that his values and identity come from "the tribal ways of the old Nuevo Mexicanos" in learning from the myths and in viewing the land as sacred (2009, 89). I suggest that although a particular geographic space may be the location that people would name as the place they are from, their significance comes from a deep experience of being part of something greater than themselves that existed long before they did and would continue long after they depart. As Meléndez (2017) states, "It seems there is a spirit of place and a reverence for the past that is common to all rural people and towns" (*xv*).

In their cultural interactions with the Pueblos, Spanish settlers and their descendants in villages of northern New Mexico adopted and adapted to a way of life with patterns and rhythms determined largely by the place in which they developed. That seems to be why, when asked, "Where are you from?" a first generation Nuevomexicano, and sometimes a later generation Nuevomexicano who has moved to a geographic place outside the state would name a specific village, rather than just state "New Mexico." Ken Martinez wrote of the nature of a person that the villages of northern New Mexico produced.

> "I think it [his father's calm demeanor] comes from life in the villages. There is a rhythm to life there that is so primordial. The village [Tierra Amarilla] is up against a mountain and next to a river. No one has a lot of land—everybody has a little bit of land, but it is enough to feed your family if you know how to work it. There are well-respected rules of behavior about who used the water and when, about sharing with your neighbors. It was considered to be in poor taste to stand out from your neighbors. Everybody wanted to try to be the same, to be together" (2009, 125-126).

I suggest that cultures in general have within them structures and institutions that are intertwined with beliefs and convictions of the people, which are manifested in the practices that both cause and result from institutions and beliefs. It seems that there exist particular, and often unique, representations of these elements of cultures in Nuevomexicano villages of northern New Mexico. Analysis of some of the cultural representations serve to illustrate how they strengthen the village and confirm individuals as members of the community. Further, I argue that, it is in these productions and practices of village culture that, though a person may leave the village, or the village may change over time, the experience of the home village in imagination and memory is carried within the individual and in the community, no matter how the village was disrupted or how geographically separated community members became. I would further argue that, in times of disruption and separation, aspects of village life as practiced in family, faith, ritual, values,[59] cultural expectation, and cultural production are carried with the people as are material goods. While material goods are physically handed down to children and grandchildren, more personal cultural "goods" sustain the individual, culture, and, as Deutsch (1987) notes, the regional community. This will be further developed in Chapters 3 and 4.

[59] Paul Kutsche, in the Introduction to *The Colorado College Studies: The Survival of Spanish American Villages,* writes, "Values are seldom emphasized in discussions of social organization, hence their impact on social behavior tends to be underestimated in favor of structure and kinship terminology which we traditionally look on as somehow more nearly 'hard data.'" He notes that most description has come from outsider perspective and that Rudolfo Anaya, in particular, uses his novels to "make strong insider statements about longstanding values and the challenge to them when villagers have to migrate to urban slums" (Spring 1979, 18).

## The Nuevomexicano Village

At the risk of presenting a somewhat romantic image in the depiction of some of the societal structures, productions and practices of Nuevomexicano villages, I use the following examples as illustrations of where some of Nuevomexicanos' strengths, sense of personal agency, self-determination, and resiliency become evident.[60] The list of examples that follows is not a complete study of northern New Mexico villages and a complete analysis of village life cannot be limited in scope to the few representations in this study. However, the examples are presented to indicate some of the sources of agency, determination, strength, resiliency that continue to be evident, even as villages are disrupted and local communities become regional.

In her memoir, Cleofas Jaramillo wrote, "Romance and adventure have always ridden hand in hand with the Spanish race" (2000, 1).

The villages of northern New Mexico were relatively isolated enclaves that were long based on a subsistence economy. Villages provided for the social, political, and economic needs of their residents in a relatively stable population. Residents had access to the resources of the community, where the entire environment was utilized and technological means of production was minimal. The family was especially important as

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[60] I have some understanding of the strength, agency, self-determination, and resiliency in the people of isolated northern New Mexico villages, having lived for much of my early life on my grandmother's isolated Wyoming cattle ranch. Though the "community" well north of Medicine Bow was small, the people living there had to be self-reliant, while at the same time knowing that they could depend on the other ranch families to be there in case of emergency or other need. We had no electricity, water came from a well, wood and coal gave heat for cooking and for the house, and kerosene lanterns provided light. The nearest grocery store, doctor, and other amenities of town living were about 60 miles away in Laramie, with approximately half of the route over dirt roads that the ranchers maintained. Weather was a major determinant as to the accessibility of the region outside the valley. My grandmother, Ruth, who was likely the most educated person in the valley, had the privilege of teaching all the children of the valley in the one-room school house the ranchers built at the edge of her property, on a parcel that was about at the center of the valley.

the basic unit of economic production and consumption of goods. The family made most of what they used, or exchanged goods with others in the village to obtain what they needed and could not, or did not, grow or manufacture within the family unit. Members of the community had access to common lands and resources and trade with others outside the village in a limited market consisted mainly of environmental goods nonessential to the subsistence of the local village. Village life produced self-sufficient, resourceful, and capable families and individuals (Weber, K. 1974, 79-80).

**Family/ La Familia**

The family, as the basic and foundational institution in a community, is the first, and likely most significant, place of instruction and enculturation in the customs and mores of the Nuevomexicano village. Sylvia Rodríguez writes that it is in the family where respect is taught to the children by the elders in the family. She notes that, while the ceremony is practiced less often in recent years, it is still enacted in the villages and in some families, and is an active memory in much of the post-World War II generation.

> "An adult requests a drink of water from someone younger, typically a child. The spoken request is "Hijo/a tráeme agua" (Child, bring me water.) The youth is supposed to stop whatever s/he is doing, obediently fetch a glass of water and stand attentively before the elder, arms folded, until the glass is drained and handed back. The elder then blesses the junior" (2007, 25).

Manuel Martinez remembered learning respect for adults in a similar manner.

> "*Si,* when a parent asked a child for something he had to comply exactly with the request. If a child was going to give an elder water, he or she had to cross his arms. If you didn't do it your father would hit you. Much respect was demanded of the children. We always called an elder *usted*, the term of respect. If a neighbor passed you would always say, '*Buenos dias le de Dios,'* or, *'Buenas*

> *tardes le de Dios.'* The men who had wealth were called *'dones.'* But all were called *señor*, rich or poor" (c. 1993, sec. 6-16).

Rodríguez notes that the custom is falling into disuse because young people are disinclined to have the kind of respect for their elders that they had in the past; the kind of respect that "remains the hallmark of good upbringing and of proper comportment" in their relationships with others, including elders and peers. Rodríguez explains that, it is in learning cultural customs like exhibiting proper respect, "illustrates the connection in Nuevomexicano culture between aridity, reverence for water, and a patriarchal, risk-averse culture" that has an economy that is cooperative and interdependent as the "moral economy" of the village (2007, 25).

**Honor/Shame – Respeto/Vergűenza**

Much of the instruction of children by their elders was given to the honor-shame dichotomy prevalent in village culture. Brought from Spain and the Mediterranean region, where the honor-shame concept serves to govern interrelationships, the nature of *respeto* (respect) influences social inequality and helps maintain the moral economy (Rodríguez 2007, 26-27). Drawn from the distant past, the concept of *vergűenza* undergirds the value system among Hispanos of northern New Mexico and is interwoven throughout community structures and institutions. *Dichos*, wise sayings, reach into that past to earlier beliefs, in order to gain wisdom and to pass wisdom on. Perhaps because it is difficult to arrive at a simple definition, or perhaps because it is so ubiquitous, vergűenza is not often articulated outside village culture (Valdez 1979, 99).

Honor is expressed in two parts, status and virtue, where status is made of the social and cultural position into which one is born and virtue is comprised of acquired

traits of personal behavior. The concept of honor has also been used to govern women's behavior so they would be less likely to shame the men who have power over them, creating a veritable double standard. Honor status reinforces social stratification according to class, gender, ethnicity, and degree of purity of Spanish blood (*limpieza de sangre*). Honor virtue is accessible to all who conform to the given moral code (Rodríguez 2007, 26-27).

Honor and respect, respeto, that is lost becomes vergűenza, a term that has no adequate English translation, but is rendered as "shame." Only by having a sense of shame can one be honorable and an asset to the community. The person, usually a man, with a sense of shame will treat his neighbors well, will be just in commerce, is independent, will stand up against unjust authority, and is expected to be a land owner (Rodríguez 2007, 27). In traditional villages work outside farming and ranching is rare. The man who owns land, a farmer or rancher, and has use of common lands, is his own master. A man *con mucha vergűenza,* with a great sense of shame, would find working for others or for wages demeaning. However, he would not hesitate to help his neighbors in a fair exchange of goods or services. In helping others, by being dependable and reliant, a man like this would understand that, in his time of need, others in the village con vergűenza would render assistance. A man con mucha vergűenza is known to be so when his children turn out well and become assets to the community (Valdez 1979, 100-101).

**Marriage**

While villages in New Mexico were structured according to gender in social interactions, work, and religion, community structures were very complex and not always

fully understood by people who were either outsiders or had not been raised in traditional Nuevomexicano culture. For example, traditionally in Nuevomexicano villages, entering into marriage created networks among the couple and the community.[61] When the community anticipated a marriage, it was necessary for a number of people connected with the couple to negotiate the offer *and* to give their consent, including their parents, grandparents, and godparents. Even after the negotiations, the bride was free to accept or reject the offer.[62] If she accepted, the wedding took place and was a community affair. After the ceremony, the groom was given to the bride's family, and the bride was given to the groom's family, creating new familial and social networks. If the bride had property when she entered the marriage, she generally maintained control over her property after the wedding and was able to keep her property separate from her husband's. Even in a patriarchal society, married women, especially those with personal property, could be relatively autonomous. The family was most often headed by a married couple and even in an unhappy marriage divorce was rare in order to keep the family intact. In traditional village life, women were considered to be the center of the family (Deutsch 1987, 42-46).[63]

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[61] Chávez notes that his genealogical research indicates that, during the first two centuries of colonial settlement in New Mexico, those of Spanish descent became inter-related as one big family, which he discovered in tracing his own family tree and making the familial connections. He states that a person who was his (Chávez's) contemporary would find about five hundred grandparents in tracing their ancestry to Vargas's time (1992, *xix-xx*).

[62] A refusal of marriage could be explained as *"'Les daban Calabasas'"* (they gave them pumpkins), which indicates that the girl's parents did not consent to the match (Baca de Gallegos 1987, 40).

[63] Folklore stories and myths of traditional *Nuevomexicano* cultures give warnings about maintaining and reinforcing community standards and rules for behavior for children and adults and what may happen if these rules are violated, including the arena of gendered relationships and sexuality. Rodríguez (2007, 25-26), Deutsch (1987 42-46), and Jordan (1985, 26-44) present and explain some of these narratives. While cautionary myths and tales are not exclusive to any one culture, and transcend cultures, the folkloric stories in Mexican-American cultures have references to mores and values particular to the region in which they are told.

Rosendo Montaño of Tecolote, NM, stated that he was married in Our Lady of Sorrows Church in Las Vegas, NM. Montaño explained that he followed tradition in proposing marriage and in the ceremony.

> *"Pues primeramente* (well, first of all), my dad and my relatives went to ask for my future wife in marriage. They came here to Las Vegas and asked for her hand. After eight days they let us know that it was positive. We came from over there ready, we brought everything that was necessary, you know for the fiesta and food. We got married at church and then went home" (*Interviews,* sec 10-4, 1975).

Montaño continued,

> "In the Old Town [of Las Vegas], Nuestra Señora de Dolores [Our Lady of Sorrows], and then we went to her home and had food and then a fiesta. At night we had a dance til 3 a.m., the Mexican way, you know. But it was very nice, all the people together, very happy. My wife and I stayed with her family two or three days and then we went to the ranch and we lived there" (*Oral History Interviews,* sec. 10-4, 1975).

The home a married couple created as shelter and dwelling place was considered as mainly the domain of the woman and she was responsible for its care and, in general, its maintenance. Homes were indicative of their cultures and changes in homes indicated changes in culture by their décor and production within the domestic sphere. Living spaces in traditional Hispano homes could be divided into areas that only served one function, but this was not always the case. Kitchen functions such as cooking, for example, might be accomplished indoors or outdoors, depending on the season. Whether in a house in town or in a *hacienda* on a ranch, a fireplace was a usual feature, providing light, warmth, and often cooking space. It was not uncommon in traditional village homes for the woman of the house to place a light in the window, and perhaps a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to guide and protect those who may be out at night or were caught in a storm (Weigle 1988, 127-132).

**Gender roles**

Nuevomexicano men had significant roles as leaders in the family and the community. For men, being macho means that the most important duty was to take care of *la* familia (the family). That meant doing one's work, teaching the children by example and by direct instruction on what it means to be adult, and in doing right by the village.

Rudolfo Anaya writes,

> "In the villages and barrios of New Mexico when I was growing up, being manly (hombrote) meant having a sense of honor. The intangible of the macho image is that sense of honor. A man must be honorable, for himself and for his family. There is honor in the family name. Hombrote also means providing for the family. Men of honor were able to work with the other men in communal enterprises. The took care of the politics of the village, law and order, the church, the acequia, and the old people.
>
> "The greatest compliment I could receive as a child when I did a job well was to be called hombrote. I was acting like an hombre, a man. This compliment came from both males and females in the family and in the extended family. By the way, this compliment was also given to the girls. They can be hombrotas, as well as muy mujerotas, very womanly. Either way, the creation of male and female roles are rewarded with the appropriate language, and the language is male centered (2000, 10).

In traditional cultures, it seems that grandparents are viewed as important to the family and to the community. They carry wisdom and tradition and transmit them to younger generations. They have time to listen to their grandchildren when their parents are busy making a home and making a living. That respect and reverence given grandparents is even more so in Latino cultures.

Ruben Navarrette, Jr. wrote,

> "For Latinos, our *abuelas* are sacred . . . .
> My grandmothers were the glue that held their families together. In fact, it was a blessing that their husbands died first. Had it been the other way around, those strong and proud men wouldn't have lasted a month without their life partners. Most of all, my grandmothers had ironclad values and deeply cemented views of right and wrong" (2016, A6).

Rudolfo Anaya stated:

> "In our culture there is a very deep relationship between the oldpeople and the children. For us, los ancianos and los niños go hand in hand. . . .

> Many of us, I am sure, grew up in households where ancianos lived with us as a natural part of la familia. I know that my childhood was more magical and mysterious and imaginative because of people like Ultima,[64] and it was certainly enriched by my grandfather, who lived with us until he was ninety-four. He told marvelous cuentos and side-splitting chistes, and he teased my imagination with adivinanzas" (2009, 211).[65]

In New Mexico culture, one of a woman's great bequests is to teach her daughters and granddaughters how to make traditional foods, the recipes of which had been handed down for generations before her. Foods are seasonal, and carry within them a legacy of remembrance of holidays, celebrations, gifts, and one's childhood in learning how to cook. Traditional food preparation and presentation preserves memories (Gourmets of San Filipe de Neri 1956, n.p.). Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert writes that to be of the highest quality, New Mexico foods must be *guisado,* a word that has no English equivalency, but generally means to add a bit of something extra to give the food a special flavor, a special touch, to be finished and ready to serve. Cooking New Mexican foods take time and brings on recollection of times past. She wrote,

> ". . . Think of New Mexico's golden days of red chile drying in the sun, of clean-swept yards, outdoor ovens, and adobe houses on the landscape. Remember the green valleys where good things grow. And think too of families sitting happily at the tables—because good food and good cheer are natural *compadres* and because, as the Spanish proverb says, a full stomach makes a happy man" (1970, 1-2).

In the preface to *The Good Life: New Mexico Traditions and Food,* Gilbert writes of the traditions that could have been handed down from grandmother to daughters and

[64] This reference is to the *curandera anciana* in Anaya's novel, *Bless Me, Ultima,* originally published in 1972. (1999).

[65] Translations: *Cuentos*-stories. *Chistes*-jokes. *Adivinanzas*-riddles.

then to granddaughters in any northern New Mexico village family she had encountered in her work as a home economist.

> "The same pattern of life is followed today in many isolated New Mexico villages. The foods are those I knew as a child in my grandmother's home. The recipes for them have been passed down in New Mexico households for generations, often adapted to conditions and to the availability of certain ingredients of the locale" (2005, *v-vi*).

**Education**

Education has a number of functions in society, chief among them the transmission of culture from one generation to the next**.** There are many means to do so, and cultures and communities have to decide how education and literacy are to be defined, what cultural aspects are to be transmitted, the methods of transmission, and who is permitted to teach in a given society. These can be contentious issues.

Early Spanish schools in the Americas were designed to serve the children of Spanish soldiers and settlers. Traditional culture brought from Spain was foundational to the schools and teachers taught the Spanish language[66] and Catholic religion as major subjects of the curriculum. Early colonial school records indicate that among the first schools was a Franciscan classical school and seminary preparatory school, established in the Spanish city of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1609 (MacDonald, 2013, 307).

In New Mexico, some form of education was available from the time of the original colonists entered the region with Oñate. It seems that some of the Spanish and

[66] Bills and Vigil note that as a result of Spanish conquest of Mexico, languages of Spanish and Nahuatl borrowed from each other. Fray Alonso de Molina compiled a dictionary of Nahuatl in 1571 as the language had become the language of commerce among Mexican tribes and between the Spanish and Mexican peoples. Early Spanish of New Mexico bears evidence of that borrowing, however the influences of Nahuatl seem to have been mostly eliminated from New Mexican Spanish by the 21st century (2008, 93-94).

Native boys who grew up on or near the Pueblos played together and learned together under the tutelage of Franciscan friars, and learned each other's languages and customs. The first generation of boys grew up to assume leadership roles, as Fray Esteban de Perea wrote, "with neither decency nor schools" (Knaut, 1999, 121). For most of the early colonists, however, education was far less important than in building the resources of the community. As most of the adults were unschooled, little literacy education took place when priests or friars were unavailable to teach (Leonard, 1970, 54).

Where the Spanish settled, the priests were expected to learn Native languages and traditions as they established schools, which served to teach the Spanish language and customs and also to diminish or even eradicate Native languages, cultures, and customs (MacDonald, 2013, 307-308).[67]

To the Pueblos of New Mexico, Spanish colonial schools represented a disruption of village life and culture. Reading, writing, music, and Catholic religious instruction comprised much of the curriculum, with indoctrination that minimized or eliminated Pueblo culture and traditions as a means (Gutiérrez, 1991, 80-81). Education of Natives was designed around the Spanish colonial concept that that Natives were expected to be subordinate to the Spanish and to serve as workers in the colony (MacDonald, 2013, 308).

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was a pivotal event in the history of the Southwest that is open to multiple interpretations, none of which can be said to be the definitive statement on the event. However, historians have developed a close approximation to the events leading up to the Revolt, actions during the Revolt, and some, if not all, of the

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effects of the Revolt (Weber, 1999, *v-vi*). Records of the Pueblo Revolt state that at least one of the *mestizo* boys who had become literate in both Spanish and Latin in the Pueblo school, became an active participant in the uprising (MacDonald, 2013, 323, n. 6).[68]

After the Pueblo Revolt, the Spanish settlers returned to northern New Mexico and began to establish schools, the first at Santa Fe, with Fray Antonio de Acevedo as director. Scant documentation exists regarding education in the colony until 1717, when Fray Antonio Camargo expressed his concerns about the necessity for establishing schools educating Native children, particularly on the Pueblos. Between the Santa Fe convention regarding education in 1721 and 1776, there is little record of formal education in the colony. Fray Anastacio Domínguez documented the existence of a school at Santa Cruz, where the parents provided a small salary, and the local church provided food and clothing. Other Pueblos and villages also had schools with primary instruction in Latin, rather than Spanish or any of the Native languages. By the end of the 18th century, schooling was more established and the 1790 census listed three men in the colony with the occupation of teacher (Gallegos, 1992, 22-28).

With the advent Mexican colonial rule and the 19th century came an increased interest in formal education in New Mexico. A letter, written in 1803 to the governor of New Mexico from Nemesio Salcedo, Comandante General in Chihuahua, mandating the establishment of formal schools with a curriculum that included reading, writing, counting, and religion, to be taught to children.[69] The letter also mandated a modicum of

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[68] See James Brooks' *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002) for more information on these events.

[69] Olen Leonard (1970) contends that regular, formal schooling was not mandated until the United States occupied New Mexico in 1946 (54). Perhaps schooling was not as widespread during colonial periods as after the American occupation, however numerous authoritative sources presented in this study state

teacher training, and that schooling should also be available to the children of the poor, with some supplies provided for their use. Schools were to be supported by taxes on the populace. Reports regarding educational progress and growth were sent back to Mexico, however, these reports were not always regular for a variety of reasons, including widespread illness that caused public institutions to be closed. Informal schooling also continued for children living at a distance from formal schools and for Native children who had been purchased for their labor who were living within Spanish families (Gallegos, 1992, 25-36).[70]

In the villages, before New Mexico was acquired as a United States territory, it was a necessity for children to work with the family on the farm and they were taught at home by their parents and grandparents as the adults deemed necessary. Education could be very expensive and there was often no money left over after covering necessities to pay for children to go to school (Romero 2012, 108). Even after formal education was required by United States law, it was still not uncommon that children were viewed more an asset in helping sustain the family by working in the home, working in the fields, and taking care of the animals, than by attending school. Older children often stayed home to care for younger children and it was not unusual for them to leave school at an early age. Along with school attendance, extended play was a luxury of time many village families could not often afford (Gómez, C. 1992, 51-53).

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unequivocally that educating children was important and schooling was available throughout New Mexico from its earliest history, although schools were not necessarily present in every village and Pueblo.

[70] See James Brooks' *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002) for a more extensive treatment of the purchase of Native children into Spanish and, later, Spanish American families.

I contend that schools are agents of stability in maintaining a society as well as agents of change within that society. Schools are conceived to teach what a society deems important to build citizens of a culture and advance the culture in subsequent generations. From the beginning of the United States occupation onward, schools in New Mexico became agencies of the United States and contested spaces between traditional Nuevomexicano mores and newly imposed Americanization, resulting in deculturation and fostering disruption in the villages. In Chapter 3, in discussion on seeds of disruption in Nuevomexicano villages, I will further this argument. In Chapter 4, I will argue that, although it took time, Nuevomexicanos and their progeny used the school as one instrument of claiming agency and asserting cultural values that had been brought from the home villages.

**Healing Arts**

In rural villages, health was a major concern as accidents, injuries, and illness could negatively affect the livelihood of individuals and the community. Women were generally responsible for maintaining the health of their families and relied on traditional *remedios* that had been passed down for generations (Gómez, C. 1992, 53). Because doctors were so scarce during the Spanish and Mexican colonial period in New Mexico, it was necessary that some of the people be trained in the use of remedios and other aspects of health care. The role of healer in the Nuevomexicano village was originally assigned to the most educated in the traditional Spanish sense, the Franciscan friars,[71] but

[71] Under the auspices of the Franciscan friars the Catholic Church in New Mexico established an infirmary, likely at San Filipe mission, sometime before 1631. Supplies for the infirmary arrived several times a year from Mexico. Additionally, friars in the field received basic medical training and carried some rudimentary medical supplies as they ministered throughout the colony (Knaut, 1999, 121).

eventually became essentially a role for women who had learned cultural healing practices from Spanish-Moorish traditions and added to that knowledge of healing plants and practices from Native peoples (Rebolledo 1992, 123; Knaut, 1999, 121).

It was, and I contend still is, the grandmothers, the *abuelas* as the caretakers of the health of the family and community, who will use remedios that work and make cultural sense and pass that knowledge down to younger women who will carry the role of healer (Moore 1990, *viii*).[72] Health is more than just an individual matter. Maintaining health is also a function of being part of community and of subscribing to cultural values in which an individual plays an integrated part. Good health depends in large part in where a person is from (Gladwell 2008, 9-11). It can be said, then, that being from a northern New Mexico village with its embodied culture and values could positively influence an individual's health. Part of maintaining one's health involved applying local remedios that had been used for centuries.

The Southwest, with its rich variety of plant life, gave rise to a variety of remedios. The Spanish who came to the Americas brought with them a tradition of healing with plants that had been aggregated from European and Moorish cultures. They also substituted plants similar to the ones they knew for purposes similar to their uses in Europe. As the settlers learned about local plant life from the Native people, they combined their new knowledge with what they already had, adding to their healing repertoire (Austin 1965, 7-10). The Spanish also brought some plants known to have healing properties from Europe and they grew well in the Southwest. Understanding of

[72] Michael Moore, in *Los Remedios: Traditional Herbal Remedies of the Southwest,* writes of traditional plant remedies in the Southwest that have been used for centuries and are either native to the region or were brought by the Spanish and also includes more recent herbal arrivals that have been adopted and adapted for use by *abuelas* and others who choose to use them in healing practices (1990).

healing properties of certain local plants became common knowledge in the villages and, while sometimes a mother would harvest a particular herb to help a sick child, she might also contact a *médica,* who was recognized for her knowledge of plant remedies and her skill in administering them, to bring comfort and relief of suffering person (Curtin 1965, 11-13).[73] It seems that médicas[74] were considered general practitioners as healers, but there were specialists as well. For example, *parteras* specialized in childbirth, and women who healed through massage were known as *sobradores.* While all the healers knew something about various remedios, in the most isolated areas, healers had to be more general in their practice (Rebolledo 1992, 123).

Women taught and helped one another in healing with the recognition that in the difficult circumstances under which they lived, they needed each other in order to survive. In addition to médicas and other healers, who knew which plants could heal and who were able to assist in a variety of conditions, specialized healers known as *curanderas* were women who specialized in dealing with certain types of afflictions (Gómez, C. 1992, 53). Curanderas[75] possessed an advanced knowledge in healing herbs, with skill gained through an apprenticeship with an experienced curandera, such as a grandmother, mother, or aunt, of an older generation who recognized the gift of this special type of healing in the potential novice. Generally, only one woman in each generation was given this knowledge, which was considered a spiritual gift (Rebolledo

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[73] See also Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert's *The Good Life: New Mexico Traditions and Food* (1982) for a description of the role and work of "The Herb Woman" (13-18).

[74] The term *médica* also came to refer to woman physicians with degrees from medical schools. Earning an MD degree for a Hispanic woman was challenging and her ethnicity and gender were obstacles to be overcome in the male dominated field. It is still rare for a Hispanic woman to earn a medical degree (Santillanes 1992, 128-131). It is interesting that Hispanic women would have a difficult time entering and practicing the field of medicine in New Mexico because of the long and respected history of women as healers in the Southwest.

[75] Men in this healing specialty are referred in the masculine form, *"curanderos"* (Rebolledo 1992, 123).

1992, 123). In addition to advanced knowledge of healing herbs and their application, curanderas were well acquainted with their saints and understood whose aid to invoke for each ailment or spiritual affliction. A curandera's home would have picture of the Holy Family[76] on a wall, usually close to the front door, and a prominent altar on which she would have images in statue and picture of her saints (Aragón 2012, 98-101).

In his novel, *Bless Me, Ultima,* Rudolfo Anaya introduces his readers to Ultima, a curandera who, in her old age, leaves the llano and her isolated life to come to live with the Maréz family in the village of Las Pasturas. Ultima would become an integral part of the family and one of the great influences on the young son, Antonio. Anaya stated that the adults called Ultima "La Grande" in recognition and respect of her age and wisdom. Anaya goes on to explain why some adults were concerned to have Ultima living among them.

> "It was because Ultima was a curandera, a woman who knew the herbs and remedies of the ancients, a miracle-worker who could heal the sick. And I [Antonio] heard that Ultima could lift the curses laid by brujas[77], that she could exorcise the evil the witches planted in people to make them sick. And because a curandera had this power she was misunderstood and often suspected of practicing witchcraft herself" (1999, 4).

Even more than thirty years since her death, I am still unsure as to whether Eloisa Roybal was a curandera, médica, or a concerned grandmother with great knowledge of the healing herbs growing both wild in the hills above El Rancho and semi-domesticated in her home garden. She would take her grandson, Theodore (Ted), as a child and as a young man into the hills and instruct him in the ways of traditional healing with the

[76] The Holy Family refers to the family group of Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Aragón states that a framed image of the Holy Family was common in most New Mexico homes (2012, 99).
[77] Translation: witches.

understanding that he would eventually become a healer.[78] Eloisa had confidence in her knowledge and in her faith. She talked regularly to her favorite *santos,* her intercessors, whose representations in statue and picture she kept on a small altar in the corner of her living room that also held family mementos, with a picture of the Holy Family nearby.[79]

## Faith and Ritual

Faith and belief permeated healing practices, and ran like a thread through the traditional village. Religious convictions and practices were not confined to a particular time and space, but seemed to infuse every aspect of life. Heyck notes that religious practices in villages were often more personal and community based than centered within a specific institutional building. A person's santos were spiritual companions and close friends who could intercede and pray along with the person to God for his or her needs and desires. Religious expressions often took the forms of thanksgiving, praise, and pilgrimage and were performed in community ritual (1994, 94-95).

Religious expressions in traditional northern New Mexico villages seemed to have their own character as personal and community based rites or rituals, some of which were perhaps more prominent in that region than in other places that they may have been enacted. The rites and rituals performed in northern New Mexico, a few of which are included in this work as illustrations, also seemed to bring the villages together in

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[78] Theodore (Ted) is the author's husband. He has been a registered nurse since 1973, and continues his nursing practice professionally. Their discussions in my presence were in Spanish, a language I had not yet learned in Eloisa Roybal's lifetime. Unless Tia Cleo Roybal was available to translate between Spanish and English, Ted translated.

[79] I did not recognize all her saints by their representations then and still do not know all of them, but Eloisa made it clear that no one touched anything on her altar but she.

community, and I would also suggest that those particular practices would remain prominent in remembering place.

Enrique Lamadrid (2003) explains that in the upper Rio Grande region, rituals were used as religious expression and to interpret the ways of enemies and cultural "Others." Pueblo dances and ceremonies ritualized aspects of culture, including planting time, harvest, and hunting. The Spanish brought their own cultural rituals, among them the *auto de entrada*, or triumphal entry play, often with the theme *Moros y cristianos,* a performance of the Spanish driving the Moors out of their homeland, with the prize being the Christian cross. Spanish colonizers also presented *autos de entrada* to serve as a cautionary tale for the Pueblo peoples during the colonial period. While the colonial text did not survive, some scripts have been retained and some have been ad-libbed. The ritual has been, and still is performed in some northern villages in celebration on certain saints' feast days, including on the July 25 feast of Santiago [Saint James the Greater].[80] While cultural boundaries existed, ritual performances such as *Los Comanches*, enacting conflict with cultural "Others," transcended those boundaries and permitted deep conversations about histories, heritage, and identities. Some Indo-Hispanic ritual performances were adapted to Pueblo life, and could be used as demonstrations of visible acceptance, especially when performed as parallels to Catholic ritual, but were actually performed as means of resistance to colonizers. Ritual performances adopted and used in

[80] See the Bible passage Matthew 20: 20-28 for identification information on Santiago, also known as St. James the Greater.

both Pueblo and Spanish cultures were the Horse Dance and the Matachines Dances (1-21).[81]

The origin of the Matachines Dance is said to reach back into Medieval Spain to the conflicts between the Spanish and Moors, and were likely performed originally for the purposes similar to the *Moros y cristianos* morality plays.[82] Early Catholic missionaries to the New World may have seen conflicts with the local Native peoples through the same view as their earlier conflicts with the Moors. Following the *Reconquista*, the dance was used as a way to introduce the Natives to the main religion of Spain and to Christianize them. Pueblo enactments of the Matachines Dance indicates their conversion to Christianity, although a specific time frame for that incorporation is not known. The exact meanings of the dance are also obscure, with varied explanations depending on the narrator. The Dance does express a universal theme, however, in encounter, conflict between light and dark forces, and transformation. Each time the Dance is performed, and as nebulous as the meaning of the ritual seems, it is new and different for every enactment (Rodríguez 2008, 6-7).[83]

**Guadalupe**

Perhaps the most common emblem on the Matachines' attire is that of Our Lady of Guadalupe, one of the titles of the Virgin Mary, and it is in her honor that many of the

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[81] See Lamadrid (2003), with photography by Miguel Gandert, for a more extensive presentation on scripts, music, and interpretations of performances of *Hermanitos Comanchitos: Indo-Hispano Rituals of Captivity and Redemption.*

[82] Harris contends that the *danzas de los matachines* may stem from several cultural origins. Although they generally have an overlay of European dress, music, and narrative, some styles appear to be Spanish at their roots, while others seem to have arisen out of Indigenous peoples in the Americas (2008, 18).

[83] In mid-May, 2008, *Matachines* Dancers from Mexico and throughout the Southwest gathered at the National Hispanic Cultural Center in Albuquerque, NM. It was my privilege to attend the gathering during my internship at the NHCC.

*danzas* occur (Stephenson 2008; Lamadrid 2008, 11-14; Skar 2008, 22-24). As one travels through northern New Mexico, images of Our Lady of Guadalupe are ubiquitous. Her image is found in and around churches, mainly Catholic, but some of other religious groups. The image can be found painted on walls of houses, on store shelves, on clothing, and in tattoos. *Bultos*, or statues of the images are often centered in niches in adobe walls and in people's yards. The Lady has Presence (Eleshuk Roybal 2008).[84]

Our Lady of Guadalupe can be experienced beyond New Mexico. Her much larger than life image on a pillar she shares with the image of Tonantzín, the Aztec goddess, is part of the support structure for the Coronado Bridge that rises above Chicano Park in San Diego, California, crossing the harbor to end on Coronado Island (Garreau 2001, 125-126). A mural depicting her adorns the back wall of a small café in the Mission District in San Francisco. Representations of her are placed prominently in churches in Utah, especially those with many Hispanos in their congregations. Her image can be also seen in the Spanish colonial town of Mobile, Alabama, where the plaza in the center of the older section of town looks as though it could have been placed there from somewhere in New Mexico.[85] It seems that where people maintain a Hispanic identity, images of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the mythology that surrounds her, continue to be evident.

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[84] Our Lady of Guadalupe/*Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* has been significant since her appearance to Juan Diego in Mexico in 1531. The *tilma* [cloak] on which she appeared can be seen in the Basilica that bears her name in Mexico City. Our Lady of Guadalupe extends her reach far beyond New Mexico, and it seems that image can be found wherever Hispana/os are. Because of her enduring cultural significance, she will continue to be part of this project.

[85] While attending a conference in Mobile, Alabama, in 2014, I visited the older section of the city. Numerous signs in that part of town indicate the Spanish colonial history of the region that parallels that of the Southwest in many respects.

Arthur Asa Berger (1995) argues that a myth is "a narrative that, among other functions, serves to connect individuals to their cultures and to explain natural and supernatural phenomena" and that they serve a purpose to make our experiences understandable to ourselves in a language that expresses the collective unconscious and inform religious experiences, philosophies, and the arts (122-124). I would contend that Our Lady of Guadalupe and the mythology surrounding her have become part of the language that expresses part of the collective unconscious of Nuevomexicanos and others of Hispanic descent.

It seems that people who have images of Our Lady of Guadalupe in their homes, carry the image, or wear the image, also seek blessing. Seeking a parent's or grandparent's blessing when one leaves on a journey or departs home has been an important ritual in the Roybal family, and seems to be a common experience among Nuevomexicanos.

Samuel Córdova asserted

> "But let me tell you something, there's nothing like your mother's blessing. That's one thing I believe is true.
>
> When I left—when I was going to leave home, I didn't have any money except to pay for the train fare from Grants to Winslow. When I was about to head that way, my wonderful grandma knelt me down and blessed me, and who knows what all she prayed. I tell people that when it comes to the mother's blessing, it's like hearing God's voice" (2010, 24).

Not long after we were married, I met Ted's grandmother Eloisa Roybal while we were visiting at her daughter, Emelia's, home in Denver, Colorado. As we were about to depart to return to my military duty station in Virginia, I remembered a tradition I had heard of, and made Ted kneel with me in front of his grandmother. Before she blessed us, she spoke to the family in Spanish, saying, "All my grandsons marry blondes." I did not

understand the blessing, and Ted did not understand all she prayed, either. At the conclusion of her prayer, she gave us each a hand to help us stand. Then she said, again in Spanish, "This is my daughter. No one will speak a word against her."[86]

Eloisa Roybal was as fluent in Spanish as she was in her native Apache, according to family lore.[87] The Spanish she learned when she was young was the dialect spoken in northern New Mexico (Roybal, T. n.d., n.p.).

## Language/Dialect

The final aspect of the culture of northern New Mexico's villages to be considered in this study is that of language. Long recognized as a particular dialect of Spanish, speakers of the dialect would recognize each other, even during encounters in places distant from northern New Mexico.[88] I argue that maintaining language is instrumental to maintaining a culture and the dialect, referred to in this study as northern New Mexico Spanish or the language, is instrumental in interpersonal connection as well as developing and maintaining the regional community. Johnstone (2008) identifies communities such as the villages of northern New Mexico as "speech communities," one form of discourse community, where everyone in a community or geographic region is able to talk with everyone else using the same "variety of the same language." A speech community identifies an individual as a member of a certain group, defined by region, and more locally, by village where people interact mainly, but not exclusively, among

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[86] This blessing was also mentioned in Chapter 1, by way of introduction. True to Eloisa's blessing, I have been warmly welcomed into the Roybals and considered family.

[87] It is probable that Eloisa Roybal was at least conversant in other Native languages, Keres and Tewa among them.

[88] The Spanish dialect spoken historically in southern Colorado is that also spoken in northern New Mexico villages as that area has been considered as one isolated cultural region during Spanish and Mexican settlement (See Hills, 1906; Bills and Vigil, 2008; and Lipski, 2008).

speakers of the same language and dialect (133). However, even within a speech community, variations on the language and dialect occur as the language is modified. Johnstone (1996) attributes some linguistic modification to individuals engaging the artistry and creativity of language as expressions of individual identity, reflecting social class, gender, and ethnicity, while maintaining group identification (181 – 183).

The Spanish language of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado developed in relative isolation. Castilian speech with Andalusian influences, was carried to Mexico and northward with the first Spanish arrivals. Outside the area comprised of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, the language was adapted to, and more inclusive of, surrounding languages, however in that region a Spanish closer to Castilian, albeit with Native influences, prevailed as a nearly uniform language among common people for generations. The language spoken in early New Mexico was more akin to a local or family usage than to a regional, widely used, language (Hills, 1906, 706-708).[89]

Bills and Vigil (2008) assert that on the northern fringe of the Spanish-speaking region in the Americas, the language and culture brought from Spain and Mexico were modified by arriving immigrants, although the territory was generally isolated. During the first eighty years of Spanish settlement, the Spanish-speaking population was small, numbering a few hundred followers of Oñate to approximately 2,500 eight decades later. The Spanish-speaking population grew and spread out from the original settlements throughout the eighteenth century as settlers formed new villages and established *ranchos,* near water sources and where land was considered to be arable (2, 22-24). New

[89] Hills' dissertation, "New Mexican Spanish," was one of the early studies on the phenomena of the development and variations on the language originally brought to the region by the Spanish in the 1500s. Hills acknowledges that his study was incomplete and that more needed to be done, but the work was foundational in its effect and influence (Teschner, Bills, and Craddock, 1975, 76 – 77).

Mexico was distant from the power center of Mexico City and communication was difficult between the colony and the main governmental seat. Exchanging messages usually took months, resulting in language forms that changed gradually, rather than rapidly, and changed more with local influence than extensively due to outside influences. Traditional Spanish of northern New Mexico has maintained some archaic terminology, although meanings may have changed. While some obsolete terms continued in use, modifications in terminology developed as people encountered new situations and new phenomena they had not experienced or heard of in Spain (Bills and Vigil, 2008, 31-32).[90]

As New Mexico changed with new peoples entering the region, parallel Native and Spanish languages were joined later by parallels of Spanish and English. The parallels of Spanish and English are illustrated in the stories recounted in Meléndez (2017), as well as in the structure of the book. As Davis-Undiano (2017) notes in the Foreword to *The Book of Archives*, Spanish and English have come to function separately and independently in certain places in the United States, while retaining their individual characteristics, especially in villages like Mora, in northern New Mexico (Meléndez 2017, *x*).

Nasario García states that the regional dialect of northern New Mexico "commands and demands special respect; on that score alone it deserves to be honored as

[90] Bills and Vigil (2008) address five myths that persist about the Spanish of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The myths they discuss are: "Standard Spanish is good; nonstandard Spanish is bad" (12); "New Mexican Spanish is the Spanish of sixteenth-century Spain" (14); "Spanish is an official language of New Mexico" (17); "English is good; Spanish is not good" (17); and, finally, "New Mexican Spanish is in no danger of being lost" (18). Bills and Vigil document the errors underlying each of these myths and the means by which they persist. Without reiterating Bills' and Vigil's entire discussion, this study will include some of this mythology as it is culturally embodied, often in misunderstanding, in the *Nuevomexicanos* who moved to Utah during the diaspora, and in the host community not always accepting of these newcomers.

an essential part of the old-timers' linguistic heritage. . . .This richness is reflected in the volume of linguistic nuances found among the common folk in small villages" (2010, 10).

Rosendo Montaño of Tecolote, NM explained a few terms specific to northern New Mexico,

> "A very common word among the people even nowadays, they say *semos* and the correct word is *somos,* right? . . . Like the word *puche. Puche* is tobacco. There are many words like that. We learn the Spanish from here and from there and there are many differences. We get confused with so many different usages" (1975, 10 - 3).

According to Rubén Cobos, the Spanish of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado is mainly comprised of the Spanish of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain, words derived from Náhuatl, indigenous languages of Natives living along the Rio Grande, and from the languages of Mexico. Essentially Spanish in grammar and syntax, the particular dialect survived mostly intact in oral tradition for four centuries in the isolated northern villages. In their isolation from other Spanish-speaking populations, words were coined when the original Spanish term was unremembered, or when a new situation arose requiring new terminology (2003, *ix-xv*).

John G. Moya, of Pecos, NM, spoke of changes in the language of northern New Mexico:

> "The form of the language has changed some, but in some ways it has changed very little. Spanish, as it is known nowadays, is not complete and to my way of thinking is dead because it has not developed, because of the influence of English. Many of the words that are used now are being forgotten because the people don't use the Spanish language" (1995, 11-2).

Epifanio Roybal, Eloy and Eloisa's first born, grew up mostly in the Nuevomexicano villages of Ojo Sarco and Embudo. He grew up fluent in the Spanish of his family and community. The schools he attended, for as long as he was a student, taught in Spanish, the common language of the people. He did speak Apache, his mother's first language, but knowing English was a nicety rather than a necessity in his childhood. Although he had been exposed to more English as he grew up, he began to learn English in earnest when he entered the Marine Corps at the beginning of World War II (Roybal, T, nd, np).

As the Spanish *conquistadores* and settlers changed what would become New Mexico and also effected changes on the existing peoples within the region upon their entrada and settlement, the arrival of Americans from the United States to the east precipitated great change to both the Spanish and Native peoples. As the villages became less isolated, and Nuevomexicanos encountered more of the world that was often imposed upon them, change was inevitable. Chapter 3 will discuss the seeds of disruption in the villages, which once planted and grown, would leave no illusion of permanence among Nuevomexicanos, as any conception of permanence could be disrupted, causing a diasporic movement out of the villages and into other states in hopes of finding work and a better life.

# Chapter 3: Nuevomexicano Villages Disrupted: No hay nada permanente excepto el cambio91

## Nuevomexicano villages disrupted: an economic historical contextualization

Seeds of disruption in Nuevomexicano villages were sown long before the U. S. invasion began in earnest in the 1840s. While disruption within individual villages can be viewed primarily as local events, historians Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez (2013) indicate that events within geographic spaces occur within larger, even global, contexts (*xii*). Disrupting events generally do not occur in a vacuum by themselves, but are often responses to external or internal causes that may also foster subsequent changes. Throughout its history, especially from the Spanish arrival into the twentieth century, New Mexico has undergone many instances of disruption, and I propose that the villages, as more close-knit communities, were especially affected. In this chapter, I assess how the forces of change affect ideas of "place" and "belonging" were articulated during disruptions of the Nuevomexicano village, particularly during the Great Depression and World War II.

This chapter will examine three major causes of disruption in the villages, historically and into the twentieth century. First, this study briefly examines early historical and later interactions in the cultural contact zone of New Mexico among Native peoples, Spanish, Mexicans, and later, Anglo Americans, that in some respects are still unsettled and delicate.[92] Second, this chapter of the study looks at political and economic events that occurred locally in the Americas and contemporaneously in Europe that

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[91] Translation: Nothing is permanent except change.

[92] D. W. Meinig (1971) and Paul Horgan (1987) are two historians who have examined the three prominent cultures of New Mexico and their historical interactions in that cultural contact zone.

precipitated colonial incursions and caused disruptions in New Mexican villages. The chapter considers trappers, traders, and adventurers from the early United States becoming a movement of groups of people that has been termed the American invasion. Further, this chapter considers ongoing changes in global political climates with the understanding that, although events may happen elsewhere, politics of those events remain a local matter. Third, intertwined with the previously listed two causative elements of disruption, the economic situation of the region was historically, and has continued to be, significant in the disruptions in the politics and economy of New Mexico. Where economics and ethics come into conflict, in the Americas and especially in New Mexico,[93] disruption takes place.

Chapter three is an investigation into a number of historical disruptions with long term effects and as New Mexico evolved and developed into the mid-twentieth century, processes of disruption advanced into major upheaval within Nuevomexicano villages.

**Colony, community, and claims to critical resources**

As the first Spanish explorations and settlement of the Americas took place after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, developments in New Mexico and the Southwest during the colonial periods described in the previous chapter were influenced by political and economic events that had previously occurred, or were happening concurrently, in Europe and other parts of the world. Spain had not been a country on its own for much of its early history, having been conquered and occupied at various times by Phoenicians, Greeks, Celts, Visigoths, Romans, and Moors, leaving lasting cultural effects on Spain,

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[93] I would suggest that this phenomenon is not limited to New Mexico, but occurs whenever economics and ethics come into conflict. Ethics usually loses.

which eventually influenced peoples in Spanish conquered territories of the Americas and beyond (Chávez, 2009, 89-91).[94] I would suggest that, long before the term "transnational politics" was coined, European politics in particular had begun to bear an influence on the politics of the Americas and that would come to have an effect on local politics in Nuevomexicano villages.

### Monetizing the Americas

Historian Niall Ferguson writes that in pre-money cultures, conflicts would arise more often over scarce resources than in the workings of commerce. Life tended to be more cyclical, and was based on hunting, gathering, and for some cultures, subsistence agriculture. Resources, such as food, would be consumed as they were acquired as there were few means of preserving foodstuffs for future use. Money was not necessary in such cultures because the value of goods and services was determined locally within a community or region rather than as measured against a currency (2008, 19-20). Economist Glyn Davies maintains that barter as means of exchange in subsistence economies is as old as humankind, and for much of human history was the only means of exchange for goods and services. However, little is known about exact methods and means of exchange in bartering cultures prior to their having written histories.[95] Rates of

[94] In preparation of this study and in discussions with people of Spanish heritage during the course of the research, I have occasionally heard or read the term that someone is "pure Spanish." With multiple conquests of the Iberian Peninsula by various peoples even before Spain was a country unto its own, it is a reasonable conjecture that heritages had to have been mixed. I surmise that many of the Spanish conquerors and settlers arriving in the Americas could have been referred to as *mestizo* prior to arriving in the Americas and forming interrelationships with the first peoples of the Americas. Therefore, I continue to refrain from ascribing ethnicity in this work and any terms of self-identity or cultural identity are as stated or written by individuals and groups studied.

[95] Davies asserts that most of the understanding historians and economists have about cultures that engage in a bartering system come from knowledge about more modern cultures with accessible spoken and written histories, especially where bartering systems coexist with monetary economies. According to

exchange of goods and services depended on their value as perceived and negotiated by the parties involved, often with hard bargaining in the process. In these cultures, an individual's power and influence in the extended community were predicated on the perceived value of commodities that individual proffered for exchange. Pre-monetary markets that extended over large geographic areas depended on bartering in commodity exchange over a wider regional economy (2002, 9-11).

When Europeans arrived in the Americas, they brought with them concepts of exchanging monetary units for goods and services. Bernard Lietaer and Jacqui Dunne[96] explain that money became a measure of value of goods and services, a way to store wealth, and a unit of exchange in itself, independent of goods. Lietaer and Dunne contend that money is a human construct that fueled human development into the Industrial Revolution and enabled humanity to emerge from a survival economy into "tool empires used in a global dash for assets in a world that didn't seem to lack for earth, water, air, and natural resources" (2013, 2-3).

Glyn Davies argues, "Greed for gold was always a most dominant motive and it was the influx of precious metals which had the most direct and obvious effects on monetary developments in Europe, first in Spain and Portugal, but subsequently spreading in turn through Italy, France, the Low Countries and the rest of Europe, including Britain, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." As Europeans had already explored and conquered much of Asia and Africa, extracting resources as they

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Davies, exchange by barter still occurs into the twenty-first century from local community exchanges to forging international deals (2002, 9-10).

[96] Author notes from *Rethinking Money* state that Bernard Lietaer is a research fellow at the University of California, Berkeley Center for Sustainable Resource Development and Jacqui Dunne is a journalist who specializes in working with entrepreneurs to help them develop sustainable technologies (2013).

went, the predominant view of the New World was of abundant resources for nations desiring to acquire more. Although crops and other products of the Americas were exotic to Europeans, it was their seeming limitlessness that made the "age of discoveries" so worthwhile to the early explorers. The abundance of gold and silver the Spanish found in the Americas far exceeded any amounts extracted from earlier European discoveries in Europe, Asia, and Africa (2002, 176-177).[97]

Many original Spanish settlements in the Americas developed along a geographic distribution of the mines from which desired metals were extracted. Roads were built to link the settlements. An early map of a mining region near the villas of San Miguel and San Felipe in Mexico illustrated the geographic features, and amidst the geography, the map depicted carts used to carry metals from the mines surrounded by soldiers protecting the cargo on the road. Soldiers were necessary to protect mining and distribution of metals because of the real threat posed by the nomadic peoples of the region. That same map shows illustrations of punishments given out by the Spanish to the raiders, including beheaded Natives and one Native hanged by the roadside, conceivably as a warning to others who might want to impede extraction and export of the resources the Spanish crown wanted (Zavala, 1979, 184-185).

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[97] Anthropologists Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, in *The True History of Chocolate*, write that cacao was a commodity almost as precious as silver and gold to the Spanish and was also used as a monetary measure. In both unprocessed *cacao* and processed forms of chocolate, it was considered to be medicine by Native populations from Mexico through South America. Resembling the heart in shape, the cocoa pod was said to transmit health to the heart and blood. However, this precious food was not for common people and was consumed only by the elite. The Spanish in the Americas adopted the practice of chocolate consumption, especially as a health beverage, noting that it was especially favored by women, who were more likely than men to consume it often and in greater quantities. The Spanish took shipments of the precious produce back to Spain, where it became one of the more important trading items in the Spanish cache as they had cornered the supply in Europe. While it took well into the Baroque period in Europe to gain full ecclesial approval as to the morality of the consumption of chocolate, in the Americas Franciscan clergy consumed the beverage almost to the degree of the rest of the elite Spanish population and seemed to have little problem as to the morality of its consumption (1996, 108-178).

Pizarro defeated the Incan Empire with superior technology in his quest for precious metals to send back to Spain. The quantity the Inca leaders supplied did not meet Pizarro's demand, and when they would not comply as he requested, he had the leaders executed, then plundered the empire. An attempted Incan rebellion in 1536 was broken, and Spanish control was firmly established. The leader of that rebellion, Manco Capac, realized the lust for gold and silver among the Spanish conquerors was insatiable. He is said to have stated, "Even if all the snow in the Andes turned to gold, still they would not be satisfied." For generations, the Incas had used shiny metals for ceremonial and decorative purposes and presumably had a difficult time comprehending the European concept of money as "a unit of account, a store of value – portable power" (Ferguson, 2008, 20-22).[98]

Thomas Sowell, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, maintains that, like other conquering powers, Spain extracted the wealth from its territories by military means, providing the nation's ruling class with wealth and leisure, enabling them to live on the products of other countries paid for by gold and silver taken from the Americas. In its colonizing efforts following the expulsion of the Moors, Spain had left itself predominantly with an elite class and a military. During their colonizing period, Spain's elite determined that they had almost no need for manufacturing and material production, leaving the nation lagging in technology, industry, skilled labor, and the sciences, as compared to other European nations. In the process, Spain did not

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[98] Rumors of Spanish conquest in South America and methods used to accomplish their goals had reached North America, presumably along established trade routes, so incursions by Coronado and others into the continent were not entirely unexpected by all (*Surviving Columbus,* 1992).

develop its human capital, an attribute passed on to its colonies, particularly in the Americas (2016, 92-93).[99]

However, the Americas could not produce gold and silver fast enough to meet the wants and needs of Spain for their own use and as that country engaged in international commerce. Precious metals mined in the Americas were shipped from Spain to China, which had depleted its own mineral deposits, and so became dependent on supplies from the New World. The Spanish shipped metals they mined in the Americas to China through Manila, London, and certain other ports, often using English shipping companies, which were better protected from piracy on the high seas than most nations' ships. In the process, Spain formed alliances, especially with England, a powerful nation that also consumed vast amounts of the metals brought from the Americas for their own coinage and trade. Spain's expenses related to their own commerce, as well as the costs of supporting military forces abroad, subsidizing its foreign allies, and increasing piracy, depleted the Spanish economy. Additionally, Spain formed agreements with the bankers in Genoa to handle its transactions with some of the countries in Europe under Spain's control, as well as aiding in metal shipments to China, both for safety measures and to increase Spain's own wealth and prominence in a growing world economy (Davies, 2002, 189-211).

It was a European understanding of wealth, value, and power that the Spanish carried with them into North America, and specifically, the Southwest, where the quest for valued metals and subsequent settlement also changed both the economics of trade

[99] In Part II of *Wealth, Poverty and Politics*, Sowell (2016) maintains that the traits of conquest and wealth extraction exhibited by Spain in its colonizing the Americas is not unique; other conquering nations have followed similar patterns, both before and after Spain's colonial expansion.

and the social and cultural economy that existed prior to their arrival.[100] I suggest that the colonized also changed the colonizers, perhaps in ways they could not have anticipated. It is also unlikely that neither settler nor Native fully comprehended how far they reached into world politics and economics.

**New Spain: claims to land and resources**

By the end of the sixteenth century Spain had claimed much of what is now the United States based on explorations by Cabrillo, De Soto, and Coronado, and in their rapid colonization, annexed the entire Pueblo region for New Spain, establishing missions, presidios, and settlements to govern the regions they had explored. Other nations also had designs on territories, already subject to Spanish colonization in the Americas, for their own exploration and exploitation that would eventually cause disruptions in New Spain (Meinig, 1971, 11; Weber 1979, *vii*-xi).

Disappointed by the lack of mineral wealth from mining operations in what is now the United States Southwest, colonists turned to farming. With many disadvantages, including limited water, difficult landscape, lack of tools, agricultural knowledge, and raiding Indians, nevertheless, they proceeded. Sheep were a mainstay. What was raised by a family was generally used within that family and barter of excess goods between individuals and communities provided a livelihood, albeit a precarious one. With few

[100] I contend that the politics of conquest was (and is) not confined to European exploration and exploitation, but that conquerors belonging to many, and possibly most, invading cultures past and present, determine that it is their “right” and, perhaps their “destiny” to conquer peoples, settle foreign lands, to confiscate what they want and, in the process of conquest, alter existing cultures to meet the desires of the conquerors, local resistance notwithstanding. I further contend that it is likely that conquerors may, in many cases, are convinced that what they are bringing to the conquered people is a superior cultural experience that can uplift and improve the already established cultures of the peoples they encounter in their expeditions.

resources, colonists gained much of their agricultural knowledge and technology from local Native populations (Zeleny [1944], 1998, 64-65).

John R. Van Ness, founder of the Center for Land Grant Studies in Santa Fe, NM, wrote that replication of Spanish culture in colonized regions would have been impossible to achieve. First, Spanish culture by the end of the country's numerous occupations and the Moorish expulsion, was diverse and complex and only a portion of Spanish culture, generally that of Castile, was the primary culture carried to the Americas. Second, cultural ideas the Spanish carried were modified by encounters with Native peoples. In New Spain, the culture of conquest could neither wholly represent a culture of Spain nor the multiple cultures of Native peoples, but became an amalgam of cultures and social systems, thus forming new cultural expressions and new peoples (1979, 26-27).[101]

Spanish colonial governors used their prerogatives to designate, lay out, and organize communities. Under the direction of provincial governors, settlements were to be designated as *ciudad*, *villa*, or *pueblo* according to their size and importance to the local governor, and ultimately, to the regulations established by the Spanish crown. While in other Spanish colonies the largest communities were designated as "*ciudad*," in New Mexico, the major communities established were designated as "*villas*," such as the *Villa de Santa Fe*[102] for example, the only large organized large community established

[101] A term used in this study is "traditional culture," referring to Nuevomexicanos' cultural expressions and practices. While it is an umbrella term, it is used with the understanding that Van Ness (1979) presents of developing complex cultural interactions and combinations, modified by inter- and intra-cultural exchanges, transmitted forward in time across generations.

[102] As with other important communities established by the Spanish, Santa Fe was a shorter designation for *Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco,* or, in English translation, Royal Town of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, 21). The Saint Francis addressed in the *villa's* name was Saint Francis of Assisi, patron of the Franciscan priests who arrived in the Southwest at the beginning of the Spanish colonial period, and who have remained.

prior to the Pueblo Revolt. No communities were considered large enough or prestigious enough at the time of colonization to be designated "ciudad."[103] Lands granted to a community, family, or individual or by petition for ranchos or smaller farms at some distance from established communities were also subject to the Spanish crown for taxation, tribute, and other material support.[104] At their essence, regulations stipulated that all colonial lands in New Mexico were Spanish property and could be used or withdrawn at the behest of the crown (Simmons, 1979, 99-101, 104-105).

Settlement patterns in New Mexico were generally different from other regions of the Americas that had been conquered by Spain and were based primarily on its subjects settling in or near larger communities, presidios, and Franciscan religious missions. In New Mexico, and to some extent, California, most settlers preferred to live outside towns on farm land than to join and settle in established communities. The settlement situation frustrated both Spanish colonial government and the Catholic Church, who found remote citizens difficult to govern and hold accountable to either governmental or church authority (Weber, 1979, 97-98).[105]

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[103] Simmons notes that, for most of the early Spanish colonial communities in New Mexico, founding documents are missing. In addition to providing information on community founders and circumstances of community establishment, founding documents would help inform and possibly resolve legal problems that persist centuries after their settlement (1979, 101).

[104] Taxes, tributes, and material goods sent from outlying colonies to Spain would help replenish the depleted treasury, keep the country solvent as possible, and maintain the lifestyle of the monarchy.

[105] It would be interesting to know at which point or points in the pattern of early New Mexico settlement that the Spanish would come to understand that very few of them would ever return to Spain or Mexico, or the place they called "home." I conjecture that for some soldiers and settlers, being part of the Spanish colonial force was an adventure, no matter the outcome, while for others, there was an intense longing for home, termed by Juan Estevan Arellano (2014) as *querencia*, that was not to be assuaged in New Spain, so they had to make the best they could of their lives moving forward as colonists and settlers.

**Building colony and economy**

Economic interests were of primary importance in the exploration and settlement of New Mexico, beginning with legends and rumors of unimaginable wealth perpetuated among the first Spanish arriving in the Caribbean with Columbus, to Spanish explorers who landed in Mexico and moved northward, settling among the Pueblos of the Upper Rio Grande.[106]

Anthropologist Heather Trigg writes that journals of some early Spanish explorers noted more accurate descriptions of Pueblo life at the onset of the Spanish incursion than rumors and legends had previously suggested. Journals described a number of aspects of Pueblo life, including styles of architecture in various Pueblos and also noted that roles for creating material culture and household production were ordered according to gender. Farming operations were small by European standards and had to be located where water was most available and people could take advantage of runoff in their irrigation systems. The Spanish viewed Pueblo residents as peaceful within their established communities since their lives and economies were based in agriculture and they were not known to be mobile peoples.[107] Trigg notes that, as Spanish colonists moved into the region, some

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[106] A number of scholars have studied the early histories of Native Peoples of the Southwest, including rumors and legends of unimaginable material wealth, usually in the form of gold and silver, among Native Peoples in the Americas prior to the arrival of the Spanish and other explorers. Those legends influenced early interactions among peoples and their exploration patterns in the cultural contact zones of the Southwest, which is explored in this study insofar as interactions among peoples and resulting impacts on disruptions of *Nuevomexicano* villages. Written texts by Denetdale (2007), Dunbar-Ortiz (2007), Gutiérrez (1991), and Reyna's 1992 film, *Surviving Columbus*, are works presenting several Native perspectives that inform the reader and viewer concerning early and later interactions between certain groups of Native peoples and the Spanish and others who arrived in the Southwest as conquering, colonizing, and disrupting forces. The full information within these works extends beyond the scope of this study, however, the perspectives presented are valuable for further consideration.

[107] The recognized settlements and peaceful inclinations of the Pueblos was situated in contrast with more mobile peoples such as the Navajo, Apache, Comanche, and other Plains peoples who were inclined to provide for themselves by raiding other, more settled peoples. See Meinig, 1971; Horgan, 1987; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2007; Ortiz, 2009; and Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez, 2013 for additional information.

settlers located their *estancias* either within Pueblo lands or near enough to Pueblos to cause tension among local government, clergy, and Spain, as well as with the Pueblos themselves. Such settlements violated Spanish rules and were prohibited by law. However, mutual response to the infractions had some influence in developing economic interactions among the Pueblos and Spanish settlers in commodity trading and in uses of human labor (2005, 31-33). It is possible that taking over some Pueblo lands to become settlers' own property was one of the local interpretations of colonial regulation that in time proved counterproductive. As Laura Gómez notes, Spanish colonizers initially viewed the Pueblo peoples as uncivilized, unintelligent, savage, and without ability, probably to justify both taking of Pueblo lands and property and also the exploitation and murder of Pueblo peoples. The Spanish eventually came to perceive Pueblo peoples as the more civilized and civilizable of the various groups of Indians living in the region (2007, 50-51).[108]

[108] Gómez addresses the dilemma of social-sexual contact between colonizers and colonized in New Mexico, as the same situation arose in Latin America. The blending of colonizers and Native peoples turned into a racial hierarchy based on how "Spanish" or "Native" a person was, and was almost exclusively dependent on phenotype in order to delineate the level of inequality and social status a person would have in the colony (2007, 50-51). I contend that social stratification based on ancestry, ethnicity, and degree of "racial" purity of heritage did not end with the conclusion of the Spanish and Mexican colonial periods in New Mexico, but has continued into the twenty-first century. Further, I consider that "race" is human, although ethnicity, ancestry, and heritage can be complex and varied. For additional information, see "How Genetics is Changing Our Understanding of 'Race," by Harvard genetics professor David Reich. In the article discussing his latest research, Reich contends that race is a social construct without genetic foundation and that more phenotypic and genetic variations occur within populations than across them. He acknowledges differences in genetic ancestry that contribute to phenotype and the potential for certain genetically based diseases, for example. However, Reich allows that there is much to be studied in the field of genetics that could lead to far different understandings of population variations than is currently known (*New York Times*, March 23, 2018, Sunday Review.)

**Water: life and community economy**

Access to water was and is central to any settlement of a geographic region. Anyone who has lived in or passed through an arid region can understand the absolute need for water if a community is to survive and thrive. Without water, life cannot exist.

In the Rio Grande Valley, Pueblos had capitalized on available water sources in establishing their villages. They raised four main crops: corn, beans, squash, and cotton which had originally been brought from neighboring peoples to the west and south. Using techniques gained from other desert dwelling peoples and further developed in the Rio Grande Valley, Pueblos were able to grow and expand their crops by channeling water to fields at some distance from free-flowing rivers and springs. Crops and other products, such as mined turquoise, were sold in markets as far away as central Mexico (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2007, 18-19).

Spanish colonists made use of available irrigation technology, including taking advantage of ditches abandoned by Pueblos, which they cleaned and expanded, rather than dig all new ditches. Spanish law forbade confiscating Pueblo ditches that were still in use, but that provision was not always observed and practices of trespass and encroachment were often open to local interpretation (Rivera, 1998, 2-3). The developing acequia system became an aggregation of Pueblo and Spanish irrigation knowledge and techniques that brought neighbors together in management of the acequias. Development of extensive acequia systems[109] that could carry water to places it had never been,

[109] In her account of the early development of the *acequia* system in New Mexico, Sylvia Rodríguez (2006) includes the contributions of the Tlaxcaltecan Indians of central Mexico who had helped the Spanish defeat the Aztecs for control of Mexico and, subsequently accompanied them in their northward journey. The Tlaxcaltecan people also had advanced skills in irrigation systems and agriculture, which they employed in union with the Spanish in northern Mexico and New Mexico. In return for their contributions, they were given their own land for farms, and were allowed to possess horses and firearms, which were new technologies to New Mexico. With the Spanish settlers, they also fled the colony during the Pueblo

allowed for new fields, irrigation of crops, many brought by the Spanish and, therefore, new to the region. Acequia systems also diverted water to establish orchards where that form of agriculture had been previously impossible. Additionally, animal husbandry similar to that practiced in Europe, began to gain importance in providing meat, reducing the need for extensive hunting (Rodríguez, 2006, 13-15). The acequia, in practice influenced the forming and bonding of communities in what Rodríguez (2006) describes anthropologically as tribal, primitive, or indigenous groups. Belonging to an acequia, means subscribing to a moral economic system of mutual respect among individuals, and of respect for the water which brings life to a community. Rituals surrounding the acequia in a community communicate personal value and belonging (127).

Acequia systems were primarily controlled and operated by villages as working cooperatives. Some acequias, or parts of systems, were operated by wealthy landowners and rural farmers. Customs, regulations, and practices varied by place and condition. Sometimes regulations were written and other times remained unwritten, but commonly understood, by the community. Nevertheless, individuals and communities utilizing the *acequias* were expected to abide by local rules and customs if they were to have access to water (Rodríguez, 2006, 2-4).[110]

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Revolt, and Rodríguez suggests that some of them possibly returned during the reconquest to resettle in New Mexico (14). Although discussion of the contributions of the Tlaxcaltecan people who accompanied Spanish settlers to New Mexico is limited here in order to focus more specifically on the Spanish themselves and on *Nuevomexicano* villages, it is my intent to acknowledge their involvement and contributions to the colony and to the possibility that they, too, became a viable part of the fabric of New Mexico.

[110] Sylvia Rodríguez (2006) notes that, for many of the *acequia* associations in New Mexico, regulations and customs established under Spanish colonial rule continue into the twenty-first century, albeit with the imposition of New Mexico state law under the jurisdiction of the State Engineer (4-5).

As Juan Estevan Arellano, poet, artist, and farmer from Embudo affirms,

> "Acequias are what give us a sense of place, and the water becomes the blood that brings communities together, that separates the commons from the *suertes*, a land division introduced by the Spanish Crown, while at the same time uniting and making the land grant landscape one" (2014, 5).

In his writing, Juan Estevan Arellano speaks to acequias as enduring in what can be interpreted in vertical and horizontal terms. One could think of this as a set of Cartesian coordinates on an imagined mapping of a landscape and community known intimately by its inhabitants.[111] On the vertical axis, acequias can be viewed through past history and continuing into the future. The horizontal axis can represent community through time. The point where the axes cross is the "now" where past, present, and future intersect in the continuum of time and community. Care, maintenance, and use of *acequias* through the seasons emphasizes the cyclical nature of an agrarian community, while the mapping of landscape and community underscores endurance through time, memory, and imagination.

Storyteller and photographer Alejandro López remains concerned with Nuevomexicanos in their interactions with the land. Although somewhat romanticized, his discourse on the spring ritual of cleaning the acequia along the Río Pecos in San Miguel County illustrates the timelessness of the acequia as giving life to a particular place, and, in the process, being instrumental in building a community that he anticipates could remain through time.

[111] Reference to Kent Ryden's book, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape* (1993).

López writes,

> “If the world should ever be renewed through august teamwork and cooperation, it will probably begin in an obscure village of about 10 stone house somewhere along the Río Pecos in New Mexico’s San Miguel County.
>
> Earlier this spring [2018], an indefatigable team of nearly 40 people of varied ages and backgrounds converged on a particular hamlet in the early morning hours as the sun was just peeking over the horizon. They uncomplainingly threw themselves into the monumental task of shoveling out four to six inches of sediment that had accumulated at the bottom of their *acequia* over the previous year. . . .
>
> It gives me great inner strength to know that our ancestors could muster this level of energy and commitment to such a bold and daunting engineering feat. Though separated by centuries from those who built this awesome watercourse, everyone who participated in the *limpia* could feel a strong connection with them (2018, 6-7).

López notes that the work crew broke for a shared meal during the work day, prepared by people of the village and comprised of foods traditional to northern New Mexico. At the end of the day and especially at the conclusion of the limpia, the villagers celebrated with a party that connected the present work to that of earlier generations (2018, 6-7).

It is reasonable to consider that individuals and communities dependent upon water as central to life and economy would bond with others in the area who depend on the same water sources. The acequia emphasized human economy in the village and the rituals surrounding the cleaning of the acequia, preparation of a meal that was often shared, and social gatherings following the work was and is the human economy made visible. In early New Mexico, the intrinsic value of an individual was determined more in how that person contributed to the good of the community in labor and production than in monetary acquisition and holdings. Building an acequia association meant sharing traditions, customs, technology, and developing a social economy with others.

Rodríguez's (2006) assessment of the acequia as an expression of community economy could also apply to barter as a means of exchange within the community. It is reasonable to suggest that, as acequia records have been kept in written form, community memory, or both, barter records may also have been kept. For example, not only could trade take place contemporaneously, but early spring produce from a verdant garden could be traded to a neighbor on the promise of a lamb raised until fall, then provided to the gardener in exchange for produce already consumed. Some form of record would have been kept to make sure the trade was equivalent and timely. Either exceeding expectations or not meeting expectations in the barter relationship would likely become known beyond the immediate trading partners into the community and could then either build relationships in the partnership and community or disrupt relationships.

Joseph P. Sánchez (1997) affirms that barter was the main means of commerce in early New Mexico. Trade among New Mexicans and Plains peoples took place at trade fairs, *rescates*, where, in addition to trade in goods, traders also bartered for slaves or for people who had been rescued from slavery with an exchange of goods traded for people. Slaves who were kept by the Spanish were usually baptized into the Catholic faith, while others were returned in trade with their kinsmen. Natives participated in the rescates to redeem their kin who had been captured by other tribes, as well as to barter for goods (19).[112]

[112] See also James F. Brooks (2002) for more extensive information on slavery, kinship, and trade in the Southwest.

**Economy of Domination**

Pueblos tolerated and accommodated the Spanish for three main reasons. First was the fear of retribution if they did not cooperate. Second, the Pueblos gained tools, animals, crops, and agricultural knowledge that enhanced their material culture, economic interests, and well-being. Finally, the Pueblos had an ally to help protect them against their traditional enemies. Spanish colonists relied on the Pueblos for labor, willing or otherwise, agricultural knowledge, and sometimes, even their survival (Weber, 1999, 4-5).[113]

The economy of colonial New Mexico was impacted by who came to dominate whom. Colonists were required to send material goods, tribute, and taxes to the Spanish crown in an *encomienda* system, a concept brought from Europe and further developed in the Southwest. Likewise, Pueblo peoples were required to pay tribute to colonists who used their labor; the people who generally comprised local governing bodies, people in charge of the missions, or prominent land owners. Pueblo peoples were required to serve large landowners in the encomienda system, work for which they were poorly paid, or not paid not at all.[114] The encomienda system was burdensome, and was generally experienced as loathsome[115] to the Pueblo peoples, yet was integral to the economy of the colonists. The system increased the wealth of local ranchers and had an effect of

[113] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz states that labor requirements of the large ranches established by Spanish colonists resembled feudal European serfdoms, where Pueblo workers were essentially slaves. Spanish law stated that Pueblo lands were to be respected and left alone as those lands did not officially belong to the Spanish Crown. However, those provisions were regularly ignored. Additionally, in some places where Pueblo lands were desired by powerful and wealthy colonizers, the Pueblos were removed and resettled and the lands distributed among the colonizers (2007, 36-40).

[114] Simmons also notes that one of the chief complaints of the Pueblo people in *encomienda* grants was that they were imposed upon with so much work on the ranches that they had no time to work their own fields (1979, 103).

[115] See Dunbar-Ortiz (2007, 36-37).

aggregating colonists who were dispersed through the colony on smaller farms into extended communities by adopting a more regional economy in production and trade.[116] It seems that money, in the forms of either coins or currency, was not used in commercial transactions in the early New Mexican economy and it is likely that barter continued to be the main means of exchange of commodities (Simmons, 1979, 102-103; Trigg, 2005, 39-40, 61-65; Gómez, 2007, 120).

The majority of New Mexico's wealth was concentrated near the capital, Santa Fe, and many of the wealthiest residents had both a home within the *villa* and a *hacienda* not too far from town. However, even the richest Nuevomexicanos did not achieve the amount of wealth held by rich Mexicans to the south. Members of other social and economic classes lived within a subsistence economy without specialization of production that persisted after the colonial period. Much of the economic activity outside of Santa Fe consisted of growing foods and producing goods, such as tools and clothing, needed within the family and community or in acquiring necessities by trading with neighboring Hispano villages and Pueblo peoples (Trigg, 2005, 208-209).

Early Spanish colonial society had been established as hierarchical based primarily on factors including honor, ancestry, profession, religion, and authority over land holdings similar to the societal structure the colonists knew from Spain. Society was stratified into nobility, peasantry, and *genízaros.* The nobility consisted mainly of descendants of the Spanish colonists who had been part of the Spanish charter of 1595 and was later also claimed by large land owners, high military officials, and the ruling class. New Mexican peasants who owned land on their own, or were included in land

[116] Zavala (1979) notes that implementation of the *encomienda* system among the Pueblos in New Mexico was less successful than in other parts of New Spain under Spanish domination (187).

grants, and considered themselves "Spanish" although were generally *mestizo,* were in the next social class. The lowest strata in Spanish colonial and post-Revolt society were genízaros, Native peoples who were either part of the local population or who had been captured in military conflicts or raids and were pressed into service as servants and slaves. Genízaros had little hope of upward mobility (Gutiérrez, 2000, 15-16).

In the years following the Revolt, many large land holdings, such as *haciendas*, were divided into smaller *ranchos* as numbers of available Pueblo laborers declined and demands for land increased from new settlers arriving in the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico. Additionally, some Pueblo peoples had built new pueblos in the ruins of Spanish villages that had been abandoned and destroyed in the Revolt. In the case of the *Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada*, for example, Natives who had moved in during the Revolt and immediately thereafter were evicted and dispossessed of the land, making way for a new *villa* that was built on the site. The new Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada[117] along with the *Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asis* became the springboards of northward expansion. By 1750, settlements in the Española Valley, along with the communities now known as Los Luceros, Embudo, Velarde, Chamita, and Ojo Caliente were Nuevomexicano occupied villages. To the east of Santa Cruz, the villages of Chimayo and Las Trampas were formed (Nostrand, 1992, 39-42; Simmons, 1979, 103-104).

During the post-Revolt period and well into the eighteenth century, large fairs such as that at Taos Pueblo provided connections for trade between settlers in northern

[117] The *Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada* is also identified as Santa Cruz elsewhere in this project, and in New Mexico, as the *Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asis* is identified elsewhere in this project, and often in New Mexico, as Santa Fe.

New Mexico and southern Colorado with various Native tribes.[118] Although trade with some outlying peoples, such as the Yutas, violated Spanish rules, the isolation of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado proved an asset in building and maintaining a trade network largely outside the view of law. In time, northern New Mexicans developed trade relationships with most of their neighboring peoples. With so many peoples and cultures involved and shielded by geographic obstacles, application of Spanish law continued to be administered inconsistently (Sánchez, 1997, 9-10).

Although direct barter of goods and services was likely the principal means of exchange throughout the Southwest after the resettlement, in some instances documents of commerce were expressed in monetary units and their equivalent in commodities. For example, the paper of sale, writ of exchange, and the patent preceding the writ of exchange collectively document the trade of two parcels of land that took place in June of 1776 between the Church of Santa Cruz de la Cañada and settler Don Juan Bautista Vigil. The documents state that the cost of the parcel of land was “125 regional pesos in goods the settler wanted.” At the equivalent in silver, the cost was “61 pesos.” In the deed of exchange, Vigil traded a parcel of land on which he grew crops near where a proposed new church and convent at Santa Cruz were to be built for a parcel of land that was already the property of the existing church and convent. The parcel of land belonging to the church that Vigil wanted to buy was adjacent to his family’s residential property and

[118] Trade fairs, in addition to that at Taos, where Comanches and Yutas (Utes) participated, were held at Abiquiú and Santa Cruz in 1719. The Comanches and Utes used the trade fairs to launch raids on nearby communities. The governor called a council of war (*Junta de Guerra*) comprised mainly of soldiers of the *Reconquista*, including Ignacio Roybal, to meet the threat by marching north into present day Colorado. Stalled by winter weather, the force retreated to a local village where they met with Native chiefs. Over chocolate beverages and sweets, the chiefs told of raiding French and Pawnee moving across the plains and closer to Santa Fe. The New Mexicans and allied Natives decided to head off the threat by marching northeast into French-Pawnee territory. In a surprise attack, many of the Spanish and their allies were killed, including L’Archevêque (Maestas, 2016, 78-81).

on which he had already constructed out buildings pertaining to his farming operation. Vigil also agreed to relinquish any and all claims to the land he was deeding to the church on behalf of himself and his heirs, seemingly in perpetuity.[119] After substantial review by local governmental and ecclesial authorities, including Fray Atanasio Domínguez,[120] the transaction was approved in a manner that would keep the proceedings out of the courts and minimize governmental interference. To complete the transaction, Vigil made a donation of "alms in the amount of 100 regional pesos for the fabric of the new church." The land exchange was finalized on January 22, 1770, three and a half years after the after the proceedings had begun (Adams and Chávez, 2012, 318-321).

One noteworthy distinction in the documentation of the land exchange between Don Juan Bautista Vigil and the ecclesial authorities responsible for the Catholic Church at Santa Cruz is the differentiation between regional currency and sovereign currency. While both currencies were expressed as pesos, they were not equivalent: regional peso to silver peso. One hundred twenty five regional pesos was measured against sixty one Spanish pesos based on a silver standard. Also, regional pesos could have an equivalency in goods produced, and it is likely that the rate of equivalency, goods to currency, would have been negotiated between the parties to the transaction. A question remains as to whether pesos based on a silver standard in New Mexico were equivalent to Spanish colonial pesos in other locales under Spanish domain. Glyn Davies states that, in the latter part of the eighteenth century more money was being created in response to local

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[119] One concern in this exchange included the provision that the papers regarding the transaction "not appear in court." Another concern was due to the lack of a notary, although the papers were in accord with legal form and signed by one witness and the representative of a second witness (Adams and Chávez, 2012, 319-320).

[120] Fray Domínguez's secretary in the matter of the land exchange was Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, who was also the secretary and journal keeper of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776.

market forces than by nations, in effect transferring increasing power to subjects rather than maintaining all power in the hands of sovereign governments (2002, 282).

In accord with the demands of a growing local economy, *mestizo* villages grew up on the fringes of colonial settlements in part to serve as a buffer to hostile incursions from raiding nomadic Native peoples. Mestizo settlers viewed this development as an opportunity for upward social and economic mobility, as did the genízaros who moved into mestizo communities. Local communities formed militias to defend themselves and nearby communities from hostile raids by nomadic tribes. Members of these settled communities eventually evolved into a social class of farmers and artisans.[121] Settlers in the colony were required to arm themselves to defend their settlements, and the new post-Revolt charter specified the plan in which each community was to be designed and built around a central plaza, with a focus on community defense. Not only did land grant conditions establish communities; the grants provided means to transfer property from the Spanish crown to the settlers (Gómez, 2007, 119-121). In some cases, such as that of the village of Taos[122] in the 1770s, settlers moved into the nearby Pueblo, abandoning their community for mutual defense against Comanche raids. By 1776, when it was safer to do so, it appears that non-Pueblo settlers moved out of Taos Pueblo and built a new village adjacent to the Pueblo, called Trampas for a time, and later called Ranchos de Taos (Weber, 1982, 3-4).

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[121] Gómez (2007) notes that some of the New Mexican communities established as grants to *mestizo* and *genízaro* farmers and artisans that continue into the twenty first century are "Abiquiu, Carnuel, San Miguel de Vado, Belén, and Tomé (120).

[122] Weber notes that the first Spanish settlement at Taos was abandoned in the Pueblo Revolt, and was re-established when settlers returned in the post-Revolt period (1982, 4).

I would suggest that in reclaiming lands and villages that had been disrupted by the Pueblo Revolt and the potential threat of incursion by the French and others, Nuevomexicano settlers did not seem to possess an illusion of permanence. Nuevomexicanos, while cultivating and appreciating their homeland, had to remain vigilant lest their lands be taken from them. However, what they did come to possess was an identity as Nuevomexicanos, a unique people of mixed Spanish and Native heritage formed in the isolation of the Upper Rio Grande basin with a culture and language of their own.

**European commercial enterprise and New Mexico disruption**

Whether residents of New Mexico had full realization is debatable, but the region was enmeshed in international politics by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The French looked toward New Mexico with territorial acquisition in mind (Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez 2013, 60-61, Maestas, 2016, 80-81). Events in Europe, with conflicts and treaties among France, Spain, and England, affected colonization and recolonization of the Americas in the eighteenth century. However, New Mexicans, while maintaining ties to Spain, were not amenable to control by the French, rendering treaty provisions between the two European powers regarding settlement and trading in North American unenforceable. Later in that century, when France determined it would lose the Seven Years War in Europe to England, they transferred their North American colonies to Spain, a transfer among relatives as it were (Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez 2013, 61-62).

The English colonies in eastern North America began to exert their influence, albeit indirectly at first, on New Mexico during the mid-eighteenth century. The French and Indian War, which became the Seven Years War in Europe, attempted to settle by

force which North American territories would belong to which European country. By treaty ending the wars, the French Bourbons ceded lands to the Spanish Bourbons, Spain acquired French Louisiana, and England acquired new territories in the Caribbean (Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez, 2013, 62). Political and territorial shifts these actions caused would soon reach New Mexico.

James F. Brooks (2002), studied the roles raiding, slavery, and kinship building played from the pre-Columbian Southwest through the early American period. These practices were integral to the economy and community of the region. Raids were commemorated by ceremonial practices emphasizing "violence, honor, and gender facilitated in the exchange system and its sacred resolution in the indigenous world." Raiding neighboring tribes and taking captives were elemental in cultural exchanges that taking of captives offended the value of honor that necessitated redemption and also "energized future exchanges" (15-16). However, peoples who acquired superior weaponry from the French, the English colonists, and then the Americans made raiding groups who possessed weaponry more efficient in taking captives and acquiring possessions from others without such weapons, thus shifting the cultural balance. Andrew C. Isenberg (2000) notes that a number of Plains tribes became even more nomadic in an effort to evade the European invasion and the diseases they brought, relying on bison and what they could get from the expansive Great Plains to provide a subsistence living. They adapted as best they could, however the European trade in bison hides and the ecological assault on the Great Plains ecosystem left Plains tribes without basic resources for sustenance. Plains tribes also had to cope with new and devastating diseases that began to ravage the people. One of the most, if not the most, devastating diseases was smallpox in

its various forms. Eisenberg states that raiding among Plains tribes carried the disease from group to group, with devastating results (119-122).

In making alliances with various Native peoples, the English colonists also expected their assistance in removing obstacles to their own objective in finding a viable route to the California coast (García, 1979, 206-207).

Exploration and colonization of lands beyond New Mexico intensified in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Governmental and private explorers and traders originating in New Mexico established trade by traveling to Native peoples to the north and northwest. There is little documentation concerning every purported exploratory or trade mission prior to the padres' expedition, but the diary Domínguez and Escalante kept indicate that they were aware of previous ventures (Hill, [1921] 2015, 444-448).

France and England were not the only countries with designs on Spanish-held territory in the Americas. During the eighteenth century, Russia began its explorations southward along the Pacific Coast toward California, making it crucial for Spain to solidify its holdings. Spanish expeditions moved north in along the coast, partly to stem Russian movement, and it became imperative to find a direct route from New Mexico to California (Hill, [1921] 2015, 449).

## Forging the Old Spanish Trail

In 1776, Franciscans Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante were charged with finding and mapping a route to California.[123] Beginning on July 29 with a company of men from several pueblos, villages, and Santa Fe, they set out on the first leg of their journey, toward the Pueblo of Santa Clara; then to El Pueblo de Santa Rosa de Abiquíu, intent on finding an overland route to California. Domínguez was in charge of the expedition, Escalante kept the highly detailed journal, and Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, former militia captain, served as cartographer. Others in the expedition were selected for skills that served the expedition's purposes (Vélez de Escalante, 1995, 3-6). With an historical knowledge of the Uto (Ute) – Aztecan culture and language, Lorenzo Oliveras, Lucrecio Muñiz, Andres Muñiz, Juán de Aguilas, and Simón Lucero, were able to guide the expedition and translate between the Spanish explorers and Native peoples they encountered (Solórzano, 1998, 84).

Miera's maps include a few geographical myths in the detail, including the possibility of an inland waterway that extended to California that had been conceptualized early in the history of New Spain. It is likely that some of the expeditions' forays along various rivers were an attempt to find that waterway. The myth of a transcontinental western waterway that Miera entered on his maps was based on a premise that that all western rivers had to flow to an ocean was also accepted by Lewis

[123] Fray Vélez de Escalante had been working on the problem of finding an easy land route to Monterey, California since 1775. In early 1776, Fray Domínguez ordered Escalante to join him in Santa Fe to plan the expedition. Don Bernardo Miera de Pacheco and other local citizens joined the Fathers in planning the venture. The original intended departure date, July 4, 1776, proved to be not feasible. They had also received word that another priest had opened a trail to California, along one of the possible routes. Selecting another route to the northwest of New Mexico, they decided that they would both open a new trail to Monterey and establish missions wherever they could do so (Adams and Chavez, [1956] 2012, *xv-xvi*). Passages throughout the text indicate that Miera de Pacheco was also a noted *santero* in addition to having military and cartographic skills (Dominguez, [1956], 2012).

and Clark and many of the western fur traders. Because of the lack of an easy water passage to the Pacific, had the Domínguez and Escalante expedition not turned south and returned to New Mexico when they did, it is possible that they would have had an outcome similar to the later Donner Party (Nelson, Winter 2018, 63).

The expedition was originally considered a failure as the men never reached California. Although they had promised the Timpanogos people of central Utah and others Native to Utah that they would return, Domínguez and Escalante were unable to do so due to the deteriorating political situation in New Mexico. They were unable to open Utah as a Catholic mission field, and when other people of European ancestry entered Utah seventy five years later, it would be the Mormons who laid claim to the region and settled there (Warner, 1995, *xv*).[124]

Miera's detailed maps of the expedition identifies topographic features as named by the padres with extensive descriptions of the geographic features and the various peoples the expeditioners encountered (Domínguez-Escalante, 1995, 144-145). In his analysis of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, W. R. Harris ([1909], 2018) addresses the "challenges of nomenclature" of land features as

> "Four different races of men passed through or occupied the land for a greater or lesser period. On the mountains, rivers and lakes aboriginal man conferred original names. The Spaniard, burning with religious enthusiasm, substituted for these names those of the saints, martyrs, confessors and canonized virgins of his Church. Then came French-Canadian trappers and hunters of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, who gave French names to tribes, mountains and specified localities. Then entered on the scene, in 1823, the men of the American Fur Company, who incorporated English names with or supplanted those already bestowed by the Indian, Spaniard, and French" (257).

[124] As Warner (1995) notes, during the summer of 1975 a number of scholars re-traced the route of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition. Msgr. Jerome Stoffel and Mr. George Stewart travelled the leg from Utah Lake to the Arizona border that is recorded in the journal from September 25 through October 15, 1776 (*xvii*). I had several conversations with Msgr. Stoffel about his experiences on this journey when he was chaplain at the Newman Center at Utah State University in Logan, Utah.

The act of naming something establishes a claim about that that place that indicates its value and creates an intimacy and sense of community that is shared by others who also know and use that name. Place names often come from an experience with a place and the name given to that place may be formal, as on printed maps, or informal, such as a nickname only local people would know. A named place remains stationery and does not move, no matter how far those who know it may stray (Johnstone, 2008, 58; Ryden, 1993, 192-195; Tuan, 1977, 18, 29). The passage from Harris in his analysis of the Domínguez-Escalante expeditionary journal indicates that place names were given by those in power at the time of their naming, thus signifying assumed agency to name and claim a land area.

Sánchez (1997) states that toward the end of the eighteenth century, explorers and traders originating in New Mexico established an illegal trade network with the Yutas,[125] for which several Nuevomexicanos were prosecuted out of fear that their enterprises would not be successful and would bring the wrath of the raiding Yutas and their allies upon New Mexico. When caught, traders engaging in illicit commerce were usually prosecuted because they engaged in trading without a license, carried goods to trade from officials who wanted to distance themselves from illegal affairs, but wanted to profit nevertheless, and for stealing goods and livestock from neighbors to trade. Prosecutions notwithstanding, illicit trade continued and expanded at least as far as the Timpanogos, also known as Yutas Timpanogos, who lived near the Great Salt Lake. Approved trade with peoples in what would become Utah ceased. However, illegal trade continued

[125] The Yutas later became known as "Utes."

among the Yutas and others in the area and with each trade mission, traders gained additional knowledge of the land, peoples, and potential routes to California (91-102).

**From New Spain to Mexico: familiar territory--new national alliance**

Territorial expansion from New Mexico outward continued through the Mexican colonial period that began in 1821, when Mexico declared its independence from Spain, through the rest of the nineteenth century. Villages grew and expanded with individual families or groups of families departing to form new villages as offspring from parent villages of San Miguel, Taos, Abiquiu, Las Vegas, and Mora. The traditional patronage system underwent changes, and former *peones* were able to then move from small farms to build larger operations as stockmen in their own right. During this period, which also concurred with the early years of the United States as a sovereign nation, American soldiers gained in their containment of Plains tribes, which aided Hispano growth in Colorado where water was more abundant than farther south in New Mexico. Hispanos held their ground against potential Anglo settlers, however Texas cattlemen pushed westward against the New Mexico frontier (Nostrand, 1992, 70-97).

The period from Mexico's declaration of independence from Spain in 1821 and New Mexico's annexation by the United States in 1846 was relatively peaceful for Nuevomexicanos. Still distant from the new seat of power of Mexico City and isolated by geography, the government of the territory had to adapt to some change, while the common people of northern New Mexico continued basically unaffected by distant governments, whether Spanish, Mexican, or United States, remaining primarily concerned with making a living and dealing with the realities of life. (Sánchez, 1970, 10-11). Initially, the objectives of the Mexican Revolution were limited, focusing on

removing Mexico from Spanish rule. Some aspects of Spanish culture were retained, including the formal influence of the Catholic Church in civil governance. *Ricos*[126] in the provinces, including New Mexico increased their power and privilege and a number of men of that group were directly involved in provincial government. In the course of presenting proposals toward creating a Mexican constitution that also governed outlying provinces, many of the *ricos* in government saw the opportunity to build their own wealth and power, neglecting provisions to develop an educational system in communities or to move people of the provinces in the direction of more self-governance. A small, but significant uprising in New Mexico in 1837 resulted in more involvement of mestizo citizens and a small lessening of influence of the wealthy and powerful men who had claimed pure Spanish descent and who, up to then, had been the sole agents of government in the province (Zeleny, 1944, 80-86).

### Trappers, Traders, Adventurers: Completing the Old Spanish Trail

As New Mexico transitioned from a Spanish province to a Mexican possession with more autonomy, the frontier began to open, some of the isolation waned, and beginning trade with the United States was established. American trappers and traders were among the first outsiders to enter New Mexico and, along with new economic realities, brought with them concepts of democratic principles and self-governance (Zeleny, 1944, 79-80).

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[126] *Ricos* can be translated to “the rich” in English and refers here, and in Zeleny’s (1944) work to be a class of rich and powerful people, especially men, who controlled much of the wealth, power, and government in Mexico and the provinces, including New Mexico. It is a term occasionally in use today in a similar context.

Early incursions by Anglos did not initially amount to a full-fledged invasion. It has been previously noted that L'Archevêque and Grolét, who arrived with the *Reconquista*, were likely the first Anglos in the region. However, trappers and traders, as well as men with an appetite for adventure in what was to them an unexplored land, found the Southwest to their liking.

In New Mexico, the word "Anglo" was an imprecise term of identity. According to Nostrand (1992), the term applied to anyone who was not of Native, Spanish, Mexican, or mixed Spanish-Native descent. The term came into use sometime after the United States wrested New Mexico from Mexico in 1846 and was first ascribed to the earliest Anglo arrivals who arrived with the *Reconquista*, or shortly thereafter (99).

Under Spain's dominion, trapping and trading enterprises in New Mexico were limited to Spanish subjects and foreigners were forbidden to engage in commerce within Spanish territories. The French were the first to challenge the Spanish monopoly as much of their economy was based on the expanding fur trade within their own possessions on the North American continent. The Mallet brothers were noted as the first French traders to reach Taos in and engage in trade there.[127] Though arrested, detained, and eventually returned to French territory, the Mallets' tales of their experiences along with suggestions of the potential for lucrative trade in the northern Rio Grande Basin intrigued their countrymen who were at that time mainly trapping and trading in French territories to the east and far north.[128] It is possible that New Mexicans had engaged in illegal trade with

[127] The Mallets made their way south to Santa Fe in 1739, where they stayed several months (Nostrand, 1992, 99).

[128] Nostrand notes that at least one member of the Mallet group, Juan Baptiste Alarí, later known as Alarid, married, had children, and remained in New Mexico after the Mallets and the rest of their party returned east. Members of later French trading parties were arrested, detained, and had their goods confiscated before they were released to return to French territories (1992, 99-100).

French outsiders prior to the arrival of the Mallet party, which helped make the region attractive to prospective merchants. New Mexicans, in turn, were interested in the desirable goods French traders brought that were not necessarily available in local markets. Some New Mexicans seemed amenable to engaging in commerce with the newcomers, with or without consent of government. Later French traders following the Mallets, developed trade relationships with the Comanche, providing them with weapons and horses, so they would have an ally in their attempts to convince New Mexico to acquiesce to French incursion. However, as long as Spain held the Louisiana territory, there existed a buffer of land between the Spanish territories of the Southwest and the French, English, and Americans to the east (Weber, 1982, 32-35).

Nuevomexicanos continued their trading expeditions to the Yutas and other Native tribes. Some engaged in the practice for economic reasons, some to recover livestock by engaging in trade or committing theft, others to recover kin who had been taken as captives. Still others used the vehicle of trade by going into Yuta country and beyond still seeking the elusive passage between New Mexico and California. In the westernmost sections of Nuevomexicano trade routes, traders found Spanish goods that had apparently not come from New Mexico and speculated that those goods had been acquired in exchanges with Spanish settlements in California, or with those who had exchanges with traders who had dealings in California, opening the possibility for an imminent discovery of a direct route linking Santa Fe and the Pacific Coast. With easing of Spanish restrictions, *bandos*, as the region transitioned to become a region of Mexico, exploration and trading with peoples beyond northern New Mexico increased

dramatically. Each venture provided New Mexicans with more information about the Great Basin and beyond (Sánchez, 1997, 93-102).

Initially, early non-Nuevomexicano trappers in New Mexico were viewed as intruders to Spain's and Mexico's northern provinces. Spain had forbidden outsiders from entering their provinces to remove resources, including furs from northern New Mexico, and also would not permit outside goods to enter their colonial markets. The consideration was that, allowing such incursion and trade would foster a danger to New Mexico and would deprive the colony of growing approved trade with the Comanches and other Natives. Along with expressed concerns over increasing French incursion, settlement, and commerce in New Mexico through the late eighteenth century, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a developing fear that the Americans would also have designs on New Mexico that rivaled the French (Weber, 1971, 32-37).

Americans had begun to move into Louisiana while the region was still a Spanish territory. Daniel Boone became one of the first American Spanish subjects when he moved from Kentucky to Missouri and others followed (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, 90). The United States' purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 effectively removed the buffer zone between the United States and New Mexico, along with Spanish land holdings to the north and west that had kept the Americans at a distance.

Hafen and Hafen (1993) note that the earliest outside trappers and traders to enter New Mexico, when caught, were imprisoned, stripped of their goods, and dismissed with one horse to take them back to where they came from. With Mexican independence, the Santa Fe Trail became firmly established as a trade route between Missouri and Santa Fe

(1993, 91-93). Though not yet a flood, Americans headed to New Mexico for commerce and adventure.

With Mexico's easing of restrictions on commerce by foreigners in its territories after gaining sovereignty in 1821, fur trapping and trading continued with *Nuevomexianos* and French traders working in a semi-cooperative atmosphere. However, nothing they did matched what Hill ([1921], 2015) states as the aggressiveness of the American fur trappers and traders, who built "an extensive industry on the waters of the Colorado," in part by edging out trappers and traders already there. The Americans used Santa Fe as a supply base for their trapping and trading operations, thereby extending their reach (464).

Because of the monopoly on goods sold by Spanish and Mexican merchants that had been available at what could be termed excessive value under Spanish rule, New Mexicans welcomed Mexican independence, and the increasing trade with the United States. Americans were eager to access potential trade with goods previously unavailable in formerly forbidden New Mexican markets (Weber, 1982, 52-53).

Allowing outsiders, including Americans, to enter New Mexico to trap and trade was likely a form of rebellion in the territory, as the central government in Mexico seemed to be opposed to increasing entrance of the outsiders and expressed that opposition in the form of high customs duties on certain trade items brought into the territory. Marketable goods brought from the United States to New Mexico could be sold to local people who had been isolated and deprived of many consumer items previously unknown to them. In spite of tariffs imposed by the government in Mexico City, traders were able to return to the United States taking with them a handsome profit.

Nuevomexicanos benefitted from the semi-illicit trade as well. Consumer goods acquired from the American traders were cheaper and of better quality than most goods purchased from Mexico. Local governmental officials also favored increasing trade with the Americans because, in collecting tariffs primarily for the central government in Mexico, they were also able to acquire funding for the territory (Zeleny, [1944], 1998, 87-91).

With the entry of the Americans, the fur trade emerged as an arena for competition and conflict as well as challenges to North American land claims. As with other natural resources, animal furs and hides were taken from New Mexico and other provinces under Spanish and Mexican dominion to sell in trade fair and rendezvous marketplaces for the profit of the trappers, and more so, the fur companies. While Nuevomexicanos continued in the business of fur trapping and trading with the Yutas and other Native tribes, most of the later trappers came from outside Spanish or Mexican territory and overshadowed longstanding trapping and trading enterprises. The first United States residents, the Americans, came in a trickle, and then in much larger numbers, looking for profit in the lucrative trade in fur and hides. They also sought adventure in, what was to them, a relatively unknown and unexplored foreign land (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, 104).[129]

[129] The theatrical film epic, *How the West Was Won*, is a fictional illustration of the American "conquest" of the West, beginning in 1839. Views of peoples and landscapes near the beginning of the Manifest Destiny period and later are essentially stereotypical. While performances by the major actors were, in my estimation, excellent character portrayals, the story line generally continued to feed existing stereotypes of cultural and ethnic groups of people portrayed; people who possessed varying degrees of agency depending on who they were and how they associated with the Americans, also shown as essentially stereotypical. In an ironic closing scene, the voiceover indicates that the American West remained (as of the 1962 film release) a place where a person could determine his own destiny and fortune while the camera retreats, showing the viewer an ever widening scene of hundreds of nondescript cars caught in near gridlock on the freeways of southern California. Fade to black; roll credits.

In addition to independent trappers and traders, British trappers affiliated with the Hudson Bay Company expanded their enterprises from throughout Canada into the Southwest, along the way encountering men belonging to the Ashley Company, who were trapping in the same river basins from Missouri to the Green River watershed in Wyoming to Utah's Cache Valley. With Mexican independence, trappers moved into New Mexico to expand their large commercial operations. Following the summer rendezvous and with the coming of fall, many of the trappers and traders retreated to Missouri, however, some, such as Jedidiah Smith[130] and Peter Skene Ogden stayed on, continuing their explorations through the winters. The highly lucrative and ruthlessly competitive fur business drew the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, formerly belonging to William Ashley, and the American Fur Company, owned by John Jacob Astor, into the New Mexico market, where the two new companies came to dominate the business throughout the intermountain West and Southwest, although some independent trappers, such as William Becknell and Antoine Robidoux, continued to operate primarily out of New Mexico. Ventures into territory at a distance from New Mexico, while encountering Native peoples beyond the Yutas and Timpanogos, expanded knowledge of the region and provided information that would aid in completion of the Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, 104-108).

By the end of the 1820s, a number of groups of Americans, including those led by William Becknell, who was to become known as the Father of the Santa Fe Trail, John

[130] Jedidiah Smith was possibly the most widely traveled of the trappers and traders and along the way he kept journals of his extensive travels and his commercial activities in the West. He documented a trail leading from South Pass, Wyoming to Los Angeles, California and one from San Joaquin, California to the Great Salt Lake in Utah. He also wrote about his journeys along the Pacific Coast to the mouth of the Columbia River and through the Nevada desert. He mapped the territory he traversed, as well (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, 109).

McKnight and Thomas James, and Hugh Glenn, found New Mexico's Pecos and Rio Grande stream basins rich with animals bearing the kinds of furs prized in the United States, and risked the arduous journey to New Mexico to acquire furs for trade and to build a market for American-made goods. As New Mexico was not, at that time, a cash driven economy, a number of American traders found a more lucrative market for their goods in Chihuahua. A few American traders made Taos and Santa Fe their bases for trade and supplies in Mexican territories and had goods shipped from Missouri and points east to build their markets, although for many of these, residence in New Mexico was considered a temporary station (Weber 1982, 52-65). Some newly arrived Anglos who settled somewhat permanently in New Mexico sought Mexican citizenship and married into Mexican families. Several of this group of Anglos were well regarded for their social and business connections. A portion of these naturalized Mexican Anglo citizens were permitted to purchase land, but were denied the opportunity to acquire large land holdings or land grants, as were Mexicans by birth (Zeleny,[1944], 1998, 98).

It would be worth considering whether the earliest Americans to arrive in New Mexico considered the people residing in the region as poor, since they were not engaged in a cash-centered economy as was the case in the United States, and possibly by that time, in Mexico. It is also possible that some of the Americans' had a perception of cash-poor New Mexicans as impoverished, and possibly easier to take advantage of economically in order to gain labor and acquire goods for less than their expected market value in cash. Monetary based commerce with the Americans would provide some cash for New Mexicans and a hefty profit for traders and other merchants. Such trade practices would disrupt normal and expected commerce in New Mexico's villages, which, as

previously stated, used barter as a primary means of exchange of goods and services. As with other national and regional economies as noted in Davies (2002), Ferguson (2008), and Sowell (2016), imposing a mandated national currency on local economies has served to change the dynamics of commerce that benefitted, and continues to benefit, those who possess and control more of the currency to the economic detriment of those who possess and control less of the currency. As the Americans increased their presence in New Mexico, bringing with them not just commodities for exchange, they also brought American cash, which became desired, and would eventually become necessary as the basis of commercial exchange.

As with commerce in precious metals, for the most part the fur trade and commerce in American goods seemed to be accomplished mainly by and for the advantage of people outside New Mexico who extracted New Mexico's resources without leaving much profit behind to benefit the local population. However, it would be a viable conjecture that consumer goods brought into the northern Rio Grande marketplace from the outside could be attractive to a populace that had not previously known such commodities. As previously noted, the earliest Americans also brought cash with them, and it is reasonable that, along with consumer goods, came the move that merchandise could be more easily acquired with a cash exchange in American legal tender than by barter. It would seem that the Americans were building a desire for consumer goods that had not previously existed, in part because much of their merchandise may not have been absolutely needed, but could be desired. Either way, introduced changes in the marketplace for consumer goods brought into northern New Mexico could have been an unsettling and disruptive force in the region, as Davies

(2002), Ferguson (2008), and Sowell (2016) have documented in other parts of the world when a new economic system is imposed on an existing culture with an already existing economic system. Further, I suggest that, while the number of Americans in New Mexico at that time was relatively small, their influence in convincing northern New Mexico's villagers to acquire cash in order to procure needed or desired consumer goods increased with time and the influx of even more Americans.

Seemingly in the background, possibly because the effort was not recognized as particularly interesting to the incoming Anglos as compared with newsworthy adventures of the trappers, traders, and explorers in the West and Southwest, the quest for an overland passageway from New Mexico to California continued unabated. Sánchez (1997) states that in 1829-1830, Antonio Armijo and company had successfully navigated a southern route between New Mexico and California. Sanctioned and licensed by Governor Chávez, the expedition's newly established route avoided the northern trails through Timpanogos country, which had not at that time proved to be a viable route. Beginning in Abiquiú and taking eighty-six days to reach San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles, Armijo and company carried goods manufactured in New Mexico to trade for California mules. About a month into the journey, the company encountered stones inscribed by members of the Domínguez and Escalante expedition more than a half century earlier. Armijo's group traveled on sections of the Domínguez-Escalante trail along the Colorado and Mancos rivers, but stayed to the south, rather than move farther north. At various points, Armijo and company also crossed the Domínguez-Escalante route and reconstructed a section of the trail at the Crossing of the Fathers, which had fallen into disrepair. Sánchez details extreme hardships the men suffered, including lack

of water and near starvation while crossing the Nevada desert that winter. However, as they made their way, they were aided at various times by friendly Navajo and Payuche (Paiute) Indians. In late January, 1830, Armijo and men were met by a California reconnaissance party out of San Bernardino that carried supplies. Supplies acquired from the recon party sustained them until they reached San Gabriel three days later. Armijo's return trip to New Mexico took nearly two months, the greatest mishap being losing some of the animals destined for New Mexico to Navajo raiders. Armijo's achievement was in successfully completing and documenting a navigable trail between New Mexico and California out of trail fragments explored decades before, thereby increasing knowledge of the landscape, the peoples, cultures, and languages (104-106).

With a completed, traversable trail before them, it was not long before New Mexicans began to use that trail to migrate to California, a move that went unnoticed for some time and might have gone unnoticed much longer were it not for developing unrest in New Mexico that drew attention to the increasing outmigration (Sánchez, 1997, 107).[131]

Meanwhile, as the population of beaver and other fur-bearing animals began to wane from the middle of the nineteenth century onward, several formerly successful Anglo trappers, including Charles Bent, Céran St. Vrain, and Kit Carson, settled in Taos, where they married or cohabited with Hispanas, and some began to raise families. Some

[131] Orville C. Pratt, of Ontario County, New York, is on record as writing the only diary, with daily entries, of his complete journey along the Old Spanish Trail. The first volume of the diary contains details of his journey from Illinois, where he had been living and practicing law, to New Mexico. The rest of the Trail diary was based on a log compiled by a B. Choteau of his own travel on the Trail. Pratt copied the log into his own diary and then returned the original to Choteau. The log became his guide to the Trail, which he and his company covered between August 27 and Oct 25, 1848. Subsequent to his journey, Pratt became a resident of California, where he practiced law in land cases, became a judge, a farmer, and worked for the United States Government on occasion (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, 341 – 359).

of the Anglo trappers became Mexican citizens after settling in what was then Mexican territory. Traders tended to make their in Santa Fe when they decided to live more or less permanently in New Mexico. The men, and they were almost exclusively men, found that Santa Fe had better access to American and international markets, which increased their financial prosperity, and some gradually became part of elite society. They also generally married or cohabited with Hispanas and their children became Hispanicized.[132] Likewise, they influenced the Anglicizing of New Mexicans (Nostrand, 1992, 101-103).

**The American Invasion**

Economic concepts of land tenure and land use varied greatly depending on who was holding the land. I propose that the real worth of the land and the intrinsic value of the people living on that land is demonstrated by how the land is treated. I would suggest that where land is held communally and apportioned appropriately, great value is placed both in the land and in the people who may consider themselves as belonging to the land, perhaps even being inseparable from the land. Wealth, in that case, may not necessarily be monetary in nature, but is inherent in the community and in belonging to the community. Where land is owned, either in individual or corporate possession such as in capitalistic societies, value is external to a person or corporation, and an individual person has little to no intrinsic value, but has extrinsic value only in production for the landowner or corporate entity. Wealth, in this case, would be concentrated in the land owner, whether individual or corporate, while the worker would receive an amount for his or her production in the interests of the owner.

[132] See also Peter Wallenstein's review essay "Anglo Men, Mexican Women, and Family Formation on the Borderlands" (2018) for related information on similar family formations in the Arizona borderlands.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz stated that pre-colonial Pueblo lands belonged to the Pueblo and were allocated to members of the Pueblo equitably. Land not specifically distributed was held communally in ownership and use. Neither the Pueblos nor the Spanish saw land as a commodity to be bought and sold (2007, 5-7).

Richard Nostrand (1992) characterizes the relationship of the Hispano attachment to the land, particularly in New Mexico, as homeland. For a geographic space to be conceptualized as homeland, a people must have lived in a place long enough to identify primarily with that place, develop their distinctive culture, and have left their imprint on the land. To be a homeland, the people would have adapted to the local environment with the desire to possess and defend their land (213-214). Dunbar-Ortiz states that, similarly to the Pueblo peoples, land ownership in villages and grants was allocated as it was to be used and much of the land was set aside for communal ownership and use. Under the Pueblo and early Spanish land use systems, what was produced on the land was used for local value production, rather than to enter a general marketplace (2007, 7).

Dunbar-Ortiz asserts that during the period beginning in 1821 with Mexican independence, Pueblo and Spanish-Mexican citizens, though poor in money, became rich in community, political power, and self-sufficiency as they engaged in a mostly cooperative venture of building their place in their geographic space. They became equal partners in governance, in large part arising from their prior experience as outsiders, marginalized in a Spanish regime (2007, 70).

As Dunbar-Ortiz notes, a concept of capitalist land use arrived with the Americans, many of whom had a concept of land as a tradeable and saleable commodity, subject to individual and corporate ownership (2007, 7, 70). As trappers became settlers

and settlers moved westward along the Santa Fe Trail, the prospect of adventure and the opportunity of building a future on wide open expanses of seemingly unoccupied land must have been enticing.

A concern of this study is less in the nature of historical land tenure and use and more in how different forms of land tenure and use have been imposed upon earlier occupants, usually to their detriment. In New Mexico, it appears that forms of land tenure and use have been layered upon each other until older forms are often viewed by newcomers, both as tourists and residents who have arrived historically more recently, as relics of past, of possibly dying or dead cultures, and of cultures to be recovered and preserved less for themselves than for, as Rony (1996) puts it, “the desire to stem or otherwise control the inevitable march of historical time” (68). Such encroachments would likely inspire conflict, resistance, and rebellion as existing peoples on the land came to exercise their agency in opposition to new structures imposed upon them.

As more Americans arrived in New Mexico, the United States began to think of the region as more a colony than as a territory of the Mexican nation. American soldiers entered New Mexico and began to assert U. S. colonial authority, even while New Mexico was part of northern Mexico (Mora, 2011, 23).

It was a poorly kept secret that the United States had designs on a vast expanse of land that was northern Mexico and would do what was necessary to complete the acquisition. The Americans desired annexation of New Mexico not just for itself, but as part of the trail to a lucrative markets in California. With the purchase of Louisiana and the acquisition of Texas complete, the United States calculated that New Mexico would fall quickly. Sensing an impending military invasion, New Mexico turned to the

government in Mexico for assistance. Although disorganized, the Mexican government sent some aid, but not enough to eliminate the danger of American conquest. When Mexico refused to allow the outright purchase of the territory between New Mexico and California to the Pacific, the United States government decided to acquire the land by whatever means necessary, and sent in the military as a conquering force (Zeleny, [1944], 1998, 105-109).[133]

The American plan was to take Spanish territory in the northeastern Mexican states, the region from New Mexico to California, and also to capture Mexico City. General Stephen Kearney, assigned to occupy New Mexico and set up a government there, had an army made up of regular soldiers, volunteers from Missouri and other states in the Mississippi Valley, and a contingent of 500 men belonging to the Mormon Battalion (Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez, 2013, 103).[134]

Part of the impetus for the conquest, in addition to acquisition of land between Louisiana and the California coast, was in the view that Doris L. Meyer (1978) expresses as early Anglo stereotype that Mexican people, and those who would be considered Mexican-American, were inferior people, socially, culturally, and politically. It would be a responsibility of Americans to reform this people, who were viewed as lazy, indolent, and feudalistic. In the end, if the Mexican were to lose out on the benefits of the new

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[133] That the northern part of Mexico, including New Mexico, was taken into the United States by force has been well studied and document from in numerous histories, including Zeleny ([1944], 1998), Nostrand (1992), Dunbar-Ortiz (2007), Weigle (2009), Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez (2013), and Acuña (2015). While this list offers a selection of perspectives, while other published works on the Southwest not included in, or germane to, this particular study, would likely present additional perspectives on the United States' acquisition of what has become the United States Southwest.

[134] Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez (2013) note that members of the Mormon Battalion were impressed at the quality of agriculture, the *acequia* system, and nature of animal husbandry in the New Mexico villages they entered. There is speculation that their impressions later influenced agricultural production in the Mormon Zion, which was yet to be established (106).

colonization, it would be to productive Americans (75). As Meyer points out, negative perceptions of Mexicans both in Mexico and those to be absorbed into the United States were magnified by publication in the national press, in ballad, and in novels, for example, conquest and Americanization became imperative; a duty to the United States (76-83).

Territorial domination was the first step in the United States taking control over New Mexico as an expression of taking its national place in the world economic system. Although equal rights for all parties may be indicated, part of the colonizing process subjugates the peoples within the colony, effectively denying personal and community rights, while socio-economic practices in the dominant culture insure that as groups, Spanish-Americans and American Indians[135] in New Mexico have "the lowest educational rates, the highest mortality rates, greater unemployment and fewer opportunities than white Americans." The legacy of this colonialism persists and perpetuates dependency in colonized peoples of New Mexico (Williams, 1985, 29-32)

When one people colonizes another, as in the case of New Mexico, existing social structures are often disrupted or supplanted by social structures imposed by the conquering power. However, there would be resistance in New Mexico. Some resistance was likely expected, and some perhaps occurring in forms unexpected to the Americans.

As Kearney marched into Santa Fe, there were rumors of a planned military resistance by New Mexicans. It is probable that, learning about how the Americans' vanquished those who got in their way, New Mexican forces dispersed with their less than adequate weapons and military organization that would have been no match for the incoming American military. As he had done in other communities on his conquest

[135] Identity terms in this passage are from Williams (1985).

mission, upon entering Santa Fe on August 18, 1846, General Kearney hoisted the American flag, this time over the Governor's Palace. Then he gave a speech absolving New Mexicans from any allegiance to Mexico or to Governor Armijo and stating that, under United States rule, residents would be protected in life, liberty, and property under United States law. Kearney's proclamation was printed and disseminated as a reminder of the guarantee, as long as the people remained at peace (Zeleny, 1944, 110-112).

For some years prior to the American Invasion, New Mexico had what can be described as a robust press. Abiquiú native Padre Antonio José Martínez, leading educator and major publisher of the nineteenth century, determined that education was key to curing society's problems and used the power of the printing press, which he had purchased, to print text materials for dissemination for learning throughout the region. Bringing Jesús María Baca into a partnership, the duo printed books and tracts designed to promote literacy, liberty, and knowledge of law. The partners used that press to print and then publish Padre Martínez's memoirs. After others acquired the Martínez-Baca press, it was used to print *La Verdad*, an official newspaper of the Mexican government, and, in 1846, the Americans used that very printing press, the only printing press in Santa Fe, to print the Kearny Code for distribution. Although Spanish language newspapers and other materials continued to be printed on the press, the act of printing in New Mexico became primarily an American operation (Meléndez, 2005, 18-21).

Although some Nuevomexicanos, including Governor Vigil y Alarid, seemed to accept the U.S. invasion and Kearney's terms, others set out to either actively resist. With Kearney's appointment of Charles Bent as governor of a territorial government under U.S. rule, the appointed Mexican governor, Vigil y Alarid, used accommodation as a

means of resistance. He sought appointment in the new government as he saw open Mexican resistance as futile and a move that would likely end in disaster. While his actions may be seen as opportunist, he may have helped New Mexico survive more independently than other Mexican territories that now fell within the United States. Although it has been said that Kearney and the United States took over without resistance in 1846,[136] that is likely not the case as open, armed resistance sprang from Santa Fe, Taos, La Cañada, and Mora in an attempt to wrest control of New Mexico from the United States and restore the territory. Although Bent was killed in the Taos rebellion, the United States was prepared to appoint a new governor acceptable to the federal government and to send in more troops to quash the rebellion (Herrera, 2000, 29-34).

**Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**

Following the Mexican-American War, The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 was the final act in a series of long negotiations within both the United States and Mexico, as well as between the two nations. In the United States, debate centered on how much land should be acquired, from none at all to the entirety of Mexico. The two nations settled on the land area from Texas to California, albeit with resistance from Mexico. Conditions placed on the treaty included safeguarding the rights of Mexican citizens within the region to be ceded. New Mexicans could retain their Mexican citizenship and move across the border if they wanted to, or they could take on United States citizenship and effectively leave Mexico. They had one year from the signing of the treaty to declare their citizenship as Mexicans or they effectively became United States citizens by default.

[136] See F. Chris Garcia's discussion on the transition of New Mexico between the Mexican period and the United States in *New Mexico Government* (1981, 12).

Payment from the United States to Mexico at settlement constituted, in the minds of many at the time, the purchase of Mexican citizens crossed by the new border and thereby living without a country. The Catholic Church, to which most Spanish New Mexicans belonged, was permitted to act on both sides of the border, with properties remaining in ecclesial control and not to be confiscated by the United States government. Under the treaty, established land grants were to be respected (Zeleny, 1944, 120-124). Of all the provisions in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, land grant provisions have ostensibly been among the most troublesome and disruptive, especially as the American presence grew in New Mexico.

In the Ernesto Galarza Commemorative Lecture of 1992 at Stanford University, Julian Samora stated that the territory covered by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo covered parts of Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and California, as well as New Mexico. While the treaty allowed residents of the area to choose Mexican citizenship and move to Old Mexico, many of those who chose to leave the United States moved to the area around Mesilla, Doña Ana, and Las Cruces. The Gadsden Purchase, however, brought them all back into the United States (2009, 245-247).

Samora also maintained an additional aspect of the American conquest made absorbing the conquerors difficult. Not long after the Spanish arrived in the Americas, the Papal Bull of 1537 declared that American Indians[137] had souls to be saved, which made them human beings. Therefore, although Indians could be treated badly, they also could be baptized, taken into Spanish households as servants or slaves, and intermarriage was possible. In contrast, to the Protestants who came as Americans, Indians they encountered

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[137] The term "Indian" in this case is as stated by Julian Samora in his 1992 lecture.

were to either be exterminated or put on reservations and contained (2009, 247). Treatment of Natives by the incoming Americans contrasted markedly with relationships built over generations through developing shared culture and kinship with those whose ancestors came as Spanish settlers.[138]

Native New Mexican Father Jerome Martinez, Catholic priest and cultural historian noted that, while California became a major destination for the influx of Anglos from the United States, northern New Mexico was less a primary destination.

> "Here, because New Mexico is an unforgiving climate, it's very hard for us to make a living. Americans did not flood in. There was no gold, no agricultural community here; there was nothing. As a consequence, up until this [twentieth] century, the Hispanic population was still a majority, and this is not to say that there was not some suffering and some incredible injustices that were committed on the part of the American conquerors, especially at the time of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. There were the displacements of whole peoples, the taking away of the land grants, the disenfranchising from voting, the denial of the permission guaranteed under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to return to Mexico—but that was not permitted because so many people applied" (1994, 416).

Martinez addressed how Nuevomexicanos made the best of the United States entry and takeover of New Mexico. Martinez also uses the language of political presence as a collection of acts that resist colonization in the physical space that is New Mexico.[139]

> "One thing you have to say for New Mexicans, they learned the politics fast; we are a very political—not politicized—people. Some of the first governors of New Mexico were Spanish-speaking; the first governors of the territory, and the first governors of the state. To this date [1994] 40 percent of the New Mexico

[138] It can be challenging for a twenty-first century mind to completely grasp the epistemology of concepts that one historical people had about another, especially in justifying how they treated one another in situations of conquest. Attempts to contemplate and understand rationales of such treatment, which might often be described contemporaneously as barbaric, could conceivably prevent reoccurrence of such actions.

[139] Neil Smith and Cindi Katz (1996) analyze politics as metaphor in physical space and social reality in "Grounding Metaphor: Towards a spatialized politics" (67-83).

> legislature is Hispanic, and the clergy is Hispanic in great numbers. In other words, we learned to play the system well because we learned that we have to survive, and since there was not a flood of Anglos, we became an important part of the political system. We voted; we still vote—that was seen as the way to get on the school board, or whatever. We also became educated; we became teachers. . . . Education was seen as the key. So, no, we are not as angry I would say as *californios* or *tejanos* would be, because we haven't gone through the same experience, but we are skeptical and reserved. We have been burned, and, as a consequence, there is a kind of a latent resentment about the white people coming in to take the church away, at least the institutional part of it, and sometimes they have taken governments away. So, there's resentment, especially in small communities" (1994, 416).

The American military invasion and culmination of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo can be considered a major point of demarcation between the establishment and constancy of New Mexico's villages and their disruption through changing demographics, cultural upheaval, war, Depression, and war again. With more and more Americans arriving and entertaining the perception of wide open spaces easy for the taking, as well as the possibility for opportunities not available elsewhere, provisions of the treaty designed to protect lands and people eroded under pressure.

Manuel Martinez of Rociada, NM, 80 years of age at the time of his interview in the early 1970s, recounted stories from his great-grandfather, his grandfather, and father as he spoke to the effects of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the transition from Mexican to United States governance on his family and the land grants on which his family members had lived.

> "It was the Mora and San Miguel land grants that were given to the people. I don't know. I think it was Guadalupe Hidalgo who made a treaty with the United States. This specified these lands in New Mexico, Arizona, California, and parts of Colorado as a grant to us the people that lived here, and we would not have to pay taxes on the land or sell them to anyone. So that is how they divided up the land for different families to settle in them."
> Interviewer: "So have they honored their agreement?"

> Martinez: “Oh, no, they have taken them all away from the *mexicanos.* Here in Rociada there are very few of us *mexicanos* left. . . . Our ancestors came from Spain, so we are Hispanics. . . . They call us Mexicans because we belonged to Mexico, right? But we are Spanish because of our ancestry (Arellano, A., 1975, 6-9—6-10).

Elmer Maestas explains that the American land grab of northern New Mexico began upon the United State takeover. Not having adjudication procedures in place like those that had been established in California, northern New Mexico lands were considered available. In the judicial process in New Mexico, it was often the case that hearings on land ownership were held without all interested parties present, or without translators where they should have been in place. There were cases where U. S. officials assigned individual ownership to communal lands and neither notified all concerned that their land rights were at risk, nor followed due process in adjudicating disputes (2016, 106-108).

Malcolm Ebright notes that United States land law followed from English land law that brought communal lands into privatization for agricultural cultivation. United States law stated that holding common lands was prejudicial to the spirit of independence of the nation’s agricultural enterprises. Ebright continues that the official viewpoint was prejudicial to the “entire system of Hispanic Civil law.”

> “Since the common lands concept was out of favor in United States law, American judges were also unsympathetic toward Hispanic common lands ownership as defined by Spanish and Mexican law. Thus the United States Supreme Court was prepared to adopt the argument . . . against common lands and in favor of U. S. government ownership of those lands. Thereafter, Forest Service administration of former common lands in northern New Mexico has been like that of a private entrepreneur, selling timber and grazing rights despite a professed policy of multiple use” (2008, 267-268).

In *Understories: The Political Life of Forests in Northern New Mexico*, Jake Kosek presents sharply contrasting views of forest ownership and use. The federal government determined that nationalized forests were destined to serve the greatest number of people for the "'overall good of the Nation.'" For his project Kosek interviewed Antonio DeVargas, a long-time northern New Mexico activist who was fighting in Vietnam when Tejerina conducted the raid on the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse in 1967. DeVargas considers the Forest Service as an "'enemy of the people'" that has stolen the land from "poor brown people" to convert it to "'corporate forestry and rich white outsiders' playgrounds'" (2006, 12-13).

The federal government transferred almost fifteen million acres of what had been common lands under the land grant system from community control to governmental control. Some of these lands were redistributed to personal ownership under the Homestead Act, Desert Land Act, and the Donation Act, most in 160 acre homesteads. These Acts claimed just over a million acres. The rest of the acquired lands were transferred to the Forest Service for public use. It appears that part of the policy of land acquisition under the Acts and for the Forest Service served as a loyalty test for Mexican-Americans (Gómez, 2007, 122).

The shift in authority over lands and forests can be understood as indication of shifts of economic and political control.

Nancie L. González (1967), states that the American Invasion of New Mexico irrevocably changed the land and its peoples. General Kearney's march into and conquest of New Mexico in 1846 opened lands for new American settlement and provided opportunities for wage labor and a continued rural existence for people in the villages.

Although a rape of the land scenario has been created around the American entry into New Mexico, agricultural land had been in decline for over a century due to overgrazing and traditional, but sometimes unsound, agricultural practices. Even before the Americans entered the villages, it had become difficult to make a living strictly from the land, due to soil depletion, overgrazing, and increasing population. However, with Americans' land acquisitions and timber cutting in depleted forests, the process of village disruption was exacerbated. Larger towns in New Mexico and outside of the region absorbed a number of villagers, who tended to maintain ties by keeping and working a plot of land at home, but that also declined in practice as the shift toward taking on wage labor increased through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When the Americans arrived in New Mexico, they brought ideas for development, industries, and capital, which opened jobs for village farmers who could no longer make as good a living strictly from the land and community economy as they could from taking on work for wages and bringing that money home (9-10, 198).

It was the Americans who also introduced a cash-based economy to northern New Mexico during the Civil War, one of the lasting effects of that conflict on the state (Weigle, 1975, 35). The resulting economic upheaval disrupted an economy that had been reasonably effective for generations. Kenneth Weber contends that in a subsistence economy, New Mexico's villages were a viable entity, fulfilling the social, economic, cultural, and political needs of their residents. As New Mexico began the transition to a cash economy after the Civil War, villages could no longer meet the needs and wants of their residents and the movement to larger towns and cities commenced in earnest. The family unit and community could no longer produce all the village needed, with barter to

fill the gaps, and job generalists gave way to more specialization as villagers moved to new environments. Additionally, where goods were limited in individual villages in a subsistence economy, in a cash economy, one's labor could be converted to money, which could be exchanged for a wider variety of goods and services (1979, 79-81).

Therefore, Americans brought cultural changes along with wage jobs to northern New Mexico and it is reasonable to infer that the quantity and nature of jobs available locally in villages was not sufficient to meet the need for work that paid wages in cash. It was then that villagers, usually men, and sometimes women, would leave their homes for periods of time to take jobs outside the village and outside the region, a developing trend that would continue and grow in the twentieth century. Richard Nostrand points out that changes the Americans created transformed Nuevomexicanos' sense of place from one's belonging to a particular village, the *patria chica*, expanded to include outposts where villagers migrated, first seasonally and then permanently, places from which money came back into home villages. The hundreds of patrias chicas in New Mexico, which inhabitants know intimately, form the *Patria*, or Homeland, for which one longs when away (1992, 225-226).

Sarah Deutsch states that, by the late nineteenth century, it became necessary to migrate for wage work because sufficient jobs were not always available in or near the villages of northern New Mexico. That trend continued into the twentieth century. By migrating for wage work and bringing money home, men and women who left for work and returned with money could help preserve the home village. Nonetheless, in the migrating to work camps outside northern New Mexico, which began seasonally for agriculture and mining, workers encountered Hispanics of other cultures and brought

aspects of those cultures home. The outmigration in many cases eventually became permanent, and although the people remained in what Deutsch calls the regional community, ties to home were strained by distance and time (1987, 100-101).

Deutsch's work considered northern New Mexico villagers who moved to Colorado for wage jobs and, in the course of that movement, attempted to build and continue a regional community with their kin in their home villages. Nuevomexicanos, who have moved to Utah either temporarily or permanently, share similarities with, and have differences from, Nuevomexicanos who settled in Colorado who were the subjects of Deutsch's study.

## Life is Hard; Make the Best of It

The philosophy that life is hard, so make the best of it is suggestive of a long history of making do with what one has and improving where one can, of imposition of unimaginable change, of resistance against futility, and sometimes, a statement of faith in God and hope for the future. This philosophy may have arisen from several sources and life experiences, yet I would suggest that at least one of its points of origin is from the Catholic faith that many Nuevomexicanos share. The Baltimore Catechism, originally published in 1885, codified theology and conduct of faith within the religion. Since the Catechism is a codification, it was likely drawn from prior catechisms and teachings and compiled. While the statement "Life is hard; make the best of it" is not stated in exactly those words, the concept appears throughout the Catechism, from the first volume for instruction of the young, through the fourth volume for instruction of adults and near adults (2010). By way of illustration in the adult volume, the Catechism explains that a man who is to walk a certain distance each day, may fall behind on a given day. The next

day, he must go the expected distance, plus add the steps he missed on the previous day. "So, in our journey through this life we must do our duty each day for the future, and, as far as we can, make up for what we have neglected in the past" (Kinkead, 2010, 347). A summary of concepts of living through suffering as related in the Catechism is that when one perseveres in suffering or in hard times, suffering is redemptive and virtue is the reward.

In her memoir of growing up in Peñasco, NM, Eloyda Roybal Romero (2012) expresses an idealized version of this philosophy she learned from her grandmother as she writes,

> "People in these communities lived similar peaceful, quiet, and happy lives. They didn't have worldly possessions, and many probably had never traveled far, or took vacations, but they were content with what they had. They were poor, but proud of their survival skills (114-115).

Charles Archuleta, 87, who grew up in a farming community between Raton and Clayton, phrased it this way as he advises young people,

> "'You are in for some hard times. Don't expect any favors. You are going to work. You are going to suffer for a long time. Don't expect to go in there and start doing what I'm doing, because it isn't going to work. . . . Anything you have—power, wealth, money, health, speech, you don't abuse it, because if you do, you lose it'" (2012, 308).

"Life is hard; make the best of it" is a philosophy carried by Nuevomexicanos from New Mexico to Utah and has been applied to creating new lives while surviving in a new place. Some personal expressions of this philosophy will be represented in the following chapter as a guiding principle for those who made that move during the New Mexico diaspora[140] and proved to be one of the most important things they carried.

[140] See Rudolfo Anaya's "Mythical Dimensions, Political Reality" in *The Essays* (2009, 90).

Alvin O. Korte, in "*El Desmadre*: Curse and Disorder," acknowledges that language is employed to express creating structure and meaning out of lived experience. How lived events, emotions, attitudes, situations; in short, the stuff of everyday life, are described and typified in social interactions that are aggregated and passed down from generation to generation in *cuentos* and *dichos* that set measures for morality and behavior. This language of expression helps determine one's place and meaning in the world. Making one's way in spite of challenges preserves forward motion and keeps a person from getting bogged down in troubles (2007, 255-269).

**American Presence at the New Century**

From 1846 through the turn of the twentieth century, perhaps the most visible arm of the United States government in New Mexico was the military. From the first American incursions prior to the Mexican-American War that resulted in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, through wars intended to subdue those tribes considered by the United States government to be barbaric Indians, and in battles of the Civil War fought on New Mexico soil, the United States military made its presence known (Ball, 2009, 173-189).

The major route for commerce from 1846 into the twentieth century was the Santa Fe Trail between Independence, Missouri to Santa Fe. Most of the freight wagons carried from Missouri on the Trail consisted of supplies for troops in New Mexico and as far south as El Paso. Rather than return empty, the wagons carried copper from the newly opened mine at Santa Rita as backhauled freight, increasing the prosperity of southern New Mexico and Texas, but leaving northern New Mexico mostly out of the money (Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez, 2013, 128-129).

Through the Spanish and Mexican colonial periods, and into the twentieth century, barter was the main vehicle of exchange in New Mexico. When the Americans arrived and brought a cash economy, those who had cash and could control the cash flow had the advantage. In the new economy, Spanish-Americans had limited means to acquire and accumulate cash. While villagers bartered among themselves for goods, merchants were willing to extend credit for other commodities and for future purchases. In New Mexico's dual economy, villagers would take their surplus, whether furs, agricultural products, or homemade goods, to a local merchant, who would rarely pay for the goods in cash, but would extend credit for future purchases. Those goods could be later sold for a profit in other markets. During lean times, merchants would extend credit to cover present needs, and take up cash when it came into the family unit to cover those purchases. Financial transactions based on credit kept villages in a subsistence economy as villagers bartered among themselves for what they needed on a daily basis and used credit with merchants to borrow against future needs (Williams, 1985, 109-112).[141]

The arrival of the railroads effected change in the economic dynamic of northern New Mexico. The forests of San Miguel County provided lumber for railroad ties during construction. Local men were hired to fell the trees and cut the ties. With the arrival of the Acheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad and during the decades of its operations, New Mexico was opened up to international markets. However, at first it was generally Anglo stockmen and merchants who most benefitted from those markets (Larson, 1983,

[141] Williams (1985) also notes that soldiers stationed throughout New Mexico provided another source of cash for merchants. Their basic needs were generally taken care of by the military and they were paid in cash that they could spend with merchants near their duty stations. Additionally, and perhaps more lucratively, trade with the military in supplying forts with agricultural products and lumber gained from villages garnered cash profits for merchants (113).

33-34; Cohen, 1983, 313). Men desiring work on the railroad as labor were paid $1 a day, high wages in the 1870s (Weigle, 1975, 35).

Additional railroads coming into New Mexico, including the New Mexico & Southern Pacific and the Denver and Rio Grande, further opened the region to national and international markets, with multiple attempts to gain control of local production, and capitalizing the market process from production to distribution. New Mexico villagers generally had not had experience in larger commercial markets, but were able to enter them through the *partido* system, where farmers rented sheep from a merchant and were contracted to provide a certain number of sheep or their wool to that merchant to sell, for example, while keeping other sheep for their own use or to sell to reduce debt to the merchant. Merchants who treated their contractors fairly were able to provide a potentially decent living for their contractors, as well as make a profit for themselves, which could be then used to open other businesses that benefitted the community as well as provide additional growth and profit for the merchant. Contracts made under the *partido* system would tie the contractor and producer of goods ever closer to the merchant who contracted for the goods and with whom the contractor spent his earnings and entered a cycle of ever increasing debt in local stores owned by the merchant in charge of the *partido* (Williams, 1985, 115-120). Additionally, the *partido* system put grazing rights on newly federalized range and forest lands under the control of merchants both in practice and in law, thus removing remaining formerly common lands from village and land grant control and agricultural practice, thus escalating debt and dependency (Forrest, 1989, 21-25).[142] Increasing participation in this market system

[142] The Tewa Basin Study includes case histories of several share-cropping farmers who contracted to rent sheep from merchants in northern New Mexico. None of the cases indicate a return to self-sufficiency and

moved New Mexico villages in a direction away from traditional, local subsistence economy and into participation in the global marketplace (Sánchez, Spude, and Gómez, 2013, 161).

It would follow that specialization in a particular product, such as sheep, would be feasible when the market for sheep was good. However, should the market for sheep fall, the contractor would be left with little to no income, yet still have amassed debt that had to be re-paid. It is reasonable to suggest that the economic gap between the merchant class and the sharecropping contractors and other providers of goods in the villages would continue to grow into the twentieth century and the need for wage work to fill that gap would also grow, leading to further disruption in Nuevomexicano villages.

From the coming of the railroads into the Great Depression, the need for wage work, first to supplement family income, and then as the main source of family income, grew precipitously. Family members left their homes and families for months at a time, or longer, to work as farm labor, sheepherders, or miners in surrounding states to provide a living for their families. As the Depression deepened, opportunities for such wage income, as well as wages paid diminished, which increased poverty in northern New Mexican villages (Weigle, 1975, 35-36).

**Territory to State: War, Depression, and War Again**

Born in 1891, Agapito Vigil lived his childhood in Ocate, New Mexico. Like his neighbors, his father was a rancher and part of the Mora Land Grant. He was a young man when New Mexico achieved statehood.

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independence, but demonstrate increasing dependence and usually increasing debt to the merchant who owned the sheep, rented them to the farmer, owned the business where wool and sheep were sold, and also owned the only company store where the farmer's credit was good and he could purchase other goods to meet his family's needs (Weigle, 1985, 213-222).

> “People did not measure by acres then, they each had thirty *yardas* or so, and the grazing was communal.
>
> “In those years all the people had their goats, sheep, and cattle. There were some rich people. The wages were fifty cents a day from sunup to sundown. If you had a family it was difficult, but peopled lived better than they do now.
>
> “We had plenty of everything. All the grown men had good lands for farming and grazing. Some had a little house on a *solar*. They did not call them acres, just a *solar* for the house and garden. Now I understand that one man owns all the land” (1975, 72-1).

At nineteen, Vigil left the farm in Ocate and moved to Springer for work, hiring on with the Florsheim ranch in their sheep camps. While working, he attended school, although it was difficult to get to town for school. As obtaining an education was challenging for him, he made sure all his children were well-educated (1975-3).

On the ranch, Vigil took care of sheep and also was a *vaquero*. While working for the ranch, *vaqueros mexicanos* could move the cattle wherever they needed to go for grazing because at the time there were no grazing fees in that place. At the end of the grazing season was the *rodeo*, or roundup.

> “The rich would send their vaqueros to round up the cattle. The poor rounded up their own. Branding of the calves took place then. The *rodeo* lasted about one month.
>
> “There was a lot of ground to cover. All the canyons between here and El Rio, Colorado had to be searched for strays. In those days there were no fences, and you didn’t pay any school district taxes. All was open land.”
>
> [During the First War] “there was a lot of work here sheepherding. We sheared with nothing but scissors.”
>
> [Remembering those who served in the First War] I was in for a year. Some served longer. One of my sisters lost a son in that war. I also lost one of my nephews. In the Second War more were lost (1975, 72-3, 72-6).

Nuevomexicanos seem to carry within them what can be called a culture of service. That culture of service may stem from their European roots and history of military service. It may be in the blending of military and warrior cultures in New Spain, within both European and Native traditions. Whatever the origin, the culture of service to

serve and protect something larger than themselves carries forth among Nuevomexicanos.

Salt Lake attorney and activist Danny Quintana, whose family is from Costillo, NM, and who identifies himself as part of the transitional generation, attributes the tradition of military service as

> "rooted in Spanish and Roman antiquity. Unless they are hindered by a physical disability, Spanish men are expected to serve in the military. This tradition and the machismo resulted in numerous individuals from the former Spanish colony of New Mexico earning records of decorated military service" (2012, 305).

According to George I. Sanchez, New Mexicans adapted themselves to being part of the United States. New Mexicans responded to the call for service in the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, demonstrating loyalty to the adopted nation. He notes that, during The Great War, sixty percent of the volunteers from New Mexico were of Spanish descent (1967, 25-26).

The Santa Fe National Cemetery has a number of grave markers revealing that the occupants of those graves had served in the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and many other conflicts into the current time. A plaque in Old Town stating that Albuquerque was once the Confederate capital of New Mexico along with monuments and museums throughout the state testify to Nuevomexicanos' participation in war efforts both against and on behalf of the United States (Cillis, 2017, 12).

**The Great War: World War I**

"How can normally sane people inadvertently involve themselves in actions that result in war? Perhaps war defies logical explanation" (Cillis, 2017, 16).

Called upon to serve in The Great War, later known as World War I, New Mexicans responded. Citizen soldiers had been the norm in New Mexico from colonial times when citizens were periodically mobilized to protect their communities and the

territory from raids by Native Americans. Citizen soldiers were called upon for defense during the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, and again to repel raids by Pancho Villa. After the turn of the century, several towns formalized their local militias into companies of the New Mexico National Guard and the citizen soldiers began training with U. S. Army regular soldiers. By the time President Wilson federalized the Guard in 1916 to respond to Mexican revolutionaries at the southern border, the militia was well trained and prepared to respond to a military crisis. However, when Wilson called on the NMNG to become part of the military action in France in 1917, most of the troops had completed their terms of service and mustered out. An intense recruitment effort brought new troops in from every part of the state and many of them moved from the NMNG to the regular Army prior to leaving for the Great War. Several members of the NMNG became casualties of war (Holtby, 2018, 1-14).

Doughboys, as WWI soldiers were called, came from every county and drew from every ethnic group in New Mexico. They were officers and enlisted and served in every specialty, from artillery, to infantry, to air defense. While the NMNG continued in service, many New Mexican men entered the regular army and served in that capacity. During the War, New Mexico ranked fifth per capita in the United States in providing military personnel. After the Great War, many New Mexico soldiers mustered out of the military, and taking their experiences with them, returned to New Mexico. Other men remained in the service, and some served into World War II (Cillis, 2017, 56-90).

New Mexico women also served in the military during the Great War. A provision signed by President Wilson allowed women to serve in limited capacity, mostly as nurses. Several military nurses from both New Mexico and outside the state served at

Fort Bayard Hospital near Silver City and about twenty-seven women from the University of New Mexico served in various capacities, including as mechanical technicians and in military cryptography in Washington, D. C. It seems most New Mexicans returned home, and that some women who served in New Mexico remained in the state after the war. While in the service, women had no authority over any men in the military, even those of lower rank, and their pay was much less than men of the same rank (Holtby, 2008, n.p.). Records for women in in the military during WWI, both in and out of New Mexico, are limited. Still, they served.

With so many Nuevomexicanos serving with the military outside the state and overseas, it reasonable to conclude that a number of those returning from the War would have developed a greater understanding of places and cultures outside their home villages brought their new knowledge home with them and also had acquired a desire to see what else the outside world had to offer.

The Great War, World War I, ended at the eleventh hour, on the eleventh day of the eleventh month, 1918.

### The Great Depression

World War I destabilized the world economy. Following the First War, the United States became the leading creditor nation, displacing Great Britain. The United States loaned billions of dollars to European nations to rebuild and to Germany to pay reparations to its neighbors. In theory, the European nations to which Germany was supposed to pay reparations were, in turn, supposed to use that money to repay the United States for the rebuilding loans. Additionally, rebuilding loans were supposed to provide funds for European nations to purchase goods from the United States, thus stimulating

markets to grow. In the United States, producers and manufacturers used intense investment in the stock market to turn out manufactured goods and other products to meet expected needs and wants in Europe (Watkins, 1993, 40-41).

That did not happen. With a frail economy continuing in Europe and though American producers and suppliers had products ready to distribute, there were few buyers for exports from the United States. With investments far outpacing return on investment, the stock market crashed. Demanding protection, manufacturers and producers got it in the form of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930 which raised tariffs severely on imported goods so imports would not undercut American-made products. Since Americans could not afford European products and Europeans could neither absorb their own production nor afford American products any longer, the speed of the Great Depression accelerated and became worldwide in a brief period of time (Watkins, 1993, 41, 44).

Corina Pacheco of Guadalupita, NM, recalls an omen in the night sky that she continued to associate with the Great Depression, the War, and the hardships her family faced.

> "My mother was gone and we were alone with Dad. With a little package of flour like that we had to make do, and buying the shoes with ration stamps, that I do remember. They would give us corn flour and about ten pounds of wheat flour, and a can of lard. It was a terrible time.
>
> "I also remember the comet that could be seen from one end of the sky to the other. They would say that the world was going to end. They would scare us so bad that we would cover our heads with our hands. We could see it at three in the morning. It would travel from one end to the other. It was during the war that the comet came out, when many needed work. My sisters and I would get up to see it. . . . They would say it came from where they were fighting the war" (1975, 12-3).

Pacheco recollected that during the Depression money was not kept in banks, but was buried in secret locations.

> “One time he was on his way to the *morada*.[143] My grandpa used to go there every morning. I guess that is where he had hidden money buried. And another would spy on him. . . . And this one followed him and stole the purse. So after that Martinez was rich. They used to say that he was rich with my grandpa’s money. . . . With that money they made his funeral. When some of the local men sold their cattle they didn’t want to accept paper money, but insisted on silver coins, and they would bundle it up in rags and carry it over their backs. Often they would go and bury it. My grandparents were very rich then. They would leave the money buried until someone else came and dug it up” (1975, 12-3).

Epifanio Roybal, of Embudo, recalled that his grandmother had a loose board in her kitchen floor under which she hid sacks of money, which she drew from when necessary. While the family was far from rich, they could usually count on getting by with Grandma’s cache (n.d., n. p.)

Florencio Aragon of La Liendre, NM spoke of the early days of the labor movement in New Mexico during the Great Depression.

> “What I want to cover today is the Depression we suffered in 1933, it was a very hard depression here in New Mexico and in many parts of the country. . . . In the Depression of 1933 us poor people did not find a minute of work. We could not find anyone to give us credit for a loaf of bread. We were obligated to go from one end of this town to the other looking for work.

Aragon continued her narrative, a sense of remembered despair giving way to a language of action and resolve.

> “Finally the conclusion to all this was, go get together in a meeting. We met and organized an organization titled *Los Obreras Trabajadores*. We were able to control the state, and not only the state, but I’ll limit myself to the state. We were able to control thirty-six states of the country. It took us three complete years to reach the ear of the government and tell them about our problems. . . .
>
> “We marched from one end of the plaza to the other. There was a time when the law harassed us. They wanted to deny us the right to demonstrate. . . . In the end we won. . . . We were able gain national attention to the need for clinics,

[143] Ruben Cobos translates *morada* as “*penitente* chapel and chapter house of the organization” (2003, 154).

> for medical attention, so the hospitals would be expanded, and needy children be fed and attended properly.
>
> "I was raised herding goats and sheep in La Liendre, New Mexico" (1975, 40-1—40-2).

Griselda (Hilda) Aragon Roybal Williams[144] acutely felt the effects of the Great Depression. In her unpublished, handwritten memoir, she writes that, even though her family lived on a farm, the Depression was crushing and the family had to go on public assistance.

> "About once a month . . . he [father] was at the post office to pick up the welfare check. All the help he was getting was welfare assistance, including surplus food, and a monthly check, also we got clothes, and beding [sic] materials from the government program. Once a month, he would go pick up the government surplus food for the month. . . . We could see him coming with the horses and buggy down the road. We would wait for him, we knew he always had something good for us, specially [sic] good food to eat. . . . I was thankful and bless we had something to eat for the whole month." (n.d., 3-4).

Hilda writes that she does not remember much about her seven siblings, five brothers and two sisters. Due to her mother's declining health, and with no money for medical care, and the family farm flooded out by the river, some of the children were spread out among relatives and friends; Hilda was sent to an orphanage in Albuquerque with two of her brothers (n.d., 8-9, 28-29).

> "I have always wonder [sic] why she gave up most of her children. . . . Only she knew what it was to give her children up, all the feelings, suffering, she struggle part ways to raise us and we were all diaper train [sic] when all of us left the farm (n.d., 8-9).

With the deepening Depression, agriculture declined and many farms were abandoned in New Mexico. More and more rural families were forced into migratory labor as governmental and private aid agencies struggled to provide normally self-sufficient families with their basic needs. The Red Cross provided funds to send migrants home who had come to New Mexico in the early days of the Depression, but did little for

[144] Hilda Roybal Williams was the author's mother-in-law.

New Mexico's population as a whole. Some families from northern New Mexico needing work migrated to the cotton fields in southern New Mexico, but when the picking was done in late winter, the work as well as the income ended. Anglo families in New Mexico asked for, and got, the bulk of public assistance in the early years of the Depression. Because Hispanic families had an extensive kinship system, they were better able to withstand the onslaught of the first years of the Depression. However, by 1933, a number of Hispanic families in Rio Arriba County were reported in near starvation. While the Roosevelt administration attempted to provide loans and other types of aid to families in rural New Mexico, those attempts failed primarily because they jeopardized the existing economic structure (Jensen, 1983, 70-72).

New Mexicans who had jobs attempted to hold on to them as long as they could. Individuals and families who had previously led seasonal or other regular migratory work lives stayed put in a job where possible.

Anglo Americans wanting cheap, available labor continued to hire Nuevomexicanos and Mexicans for agricultural jobs in California, Arizona, Texas, Colorado, and Wyoming. Mexicans were considered cheap labor, desperate for work, who returned home when the job was done and asked little from their employers. With the onset of the Great Depression, the market for Mexican labor evaporated, and they were no longer as welcome (Forrest, 1989, 14). For many employers, Mexicans and Nuevomexicanos were considered as interchangeable, as expendable, and as deportable (Watkins, 1993, 68-69, 72).

Where jobs ended or were scarce, Forrest notes that *Nuevomexicanos* had their home villages and extended families to return to and they could neither be legally

deported nor repatriated to Mexico, even though there were pressures to do so among nativists of the dominant culture both within and outside of the state (1989, 15). Nuevomexicanos had the advantage of having northern New Mexico as homeland with centuries of their history imprinted upon it, and as much as some may not have liked it, *Nuevomexicanos* belonged in the United States. Forrest notes this belonging, however, drove a wedge between Nuevomexicanos and newer arrivals from Mexico, even those with long-standing residency, but who were not citizens and could be repatriated, often with their American-born wives and children (1989, 15).

Forrest (1989) states that Franklin Roosevelt carried New Mexico in the 1932 presidential election as the champion who would “protect the rights of the ‘underdog’” (87). During the campaign his Progressive agenda appealed to Hispanos and garnered the support of many of New Mexico’s leaders and prominent citizens. Roosevelt proposed a system of roads to link the isolated villages of northern New Mexico with the rest of the state and with Colorado, increasing agricultural production through modern practices on the limited lands left for rural New Mexicans, preserve and renew Nuevomexicano villages, develop home-based businesses in traditional crafts to bring in supplemental income, and to preserve traditional culture, arts, and folklore. It was presumed that introducing these measures would increase the happiness and well-being of villagers as well as make what were perceived by many Anglo Americans as exotic villages containing exotic people who were accessible both to extended markets and to tourists who desired to visit (87-89). The language of tourist literature of the early twentieth century into the Great Depression, such as in writings by Lillian Whiting and Eugene Rhodes, informed their readers that New Mexico was remote and inaccessible, an arid

waste, a land of mystery, of remote past and recent development. D. H. Lawrence called New Mexico and the Southwest, “the great playground of the white American.” All three authors referred to New Mexico in their writings as the Land of Enchantment (Weigle, 91-94). It seems that administrators of New Deal programs in New Mexico had acceded to the concepts in tourist literature and determined to put them into practice.

Thus, after Franklin Roosevelt was elected, the federal government conceived the New Deal, with the idea of putting Americans back to work and rebuilding the economy. In northern New Mexico, some New Deal programs succeeded, others failed. The New Deal was designed to provide programs to help alleviate Nuevomexicano dependency that had been in large part caused by the Americans coming into New Mexico, along with governmental policies regulating land and people. Major programs enacted under the New Deal, notably the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Rural Electrification Association (REA), and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to create jobs, promote traditional arts, and preserve villages. These programs, many of which were hegemonic in practice, appeared to be illusions of what Anglo Americans in power imagined New Mexico to be and were designed accordingly, rather than to develop programs designed with the needs of Nuevomexicanos at the forefront. However, many New Deal programs provided employment in the state, money to get by, whether in wages for work or on relief, and an opportunity for artists to continue in what they and their forbears had done for centuries, some reaching back to Spain. It seems that many New Deal programs as applied in New Mexico extended colonization, especially in light of the continued relieving Nuevomexicanos of their lands and traditional community economy. The New Deal seemed to further the casting of Nuevomexicanos into roles as perceived by those

who ran the programs. To many of the New Dealers, Nuevomexicanos seemed to be pastoral, artisans, craftspeople, quaint, and exotic as well as lazy, indigent, and unintelligent. With many avenues of work previously available and now closed to New Mexico's villagers, a number of Nuevomexicanos became part of New Deal programs to avoid starvation for themselves and their families (Forrest 1989, 88-101).

In his self-published autobiography, George Gonzales, born to and raised on his family's ranch between Roy and Springer, NM, explained how he experienced the Depression as a young man. With sheep and cattle, as well as several different food crops, they were able to weather the worst of the Depression, although they had many hardships in common with other Nuevomexicanos, including burdensome taxes that began to be levied in the early years of the Depression that eventually forced the family to sell most of the cattle to the government to help cover the bill. Without the herd of cattle to provide income, his family lost the ranch. To bring income to help sustain the extended family after losing the ranch, Gonzales served in the CCCs.

> "I give my CC Camps experience a lot of credit for what they taught me. Our food was always good, our living quarters comfortable, a lot of discipline, more than in the Army, I would say. I forget the number in each camp, 400 or 500. We all got along good, and if someone got out of hand, that's where he would stay. No one would have a thing to do with him unless he would admit his guilt and reform. We would sign up for six months at a time for up to two years, and if you would go over the hill it meant a dishonorable discharge. I don't know if it would have any effect through your Army records or not, anyway none of us wanted that. If the government would go back to those days and establish those camps I'm sure our country would be better off than they are with any of the projects we have today" (1991, 9-15).

George Gonzales wrote his autobiography at a time in his life when he was facing his own mortality as an older, recently retired man (1991, 1). While his language appears to be directed outward toward the reader, in part as *testimonio* it is more reflective and

inward, a personal reflection that he is not generally shy, but remains somewhat guarded, about sharing. The autobiography, about which more will be said later in this study, indicates a yearning for the easier days of life on the family ranch, a longing for a place and time that Juan Estevan Arellano (2014) would include in his concept of *querencia* (193). At the same time, Gonzales's autobiography is an act of resistance in his second language, English, in which he became fluent. Gonzales contests existent racism on nearly every page, beginning with the first sentence of the first page, and in most circumstances in his life after he moved from the ranch. He does so both with diffusive humor and by meeting adverse conditions head on in his application of language.

Epifanio Roybal, raised in Embudo, New Mexico, had herded sheep and goats for his neighbors as a child for income. He had an affinity for the animals in his care and told his daughter, Judy, "See, animals know who is kind to them, and remember," a philosophy that also carried to the people he knew. He left New Mexico to join the Marines. That lasted for a year, then he went to one of Colorado's CCC camps, although he did not specify which in his memoir. Like many others, he joined the CCCs to have work to help support his parents, grandparents, and siblings on the family farm. From the CCCs he moved to Roy, Utah for a better job at the Naval Supply Depot (n.d., n.p.)

Epifanio Roybal's memoir consists of notes dictated to and transcribed by his youngest daughter, Judy, in brief statements made during several conversations at various times in both his home and his daughter's home in northern Utah. The notes cover pieces of paper and envelopes, and in a section of a spiral bound notebook, which I infer to be the writing materials readily at hand when the conversations took place. They have not, to the best of my knowledge, been compiled into book form. The notes indicate that, as he

aged and retired from work, his longing for home on the family farm in Embudo, NM increased and he wanted to return, but was unable to do so.

Celina Padilla of Santa Fe and Springer, NM spoke to her knowledge of the Civilian Conservation Corps in New Mexico during the Great Depression,

> "Well, President Roosevelt started what they called Conservation Camps. The men would go out and built fences, bridges, and plant trees, all kinds of improvements like that to get them working. They lived in a camp, which later became the concentration camp for the Japanese that they brought here during the Second War. They used to make very big gardens, and very beautiful. . . . It was not as bad here as in other places, such as Kansas (1975, 49-14).

**WPA in New Mexico: Arts Projects**

With New Mexico already known for its arts, New Deal entrepreneurs saw opportunities both to encourage creative handwork, particularly in the Spanish Colonial style, and to enrich themselves. Montgomery notes that, under an illusion of what northern New Mexico's villages and villagers should be, arts enthusiasts and promoters believed that Spanish colonial arts should be revived in the Rio Arriba where basic, pre-industrial, primitive conditions better suited the villagers, and that the villagers were naturally out of place in urbanized, mechanized cities that were more suited to people like promoters of arts and culture. One promoter declared that the poor people of northern New Mexico were the most fortunate of all because their simple lives and tendency toward handcrafts required conditions of material scarcity. Out of considerations such as these, the Spanish Colonial Arts Society was created with prominent Anglo artists at the helm and as its most enthusiastic promoters. As the country moved further into the Depression, desire for the presumed simple arts, crafts, and furniture originating in the Rio Arriba area increased among more wealthy Anglo Americans in and outside of the state who could still afford to buy what they wanted. The leaders of the Spanish Colonial

Arts Society saw an opportunity to inspire the direction the arts would take to meet those wants and to engage in local philanthropy. The Society also determined that, to continue traditional arts generationally, children and young people needed to be educated vocationally and in Spanish. To that end, a school for vocational arts was established at El Rito and the University of New Mexico also joined the effort by taking over and operating a similar school in southwest Albuquerque (2002, 172-179).

Tey Marianna Nunn notes that prominent members of the Taos and Santa Fe art colonies, populated primarily by Anglo Americans, were considered worthy of assistance under the WPA. Because the administrators of arts programs under the WPA were mostly prominent Anglo artists themselves, they determined to assist their friends and colleagues first, artists who were like themselves. Hispana and Hispano artists during the early years of the Depression were disregarded as a whole, being considered second-class citizens and second-class artists. The Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) of 1933-1934 under the New Deal was more democratic and inclusive than the initial aid program, but the program only lasted six months. Each region of the United States had a governing board of artists charged with selecting artists to decorate and document in art public installations, including those built by the CCC. In New Mexico and Arizona, three culture groups, Native, Mexican, and American, were charged with this task. Additional programs enacted under the New Deal met with varying success, however, the Federal Arts Program (FAP), was the program recognized for reviving the "'Spanish Colonial'" style of statuary, painting, fabric arts, and furniture making that decorates and enhances numerous buildings in New Mexico in what is commonly known as Southwest style. Even with the "revival" of traditional arts, administrators for FAP wanted to control both

the content and style of the works to fit their preconceived ideas as to what was to be considered proper art in the Southwest. It was also FAP that transitioned into World War II, becoming the Graphic Section of the War Services Division (2001, 5-11, 36-37).

Patricino Barela of Taos was one of the Hispano artists who initially received little notice under the WPA and PWAP. While working as a teamster and doing his carving in his time off, his wife became seriously ill. Needing medical care for her, he appealed to the Emergency Relief Administration for aid. When the remedy succeeded, he took a small sculpture he had created to give to the relief worker in thanks. She showed the sculpture to officials of the FAP in New Mexico and, as a result, Barela was hired for the program. As a teamster, he earned around $80.00 per month, while under the FAP, he earned about $54.00 per month. However, he could stay home without seeking wage work away and he could carve full time. Even as his work gained in prominence and garnered attention for the FAP with gallery exhibits in the eastern United States, Barela was regarded as second-class. FAP officials determined they knew best the direction of Barela's art and career as an artist, without consulting Barela himself. When Barela declined to go along with FAP plans to show and sell his works as they saw fit, agency officials were determined to dismiss him from the program, but they did not succeed (Gonzales and Witt, 1996, 34-44).

In Rio Arriba County in 1936, Nina Otero-Warren published *Old Spain in Our Southwest*, determined to preserve traditional stories, songs, and other elements of culture for young people in northern New Mexico, and for any audience who chose to read her book. She romanticized the Spanish character of the region and noted that, although poor and isolated from the outside world, the people of the countryside, *los paisanos*, had a

nobility and dignity about them because of their heritage and cultural memory. A person of some privilege, Otero-Warren enjoyed many of the benefits of twentieth century America, but left out critical details about her subjects. Many of her subjects were trying to survive in a place where their lands had been taken and sources of sustenance eroded. Also, the people she portrayed as simple and backward were as much a part of the twentieth century as she was, and as cognizant, which she failed to recognize (Montgomery, 2002, 158-159).

Don Antonio Roybal was not among the artists paid by the WPA and his continued occupation was his farm in Embudo. His grandson, Epifanio, recalled that he was among the best in the region at braiding horsehair into bridles, a skill Epifanio mastered as his grandfather's student and continued to practice as an adult (n.d., n.p.).

When funding declined for the arts, artists and promoters realized that the arts rarely provided a viable living and, at best, supplied supplemental income. The arts revival ended and artists in the villages, many of whom likely saw what was coming, became part of the depressed regional economy that required radical adjustment, including retraining in industrial careers, the end of arts vocational education, and increasing outmigration. The coming of World War II was the event that ultimately disrupted the entirety of New Mexico (Montgomery, 2002, 186).

The 1935 Tewa Basin Study was completed as part of the Human Dependency Survey and included a study by the Soil Conservation Service, yielding sociological, cultural, economic, and agricultural data that had been previously uncollected. Analysis of Nuevomexicano villages and Native Pueblos in northern New Mexico included a census of population, counts of livestock, types of crops grown, available arable land,

community structures, religious expressions, school populations, work, water sources and uses, and taxes owed and paid. Additionally, surveyors noted items specific to certain villages in the report that may not have been either present or seen in other communities (Weigle, 1975). While data was collected and problems noted, remedies were not proposed in the Study, however projects undertaken by governmental agencies seemed to have been informed by the Study.

Surveyors noted specifics about many of the villages and seemed to be surprised by some information, such as this from San Ildefonso.

> "Most of the families have been here since prior to 1800. For example, Tomas Roybal was born in San Ildefonso and is still living in the same house. His father was born at the same place in 1818 and his grandfather was born at the same place. His great-grandfather came from Spain, and was one of the grantees of the Jacona Grant. Simon Gomez was born in San Ildefonso in 1866, and his father was born there also. His great-grandfather married a daughter of Juana Lujana prior to 1765.
>
> "Most of the people are related distantly. At the present time, Roybals marry Roybals, or Gomezes marry Gomezes, and they are not even related" (Weigle, 1975, 62).

In the 1935 Survey, evaluators rated communities overall and wrote their impressions into the Study. For example, "The people of Chimayo are the Spanish-American go-getters. Very proud are they of the fact that the Chimayosos never loaf, and of the fact that the products of this pleasant valley have been justly famous among natives of New Mexico since the reconquest (1692), and among the natives of Colorado and Arizona since before the coming of the railroad" ( Weigle, 1975, 85-86). Of El Guache, surveyors wrote, "This is a very typical New Mexico settlement. All the houses are grouped together along the edge of the farm lands. Most of the families are related, and there are only six family names represented in the entire village. Houses are all made of

adobe brick, and many have been standing since the community was originated more than 180 years ago. . . . There is not a single frame structure in all the village" (138). Surveyors had less than a complimentary view of Dixon. "Dixon is like no other of the communities studied; in a way it might be considered a 'problem' community. The people are fairly industrious, but they do not seem to be honest or as efficient, on the whole, as say, the people of Chimayo. In fact, there is a general moral laxness which is unusual in the Spanish-American villages. . . . The delinquency seems to run in certain families and may be attributed to poverty, ignorance, and certain outworn social customs. . . . This picture, of course, does injustice to the sober and quiet 50 percent of the population" (184-185).

It seemed that the surveyors saw what they intended to see with biases intact. However, they did not recognize that much of the dependency they saw had been caused in large part by land policies and practices enacted by governmental agencies that favored wealthy, powerful Anglo Americans and that those governmental agencies devalued traditional land use practices enacted under Spanish law hundreds of years before; practices that favored people and community over monetary gain.

Montgomery asserts that one of the problems was villagers' failure to become part of the twentieth century American economy (2002, 165). The Tewa Basin Study (1975) has similar indications throughout its analysis of northern New Mexico's villages. While this may be the case to a degree, I would suggest that villagers, especially elders, respected tradition and cultural heritage, and with confiscation of their land, water, means of material support, and imposed social and governmental structures they could no longer engage in the lives they had known for generations. Additionally, I would suggest that it

was in the surveyor's viewpoint that the people were slow to adapt. It seemed to take two generations or more to become fully part of the American economic, social, and cultural economy. There had to have been resistance along the way. In the meantime, money had to come from somewhere in order to live under the new arrangement.

The Great Depression was the historical period that marked the break between past and future in New Mexico. William deBuys recalls hearing an elder from Las Trampas refer to the end of the Depression as *la quebrada*, a fracture "between the old ways and the new, between the slow-changing, old-fashioned world of his father and the accelerated, modern world of his children" (1989, *ix*). World War II finalized that break.

To paraphrase an old proverb, with every crisis comes opportunity. While some would suggest a dichotomy of old ways or new ways situation, others could envision taking on both traditional and new scenarios going forward.

### The Second War: World War II

Under President Roosevelt's direction, with the understanding of the war that had begun in Europe on September 1, 1939, production of military hardware drove production and employment in the United States. While promoting a neutral position for the United States, Roosevelt stated that the nation would not hesitate to defend its allies in Europe. By March of 1941, Roosevelt acknowledged that a crisis loomed for the United States and that crisis had to be addressed. Armament production increased. Months later, Pearl Harbor was bombed and the United States committed (Watkins, 1993, 340-349).

As New Mexico emerged from the Great Depression into the first indications of war, Governor Miles wrote a cheery letter in *New Mexico Magazine* addressed to readers

of that magazine who lived out of state, inviting them to visit the enchantments in New Mexico indicated by signs and markers along modern highways that would serve a wide variety of tastes and desires both for culture and adventure (Weigle, 2010, 89).

With northern New Mexico's villages still steeped in poverty, a way out of that poverty and declining wage work villages was often through the military and other government service. With the advent of the Second War, a number of *Nuevomexicanos* took those routes, leading many out of New Mexico and into new lives.

Epifanio Roybal heard on December 7, 1941 that President Roosevelt announced the attack on Pearl Harbor. That afternoon, older residents of Embudo and Dixon, who remembered World War I, made a run on Zellers' Store in Dixon and other stores in the area, buying hundred pound sacks of flour and sugar and several five-pound tins of coffee for each family. Epifanio told his son, Theodore, that so many people remembered the First World War with its intense rationing that they wanted to stock up on commodities that had been rationed then, before they were sold out or confiscated for war use (Roybal, E. n.d., n.p.; Roybal, T., n.d., n.p.).

Epifanio's uncle, Carlos Roybal, was a member of the New Mexico National Guard unit sent to the Philippines during the War. Carlos rarely talked about his war experiences, except with his grandnephew, Theodore (Ted), Epifanio's son, as he was preparing to leave for the war in Vietnam. Carlos had been taken prisoner by the Japanese and spent the most significant part of his war in the prison camp at Bataan. When the prisoners were liberated, Carlos returned to Santa Fe, where he eventually became assistant postmaster. Today, he is publicly memorialized with the other New Mexicans

taken prisoner at Bataan on the stones in Bataan Memorial Park in Albuquerque, NM (Roybal, T. n.d., n.p.).

Ted Roybal, unlike his father, is an avid journal keeper. Except for those books lost or discarded, he has notebooks chronicling his life and his thoughts from the time he first learned to write. Although he had discussions over time with his uncle Carlos Roybal, the conversation between them just prior to Ted's departure for Vietnam recurs and is reiterated as a significant life marker in his journals. In that conversation, Carlos reminded Ted what he knew in Bataan, and wanted Ted to know was that, no matter what happened, people back home, meaning New Mexico, would be praying for him as long as he was at war.

George Gonzales was drafted in 1942. Since he was in the CCCs on a public works project in Colorado, he did not join when his brother and cousin entered the Navy in 1941, although he had originally volunteered to go with them. He wrote extensively about his service, more so than most veterans share. He wrote of his service stateside and in Europe, and of meeting Jimmy Stewart, who was an Army Air Corps squadron commander, at the base in Sioux City, Iowa, where they were both stationed. His war stories run from funny to poignant, taking the reader from Kearns, Utah to the Battle of the Bulge. At the end of the War, Gonzales returned to New Mexico for a time, purchasing part ownership in the Kivia Canteen on Cerrillos Road in Santa Fe, NM, eventually changing the name to El Rancho Grande. After the café failed, Gonzales had other jobs, eventually finding work at Hill Air Force Base and moving with his wife and young children to Utah (1991, 20-32, 36). Writing glowingly about Jimmy Stewart and the kind way he treated everyone while getting the job done, Gonzales's did not say

explicitly, but inferred that Stewart was one of the few Anglos who did not treat him and others negatively because their ethnicity differed from his. In his writing, Gonzales indicates that Stewart's treating his fellow soldiers with equal respect was one of the reasons Gonzales deeply admired the squadron commander and actor.

Epifanio Roybal, George Gonzales, Danny Quintana's parents and many others were able to find work in Utah when jobs became scarce in New Mexico. Moving into a new geographic and cultural space meant either creating a new Place or returning to New Mexico. Either direction offered an uncertain future. Chapter Four will consider New Mexican experience in the cultural contact zone of Utah and what they carried with them as they navigated the New Spanish Trail.

## Chapter 4: The New Spanish Trail: Nuevomexicanos in Utah

### Out of New Mexico

The previous chapter looked at disruptions in northern New Mexico villages from an economic standpoint, beginning with an exploration of an historical contextualization of a heritage Spanish economic system as interpreted in the Americas, the development of community economy under the influence of the historical cultural zone of New Mexico, the value of the individual within a viable community economy, and what transpired when *Nuevomexicano* villages were disrupted under the influence of an imposed foreign economy.

While New Mexico and New Mexicans suffered greatly during the Great Depression, there did not seem to be as deep a sense of despair among *Nuevomexicano* villagers as in other groups having similar experiences. While respondents' statements in interviews testified to profound loss, there was an underlying hope that life would get better eventually and if not for them, then for their children. This I attribute to their interpersonal connections in an interwoven community, an extension of family that helped and supported one another in such times as well as having the understanding that while there would be difficult, if not impossible, hardships, perseverance could get them through with an anticipated gain in virtue in the end. These lessons learned from what the *acequia* represents as providing the life blood, the precious water that sustains an agrarian community. In northern New Mexico, land and water seem to be as much symbolic reality as physical reality. The proverb that blood is thicker than water has an interesting application in *Nuevomexicano* villages, because the villagers could be interrelated

families, linked through a family or community land grant, and were almost always interconnected, often as *compadres* or *comadres*, with water as the blood of the community that carries life of that community.

While the lore of New Mexico's northern villages may seem idyllic and romantic in some respects, that image should not take away from lived reality. Life was hard. By the turn of the twentieth century agricultural lands were mostly depleted and much of what had been common lands in the original Spanish and Mexican land grants had been taken under American law and redistributed or confiscated by the United States government for public use under stiff regulation. Available water was limited in any year and became scarce in drought years. That, added to imposed external regulation and commodification of the life blood of the village, added to the difficulty of living in northern New Mexico villages after the Americans arrived and took control. Actions taken by the new leadership class in New Mexico depriving *Nuevomexicanos* of land, water, and traditional livelihoods, in combination with laws imposed by the United States government helped create a poverty class among previously self-reliant and interdependent villagers. *Nuevomexicanos* generally did not accept this condition as permanent, however, and acted to change their circumstances.

Finally to be considered, were attitudes of people of the village. Under the best of circumstances, not everyone in every village was likely agreeable to living an interdependent common life and it can be inferred that there were possibly some who actively resisted that commonality. Barre Toelken notes that "Hispanic Americans place high value on family ties and community obligations" and even in times of conflict the regard in which family and community are held, as expressed in common shared

language and traditions, would bind neighborhood and community together against hardship and the pressures of an outside, hostile world (1996, 296). When community and personal economic situations changed due to the influence of the American Invasion and the growing predominance of United States currency, many villagers were compelled to seek work where they could find it, adapting the skills and talents they already possessed, or gaining new skills, to meet the job market. Some left their home villages and the state of New Mexico reluctantly, some left out of a sense of necessity, while others seemed almost delighted to go. They sought work seasonally at first in order to bring money home, returning to the home village when that particular employment was done for the season. Eventually, individuals and families left permanently, looking for opportunities elsewhere and eventually becoming part of the New Mexico diaspora. While many villagers remained in New Mexico, others sought opportunities in California, Texas, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, among other states. Some were glad to be gone, while others looked back reluctantly and promised to return to New Mexico, whether they did so or not.

## Manifest Destiny and Mormon[145] Emigration

As noted in the previous chapter, the United States considered itself destined to acquire and control the land mass from Atlantic to Pacific, and did what the federal government determined was needed to be done to make that possible.

[145] Terminology regarding The Church Of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in this study is given as scholars and others referenced in this study have identified the church as a whole and as its members identify themselves in terminologies of belonging to the faith. In addition to the entire name of the church, additional frequent identifiers for the religion and its members are Mormon, saints, and LDS.

Spanish and Mexican explorers had been the first of European ancestry to traverse much of what is now Utah, followed by trappers and traders primarily from the United States, Canada, England, and France, who spent trapping seasons in Canada, the upper Green River basin in what is now Wyoming, the Colorado River drainage, and in northern New Mexico. At the end of trapping seasons, trappers and traders converged on one of the usual rendezvous locations, which varied among what is now north of Bear Lake in Utah, Henry's Fork of the Green River in northwest Wyoming, or at the Taos trade fairs. Although some fur company owners would travel with the trappers or pay visits in the field, that was not always the case. At the rendezvous marketplaces, officials of the trading companies would acquire the furs and pay the trappers who had done the work their salaries or in kind. The fur companies would then transport the first to St. Louis, the primary base for the Taos trappers for resale and shipment, collecting on their investments (Alexander, 1996, 59-65; Sánchez, 1997; Weber, 1982).[146]

As noted in the previous chapter, the military opened Mexican territory for the United States, making it as safe as possible at the time for Anglo American migration from the eastern part of the continent to the western coast to occur.

Armando Solórzano, associate professor of ethnic studies at the University of Utah, argues that there was no place in the Borderlands where the Anglo-American was a pioneer. Everywhere Anglos traveled and settled had been previously explored, often described in journals, and sometimes mapped by earlier explorers. Anglos relied on and benefitted from, hundreds of years of learning and adapting to the geography and

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[146] David J. Weber (1982) writes of multiple conflicts among fur trading companies and among the trappers themselves, along with conflicts they had with Natives across the Southwest and West. Yet, trapping and trading in furs was a lucrative enough business that the possibility of being killed on the job was not a complete deterrent to taking on the work and the adventure.

landscape by Native peoples, the Spanish, and Mexicans who had gone there before (1998, 90).

One group of people in the western migration of Anglo Americans into Utah that is often considered the most significant segment of that movement, depending on cultural, social, and religious perspectives, was the emigration of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, also referred to as LDS or Mormon. The Church moved to Utah after being driven out of first, New York and then Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa for religious, political, and some would suggest, criminal reasons. Joseph Smith originally considered moving the LDS Church to Texas, however that movement proved unfeasible.[147] The ruling councils, first under the direction of church founder Joseph Smith and later Brigham Young, who became Church President after the killing of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in the Carthage, Illinois jail, but concluded that moving to the northern reaches of Mexican territory to escape persecution would be more practical. Policies enacted under U. S. President Polk enabled the Mormons to seek their refuge in Utah because at that time, Mexico was not as interested in keeping the far northern part of their nation protected from outsiders as they had previously. That perceived isolated space at the base of the Wasatch Mountain range in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, which was still part of Mexico in 1845, but would become part of the United States

[147] Early in 1844, Joseph Smith sent three of his political ministers to negotiate with Texas President Sam Houston to purchase a large piece of land in the western and southwestern part of the Republic. While details of the negotiations are scant, Houston agreed to the Mormons a strip of land between the Nueces and Rio Grande Rivers. The land offered for sale was much smaller than the Mormons had requested and was also claimed by Mexico, which complicated negotiations. Negotiations for a large spread of land ended with Smith's death in June of 1844. However, a contingent of 150 Mormons with the direction of Brigham Young left Missouri for the Republic of Texas later that year and established the first major Mormon settlement in Austin, building the first grist mill in central Texas. Although many Austin residents originally opposed having the Mormon settlement in their midst, they took their grain and corn to the mill for grinding and Mormons from the colony helped in construction of homes and businesses in the Austin area, thus earning a welcome of sorts (Van Wagenen, 2008, 67-69).

before the end of that decade, seemed a viable place to settle an entire Church (Alexander, 1996, 86-90).[148]

Brigham Young, second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and his counselors determined that the valley of the Great Salt Lake would be the right place to settle and establish their kingdom on earth, Zion. According to Brigham Young University history professor George M. Addy, Young

> "Did not wish to have their attempts to build an ideal state thwarted by people they had traveled so far to escape. Furthermore, Mormon doctrine forseen [sic] a state to be set apart, a 'Zion' to serve as a refuge for the righteous and as a nucleus for the development of the kingdom of God on earth in times to come. On grounds of experience and principle the Mormon folk desired to be left alone and apart to develop in their own way" (1949, 14-15).

Brigham Young wanted to occupy a vacant land far away from the United States and all it stood for in his mind. He had learned from the journals kept by John C. Frémont,[149] one of the explorers who mapped and documented western North America,

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[148] Joseph P. Sánchez (1997) suggests that it is possible that Louis Vásquez of the Ashley-Henry trapping party was the first non-Native person to discover the Great Salt Lake as he claimed. However, this claim is complicated in that documentation of this find has not so far been discovered. It is also possible that other trappers and traders came upon the Lake, but, again, documentation is absent (120-121).

[149] John C. Frémont led five exploring expeditions through the American West, keeping detailed journals and drawing meticulous maps of the lands he traveled in. His first expedition covered the Wind River Range and South Pass areas of Wyoming and his second, the Great Basin, the Rocky Mountains, and major trails to California. Following the second expedition, he joined his wife, Jessie, in Washington, D. C. to write his report that included his maps. Congress authorized the printing of ten thousand copies, which were distributed and disseminated in wider publication by newspapers across the country and in Europe, inspiring increasing settlement of the West by politicians, entrepreneurs, those seeking adventure and possibilities, and Mormon leaders, who became interested in Frémont's description of the Great Basin, as he termed the region between the Wasatch Mountains of Utah and the Sierra Nevada. Joseph Smith either heard of or possibly read Frémont's report and proclaimed in 1843 that the Mormon Church would encounter further persecution and affliction in the Midwestern states and would depart for their place in the west, where they would build cities and "become a mighty people in the Rocky Mountains." Brigham Young followed Frémont's published topographic map of his first two expeditions both to emigrate from the Midwest to Utah, and to determine the most desirable places to settle and commence establishing farms, building communities, and provide for the great numbers of people early Mormon leaders anticipated would come to settle among the saints (Baugh, 2011, 255-267). From my experience as a topographic engineer officer for the U. S. Army during the 1970s, John C. Frémont's maps were still held

and from information gained from Jesuit priest, Father De Smet, who had explored and mapped much of the Great Basin. Although the region was then Mexican territory, when Young and the people he led got to the valley of the Great Salt Lake where he had determined Zion would be centered, he declared, "This is the place." Young was determined to settle there, although reports from scouting expeditions he had sent out overland and by ship around Cape Horn, suggested that northern California, then also part of Mexico, would be a good place to establish the new colony. Members of the early California expedition traveled to Utah to try to entice Young and members of the new colony to embark for the coast, but after he heard descriptions of the land there, Young determined that the area would soon be overrun by Gentiles, a term referring to non-Mormons of any persuasion, who would interfere with Zion and undermine the institutions of the faith. Brigham Young then called the California exploration group back to Utah and most came. Some members of that scouting group, however, remained in California and established their livelihoods there. By the time the Mormons were fully settled in the Salt Lake Valley, the region was no longer Mexican territory, but part of the United States. For some years, Gentiles passed through on their way to either Oregon or California and stopped in the colony no longer than necessary for refreshment and supplies. The saint, meanwhile, as Mormons sometimes refer to themselves, worked to spread their colony as widely as possible throughout the intermountain west by settling farms and building communities at some distance from Salt Lake,[150] with Salt Lake as the hub of the Mormon Zion (Stegner, 2003, 33-34).

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as examples for their precision and accuracy that, while not perfect in every detail, far exceeded the quality of most maps available in his time and for some time afterward.

[150] LDS historian Richard L. Jensen (1992) writes that, while the Mormon Battalion had entered and traversed New Mexico from north to south in 1846, the first significant Mormon settlements were not

The Mormon emigration from the Midwest to Utah, followed by an expansionist movement of the Church throughout the West and Southwest, could be considered an example of United States westward expansion in a particular interpretation of Manifest Destiny. According to Armando Solórzano, the concept of Manifest Destiny was based on ideals of a divine call to expand across the continent, populating the land, and spreading democracy. Underlying the ideal were economic and political interests inherent in expansion. The Mormons had the additional burden in the move to Utah, and that was the intent to preach their gospel to the Lamanites, the term for Native Americans and Mexicans as used in the Book of Mormon[151] and to bring them into the Kingdom (1998, 90-91).

University of Colorado professor John-Michael Rivera contended that Frederick Jackson Turner's argument that the frontier experience was the defining narrative of the American character and democracy was an inadequate assessment of the totality of United States conquest and incorporation of the Southwest. Rivera posited that Turner did not go deep enough into the multiple histories of the West and proposed that the conquest of the land was essentially an adventure in white masculinity where brown bodies had three possibilities: They could be assimilated as white into the dominant culture, they were marginalized, or they were exterminated. With the realization that land

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established until more than thirty years later. The saints carried out proselytizing missions, first to the Zuni and later to the Navajo and established the community of Savoia, eventually renamed Ramah. Other early Mormon-established settlements were Fruitland, Kirtland, Waterflow, and Bluewater. Many of the first settlers in those communities were Mormon emigrants from other parts of the United States who had left their persecutors to move west. Most of these settlers eventually moved farther west into Arizona. Later, the LDS Church organized congregations in established cities and villages throughout New Mexico. According to Jensen, by 1990, 49,000 Latter-day Saints lived in New Mexico (1010-1011).

[151] In LDS tradition and belief, the Book of Mormon presents the histories of peoples living on the North American continent from approximately 2000 B.C.E to 400 C. E. Joseph Smith first published the text in 1830.

on the North American continent was finite and further expansion was limited, a redefinition of white male masculinity was in order that included building a white male managerial class that included having responsibility over Mexican territory acquired with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase. People aspiring to the managerial class made an assumption that the dominant class in what had been northern Mexico would have to be predominantly white and male, as whiteness[152] and manliness[153] were defined by the dominant class themselves (Rivera, 2000, 48-48).

A movement of people who could be classified as white and male, with women, children, and "Others" as ancillary figures was also the case as the Mormons moved across the continent to their new Zion in Utah, a concept that was not lost on authors of the time. A passage from the novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, originally published in 1887, serves as an illustration. Arthur Conan Doyle's character John Ferrier, one of two survivors of a small group of westward bound settlers, described his first encounter with a caravan of Mormons in the region of the Rio Grande Valley, looking for the right place

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[152] United States courts heard a number of cases concerning legal whiteness in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Among them was the case of Ricardo Rodríguez, who petitioned the court for full citizenship. At that time persons classified as white or black could become U. S. citizens, but individuals of other ethnic groups could not. Referring to an earlier case, the judge ruled that Rodríguez was eligible for citizenship because he would follow the laws and Constitution if he knew them and, though he was "copper colored or red," could be construed as white because his ancestry was from the European side of the Mediterranean, a group of ethnicities the United States had come to consider as legally white (Jacobson, 1998, 228-229). A look at previously cited United States Census reports indicated that not all people of Spanish ancestry recorded in the census were written into the reports as "white" into the mid-twentieth century. As previously noted, the color of one's skin, social status, and economic strata were also likely factors in construction of "whiteness."

[153] By the late 1800s, "manliness" had come to mean the highest ideals of what it means to be a man. The manly man was noble, independent, strong, brave, and honorable. As the concept evolved in the post-Victorian era, manliness was often replaced by "masculine," a term referring to traits, good or ill, that could be possessed by all men without emotional connotations. What was masculine, in essence, could not be possessed or enacted by females. Masculine also connoted power and became tied to whiteness in construction of dominance over people who could be classified as non-masculine, non-white, or both (Bederman, 1995, 16-20). Being socially constructed as "white" and "male" did not necessarily mean that one would acquire the rights and privileges thereof.

to settle after leaving Missouri. Ferrier's description of the members of the caravan was of whiteness in skin and noted articles of clothing. Ferrier remarked on the great number of men, with the point men of the group initially doing the talking for the group, collectively and in one voice. In addition to the dangers of crossing the desolate land, the men collectively expressed a fear of Indians as a whole, based on what they knew of the Pawnee. In their expression, they extended that fear to all people with brown skin as "Others." Ferrier's description of the women in the caravan places them in the background, meek and demure in manner, also white, and without voice. The children of the caravan were described as cheerful and playful, but having no voice other than laughter. In order to be saved from certain death on the desert, Ferrier and his young companion, who eventually became his adopted daughter, converted to the Mormon Church in the desert where they were found. The only solo voice was that of Brigham Young as he received Ferrier and Lucy into the Mormon Church, after which they joined the caravan making its way to Utah (2001, 72-80). *A Study in Scarlet* is a Sherlock Holmes mystery with background to the story established in London as Dr. Watson's reminiscence, relating the tale as Sherlock Holmes's assistant in solving crimes. The mystery deepens in the caravan on the way to Utah, and, in the end, Holmes and Watson solve the crime, as expected. Doyle's commentary on LDS culture and practice, often referring to "others" who are not part of the fold, continues through the second part of the novel. Throughout the novel Doyle relies on Ferrier's verbalized experiences to express his own commentary on Mormonism, of which he did not seem wholly enamored.

In the conclusion to the novel, as Holmes explained the denouement of the mystery to Watson, Doyle also questioned whether God approved of the LDS religion

and concluded that the religion itself could be problematic, potentially leading to murder. Holmes expressed the wish that foreigners would settle their disputes at home, in this case Utah, and not carry them to British soil (2001, 126).

It is not the intent of this study to spoil *A Study in Scarlet* for anyone who has not yet read the novel. However, the text provides Doyle's fictional analysis of the conceptual contrast between the whiteness of the Mormons heading west and the "Other," first identified as Pawnee, then extended to other dark people identified primarily as Indian. Ferrier and Lucy fall somewhere in between white and "Other." Although fictionalized in the novel, distinctions between whiteness and "Other" often arose in word and practice when the Mormons established Zion in Utah.

**The LDS Church and the Gold Fields of California**

Brigham Young University history professor Eugene E. Campbell (1960) stated that, while the Mormons had not established a specific colony in California prior to and during the Mormon emigration to Utah, they did have a considerable presence in the gold fields, which also influenced growth and development of the Utah colony. Members of the Mormon Battalion traveled to California, meeting with saints of earlier exploring parties. Several members of the Battalion began to work for mine owners and one member of the Battalion built and owned several businesses and a large farm near Sutter's Fort. The land there seemed to hold more promise than the desolate Salt Lake Valley for survival, expansion, and prosperity, which the advance group had communicated to Brigham Young. Had Young been in favor of relocating to California, the saints could have been in control of several gold mining regions for at least a year prior to the Gold Rush of 1849. While church members in California had mostly been

financially successful, Young was opposed to church members mining gold and addressed his flock, "'The Lord will bless you and prosper you if you will get cured of your California fevers as quick as you can,'" because he had determined that the Sacramento Valley was unhealthy for the saints and mining gold was a path to ruin. He reminded the saints about the Spaniards, who, in seeking gold and precious metals, lost their greatness and "had almost lost their God," while the English, who had engaged in agriculture and industry, had prospered and become powerful (19-21).

However, in establishing Zion in the Great Basin, Brigham Young allowed that, although mining was not a suitable occupation for church members, some church leaders would be allowed to call[154] certain select young men to go on missions to the gold fields in California to mine gold to bring back to Utah in order to advance the kingdom. Young believed that reluctance to go to the gold fields was considered a positive mark in a man's calling for such a mission, and the men who expressed the most reluctance were usually the men sent to California with the blessings of the leaders. While many of the miners returned to Utah within a few months, usually empty handed and in debt, others stayed on in California, and within a year, began to reap the rewards of their work, sometimes making hundreds of dollars a day, until the gold ran out. The most successful miners gained at most $20,000, but their expenses, and for some their gambling, negated a large percentage of their gains. The failures of the gold missions were considered proof that working in mines was not an appropriate occupation for the saints (Campbell, 1960, 22-

[154] A mission "call" occurs when a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is chosen by Church leaders and then is sent a message, currently by letter, to go on a mission to benefit the Church. Most of the missions were and are for proselytizing among non-members to convince them to convert to the faith. However, the Church has established missions for other purposes, such as for gold mining, as Campbell (1960) discusses.

25, 27-29, 31). Nancy L. Taniguchi, professor emerita of history at California State University at Stanislaus and a former resident of Castle Valley, wrote that Brigham Young still planned to establish a permanent presence in California, which had been taken into the United States earlier that year. However, in the fall of 1848, Brigham Young called all the missionary miners back to Utah to account for their work in the gold fields. Of the miners who returned to Zion at this request, the most prosperous were Thomas Rhoades and his younger brother Caleb, who would later colonize Castle Valley in southern Utah. Thomas presented Young with $10,826 of the $17,000 worth of gold he brought from California, keeping the rest for himself. He was rewarded in food, cattle, and wives for his generous contribution to the Church and held as an example of how a man would be regarded as he remained in faithful obedience to the same (2004, 15-16).

**Utah, Mexico--Utah, United States**

When New Mexicans arrived in Utah, a geographic space that, as a Mexican people they had never left, coming into a land that had been their ancestral heritage, they found themselves personally unwelcome, although their labor in some of the most difficult jobs was needed.

Although Spanish and Mexican trappers, traders, and explorers had passed through the Yuta region on expeditions to explore and map the area and to trade with the Natives, to my knowledge none of the early explorers, especially those seeking a route to California, is recorded as having stayed permanently. It is possible that some members of exploratory expeditions may have found the Utah region and its inhabitants to their liking and did remain and settle, but there seems to be no extant journal or other printed documentation of such settlers. Historian Dale L. Morgan wrote that only official

expeditions emanating from New Mexico produced written records for a limited governmental and educated audience who typically stayed out of northern New Mexico. It is from records such as these that a history was compiled. Morgan suggests the strong possibility that some New Mexicans who traveled to Utah for commerce stayed on with the Natives. It is likely that most of these unknown explorers never learned to read or write. Morgan speculated that their adventures would have been noted only if they were hauled into court in New Mexico and their exploits entered into written legal records (2017, 298).[155] Armando Solórzano indicates that, following early explorations and establishment of the Spanish Trail to California, Utah became a geographic space to cross to go west. However, early explorers, beginning with Domínguez and Escalante opened claims for Mexico to the northern territories and peoples living there. Solórzano states that when the United States signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the region seemed to belong to the Utes as no Mexican villages existed in the territory and Mexico also did not seem to have property claims. Mexico did not claim for the nation property rights over Indian lands in Utah, and never made them Mexican citizens. That system would change with the arrival of the Anglo Americans, in particular the Mormons. As both agents and beneficiaries of Manifest Destiny, Mormons claimed the territory for their church, thereby dispossessing Mexicans and Indians of their lands and imposing an imported culture and capitalistic economy that came to function within a larger United States economy (1998, 87, 106-108).

[155] In *Castle Valley America*, Nancy J. Taniguchi conjectures that one such possible case occurred in 1813. Spanish citizens Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia, along with their trading party who were bringing goods and slaves back to New Mexico, and had escaped from a group of enraged Utes. In crossing the Colorado, they presumed their safety, but were caught and brought to trial in Santa Fe for illegal trade (2004, 11).

Before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ceded much of northern Mexico to the United States, people who moved into the region that is now Utah and remained there were essentially moving from one part of northern Mexico, such as Texas, California, Arizona, or New Mexico into another part of northern Mexico. In the Utah census of 1850, very few families with Spanish origin family names were counted and documented.[156] However, by the end of the First World War, there were forty families with Spanish surnames documented as living in Utah (Stone, 2013, 48). It seems that "documented" is a key term in the assessment to which Stone refers. It is questionable how comprehensive and how thoroughly documented early Utah censuses were and what information the census was intended to collect, record, and report. People whose presence was considered questionable or who were not particularly wanted in the colony may have been less inclined to submit information for the census or to be contacted to provide information. The small number of families and individuals with Spanish origin family names as counted in the Utah census of 1850 may also have had to do with sample selection. I would suggest that difficulty of travel throughout the Utah Territory and challenges to communication hampered obtaining an exact count of residents of all ethnicities. Also, with the prevalent attitude toward Mexicans as expressed by Brigham Young, it might not have been politically advantageous to obtain an exact count of people deemed undesirable. Solórzano suggests an additional possibility that the Mormons quickly grew disillusioned with the Lamanites in the region as peoples with whom they could be "minimally culturally compatible." It seemed feasible to not include Lamanites

[156] Vicente V. Mayer states that the 1850 census and subsequent censuses until the end of the nineteenth century were not necessarily reliable. The few Mexicans mentioned in Utah were said to be with the army or working as herders and laborers (1976, 437, n.2).

in the Kingdom, but to rely more on immigrants from Europe, with English immigrants having sufficient capital to contribute to building the colony, as Brigham Young's preference (1998, 93).

Once settled in Utah, the Mormon Church seemed to have no intention of becoming a host community to others. The isolation desired in Zion was that of an exclusionary colony, possibly in response to the persecutions Mormons experienced in the East and Midwest that propelled them to establish a colony in a desolate space. The isolation expected of Zion contrasted with the isolation experienced in northern New Mexico, which was more geographical and cultural in nature than religious and political. It seemed that Brigham Young and his followers wanted territorial borders nearly impermeable to those wanting to pass through, and closed to outsiders wanting to settle permanently in the region claimed for the Church, possibly as protection from further persecution and to further the aims of a theocratic state. Historian Justina Parsons-Bernstein stated that most narratives and histories of the Salt Lake Valley that have been considered as public memory have been selective in that they have celebrated "the achievements of the majority community, while overlooking the claims of the city's minority groups" who came from outside the United States, primarily southern Europe, Asia, and Mexico. They came not to build the Kingdom, but to build better lives for themselves and their families (2007, n.p.).[157] Similar to New Mexicans, they were pushed out of their homelands by poverty and lack of work and moved into a region where work

[157] Justina Parsons-Bernstein, Heritage and Outdoor Education Resources Coordinator for the Department of Natural Resources in the State of Utah coordinated the research for the exhibit "From Many Shores: Immigrant, Migrant and Refugee Expectations, Contributions and Experiences in Salt Lake City" for The Leonardo Museum in downtown Salt Lake City in 2007. The exhibit depicted the coming of the railroad in 1870 and periods of immigration, emigration, and arrival of refugees that followed through the early 2000s. Personal e-mail to author August 23, 2017,

was rumored to be plentiful. Parsons-Bernstein continues that the non-Mormon, ethnically diverse newcomers who arrived in Salt Lake City during the late nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries settled the city's west side in ethnic enclaves near the railroad where many found jobs (2007, n.p.) The west side of Salt Lake City is located on the edge of the city at some distance from the center of the city, local and state governmental offices, and Temple Square, the central focus of the LDS Church in Utah.

Brigham Young and the Mormon settlers he led demonstrated an unwelcoming attitude toward Mexican Americans, and within a decade of the conclusion of the Mexican War, Mormon officials were unequivocal in their stance that Mexicans and New Mexicans were not particularly welcome in Utah. New Mexicans were not licensed to trade in Utah for any purpose, including to acquire slaves[158], and some Nuevomexicanos were tried, jailed, and sent back to New Mexico for attempting to persist in trading under their New Mexico and Mexican licenses. For a time, New Mexicans continued to trade illegally with the Yutas, but that commerce diminished as the Mormons exerted increasing power over the territory. In 1853 Brigham Young, as church president and territorial governor, issued a proclamation banning Mexicans, presumably including New Mexicans, from trading within the boundaries of the Mormon colony, or even entering the colony for any purpose. Any Mexicans, as Young identified them, in any of the towns

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[158] Sánchez (1997) indicates that trading for children as slaves was an expected part of commerce between *Nuevomexicanos* and Indians. When the Mormons forbade that aspect of trade to New Mexicans and would not engage in it themselves at first, the Yutas reinforced the nature of that commerce by executing a child they had brought in order to trade into slavery in exchange for goods. The result was that, when Indians brought children to trade, Mormons bought them and took them into their homes (131). While Sánchez does not specify how the children were raised and treated, I expect that documentation, perhaps in personal papers of Mormon settlers, may still exist, although I, too, have yet to find any.

within Mormon territory were to be confined to those communities using military force as warranted and were not permitted to leave unless they were exiting the territory. This measure also meant that the Spanish Trail across the territory to California, which had been blazed and traversed by Mexicans and then New Mexicans for decades, was no longer legally accessible to them (Sánchez, 1997, 130-133). Young's proclamation as both the foremost religious and civil authority of the territory appeared to solidify negative biases toward New Mexicans and provide a rationale for discrimination that seems to have continued into the twenty-first century. According to Sánchez (1997) Brigham Young's proclamation of April 1853 is one of the few historical Utah documents and texts available that specifically mentions New Mexicans as a distinct entity, apart from other groups of people with Spanish ancestry. The interpretation of the proclamation in Sánchez indicates that Brigham Young did not want New Mexicans in Utah (132). I would suggest that the proclamation was broader than the exclusion of New Mexicans and included all who were considered to be or labeled in the territory at that time as "Mexicans". Solórzano suggests that the prejudice and discrimination against people considered Mexican or Indian came from the Book of Mormon, where Lamanites were given a "curse" of dark skin because they lived a "savage" lifestyle. Joseph Smith believed and taught that by accepting the Book of Mormon, adhering to its precepts, going through an approved baptism, Lamanites would become white (1998, 81). Young's Proclamation blamed Mexicans for many of the problems within the Utah Territory and prescribed remedies to mitigate those problems and to contain the people perceived to have caused them. Further, it is possible that some in Utah could justify mistreatment and discrimination against people considered Mexican, including New Mexicans, moving

forward into the following century and beyond, based on the provisions in the proclamation.

The April 23, 1853 Proclamation by the Governor of the Territory of Utah, as published in the *Deseret News* on April 30, 1853 reads:

> WHEREAS it is made known to me by reliable information, from affidavits, and various other sources, that there is in this Territory, a horde of Mexicans, or outlandish men, who are infesting the settlements, stirring up the Indians to make aggressions upon the inhabitants, and who are also furnishing the Indians with guns, ammunition, &s., contrary to the laws of this territory, and the laws of the United States:
>
> AND WHEREAS it is evident it is the intention of these Mexicans or foreigners, to break the laws of this Territory, and of the United States, utterly regardless of every restriction; furnishing Indians with guns and powder, whenever and wherever it suits their designs, convenience, or purposes:
>
> Therefore, I, BRIGHAM YOUNG, Governor, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah, in order to preserve peace, quell the Indians, and secure the lives and property of the citizens of the Territory, hereby order and direct as follows:
>
> 1st. That a small detachment consisting of thirty men, under the charge of Captain Wall, proceed South, through the entire extent of the settlements, reconnoitering the country, and directing the inhabitants to be on their guard against any sudden surprise.
>
> 2nd. That said reconnoitering officer communicate with the expedition now traveling South, as often as any information of importance is obtained, that I may be kept advised of every transaction.
>
> 3rd. The officer and party hereby sent upon this service, are hereby authorized and directed to arrest, and keep in close custody, every strolling Mexican party, and those associating with them, and other suspicious persons or parties, that they may encounter, and leave them safely guarded at the different points of settlements, to await further orders, as circumstances shall transpire, and the law directs.
>
> 4th. The Militia of the Territory are hereby instructed to be in readiness to march to any point, to which they may be directed, at a moment's notice.
>
> 5th. All Mexicans now in the Territory, are required to remain quiet in the settlements, and not attempt to leave, under any consideration, until further advised; and the officers of the Territory, are hereby directed to keep them in safe custody, treating them with kindness, and supplying their necessary wants.
>
> 6th. While all the people should be on their constant guard; they are also requested to remain quiet and orderly, pursuing their various avocations, until such time as they may be called upon to act in their own defence [sic].
>
> 7th. The officer in command of the reconnoitering detachment, is hereby directed to move with caution, that he may not be taken in ambush, or surprised;

to preserve his men and animals, and still be as expeditious in his movements, as possible; and the people at the various settlements, are hereby requested to furnish him such aid and assistance, as shall be necessary.

Done at the City of Provo, in the County of Utah, this, 23rd day of April, A. D. 1853.

BRIGHAM YOUNG

By the Governor,

BENJ. G. FERRIS, Secretary

Several early Utah proclamations, including those cited in this study, served in part to clarify citizenship and belonging in Zion; who was in and who was out and how the community and territory were to look, phrased in language of inclusion and of exclusion.[159]

Historian David L. Bigler emphasized that Zion was intended to be a theocratic domain, with communal economic purpose, whether its establishment had been in the Midwest, as originally intended, or finally in Utah, with the seat of church and state centered in Salt Lake City. The city of Zion was to be laid out in a similar pattern to a beehive with a large central church and state headquarters square, expanding outward to

[159] In a letter to the editor of the *Deseret News* dated May 28, 1853, D. B. Huntington, who was the general interpreter for the tribes in the region of Spanish Fork and along the Spanish Trail into Utah, wrote how the Indian tribes in the area had been subdued and what they were doing to become good residents of Utah. Huntington said, in part, "I was called upon by his Excellency, Superintendent of Indian Affairs [Brigham Young], April 1st to go to Iron County to settle a misunderstanding between the whites and the Indians." He was able to settle the dispute, which was not specified in the letter. Huntington continued, "I found the Piedes [possibly a band of Paiutes] all friendly and many have gone to live with the whites; some are learning trades, others farming, and are a great help in building up the place, more especially at Harmony, Major John D. Lee's settlement. They can cut and set pickets as well as whites. Brother Lee has them under good control. Capt. Wall, company A, of the Nauvoo Legion, reconnoitering the country south put the Indians into a panic, I never saw a more scared set in my life. The Governor [Brigham Young] ordering out Capt. Wall's Company is the best thing that has ever happened to the nation. It is the best teaching that they ever heard, and if they continue to hearken to it, will be their salvation." Huntington found the "Pahvants" [possibly a band of Paiutes] farming "10 acres of wheat, corn, and potatoes, put in by the Mormons on Corn Creek. . . . I found a good spirit among all the settlements that I visited" (1932, 150). Indians, while still "Other" were among the people who had potential to become a part of early Utah providing they subscribed to the teachings Mormons gave to them, although they resided on the margins of the territory.

identical lots and nearly identical houses for the worker bees who would build and maintain Zion. Agriculture and other enterprises were collectives on the outskirts of the community, operated by "worker bees." Zion was to be exclusive, with no room for outsiders within its borders on a permanent basis. The Church did not intend to coexist with its neighbors, but to spread the kingdom and overcome anyone opposed to their concepts of and movement toward progress (2008, 7).

Brigham Young and LDS Church leaders were determined to limit contact and trade with the Gentile world by developing an economy solely conducted within Deseret. By expanding the colony and acquiring a larger and more diverse land mass, the leaders assumed that the colony could produce all it needed, without outside interference. The Church began to build a transportation and communication infrastructure within the territory that would include the saints within the religious sanctuary and exclude everyone else (Iber, 2000, 4).

A clash with the United States was inevitable.

Official proclamations and information from Brigham Young and other LDS church and civic leaders were disseminated to the people via the *Deseret News,* a major publication from Utah territorial days into the twenty-first century.[160] To the best of my knowledge, the Proclamation of April 23, 1853 by Governor Young, as published in the *Deseret News* was neither rescinded nor modified by any subsequent published

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[160] The first official LDS newspaper was *The Evening and the Morning Star* in Independence, Missouri, followed by other Church-published and sometimes Church-oriented newspapers established wherever the saints settled to share local news and to promulgate messages from Church leaders and information on the religion at large. The *Deseret News* was the most prominent of these publications into the late twentieth century (Nelson, 1992, 1011). I would contend that the influence of the *Deseret News* in reaching all LDS members has been eclipsed by the advent of rapid, even immediate, electronic communication of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. While the newspaper is still published and can be purchased by subscription and in some stores in Utah and surrounding states, the immediacy of new media is taking the place of print media in many markets.

proclamation, by a statement from an LDS Church president, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or Utah state governor, before or after the three roles were no longer held by the same man.

## Church or State, but Not Both

United States President James Buchanan determined that governance of territories within the nation should be by secular authority. That meant Utah Brigham Young could head state or church, but not both, which he, in occupying both roles, disputed. To Young, a theocracy governed from heaven could not coexist with a democratic republic governed by men. To govern such a theocracy, one man in direct communication with heaven was the suitable leader. The federal government saw the situation differently. In 1857 Buchanan appointed Alfred E. Cumming as governor of the Utah Territory, effectively replacing Young. With the understanding that the Mormons would not willingly acquiesce to a federally appointed replacement for Young, Buchanan had the United States Army provide Cumming with an armed escort to insure that he would be placed in secular control of the territory. Buchanan was correct in his assessment that Young and the residents of the Utah Territory would not willingly acquiesce to secular governance. Utah rebelled. With understanding of what was ahead, Young declared martial law in Utah and insisted the United States violated the Constitution in their actions violating the religious freedom of the kingdom in Utah. However, the federal government viewed the situation from a different perspective. With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Mormons were no longer immigrants in Mexico, but squatters on property belonging to the United States as a territory blocking passage between established states and the desired Pacific Coast, fully subject to U. S. law.

Cumming, under the protection of the United States Army, was sent to deal with the "Lion in the Path" as Brigham Young was called in Washington, and to open the path to California for settlers and for commerce (Bigler, 2008, 4-7, 20).

Brigham Young, as Territorial Governor, issued a proclamation in response to the threat from the United States on the fifth of August, 1857, which reads in part:

> We are invaded by a hostile force who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction.
>
> For the last twenty five years we have trusted officials of the Government, from Constables and Justices to Judges, Governors, and Presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted, and betrayed. . . .
>
> The Constitution of our common country guarantees unto us all that we do now or have ever claimed.
>
> If the Constitutional rights which pertain unto us as American citizens were extended to Utah, according to the spirit and meaning thereof, and fairly and impartially administered, it is all that we could ask, all that we have ever asked.
>
> Our opponents have availed themselves of prejudice existing against us because of our religious faith, to send out a formidable host to accomplish our destruction. . . .
>
> Our duty to ourselves, to our families, requires us not to tamely submit to be driven and slain, without an attempt to preserve ourselves. . . .
>
> This is, therefore,
>
> 1st:-- To forbid, in the name of the People of the United States in the Territory of Utah, all armed forces, of every description, from coming into this Territory under any pretence [sic] whatever.
>
> 2d:-- That all the forces in said Territory hold themselves to readiness to march, at a moment's notice, to repel any and all such threatened invasion.
>
> 3d:-- Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory, from and after the publication of this Proclamation; and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into, or through, or from this Territory, without a permit from the proper officer.

In addition to the calendar date and his signature, Young included the statement that the Proclamation was issued in the eighty second year of the "Independence of the United States of America."

Perhaps Brigham Young felt justified in his response to the United States in return for injustices his people had experienced before arriving in the Utah Territory. Language in his proclamations indicates that he thought that excluding non-members of the Mormon Church by any means necessary would preserve the purity of his group's faith and the isolation of the colony. As noted, Young and his followers expected what they considered appropriate treatment from the United States as citizens subject to the Constitution, but did not extend that same courtesy to other citizens of the United States, who were also subject to the Constitution, specifically people who were former Mexican citizens coming from New Mexico and other regions of the Borderlands the United States acquired under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the later Gadsden Purchase.

Following the proclamation of August 5, 1857, Young marshalled the Nauvoo Legion, also known as the Utah Militia, to meet the force the United States sent with a force of its own. Young ordered the Legion to attack American troops if they proceeded past Fort Bridger in Wyoming or attempted to invade the Salt Lake Valley. Young stopped all travel and communications through, into, or originating from within the Utah Territory, a land mass larger than New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio combined, thereby effectively cutting the nation in two. Under intense pressure, Young decided to acquiesce, however unwillingly, to the United States, at least to an extent. Resolving the Utah War in full took another thirty years and the massacre at Mountain Meadows (Bigler, 2008, 10, 18-21). With the threat of encroachment from outsiders,

Mormon avengers in a rumored alliance with local bands of Indians, purportedly under Young's direction, but possibly as actions instigated by zealous local church leadership, had previously attacked other, smaller parties traveling through the Utah Territory on the California Trail to discourage or halt their passage. However, it was the massacre of the Fancher Party, where one hundred twenty eight men, women, and children were murdered at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah that caught the nation's interest and imagination. Whatever the degree of his involvement in attacks on parties of U. S. citizens immigrating to California, Brigham Young apparently did not hesitate to encourage his followers in his speeches to take action against these invaders of Utah, lest they decide to settle instead of moving on. These travelers often paid for the crime of attempting to pass through Utah Territory with their blood, in a blood atonement (Bigler, 2008, 10; Stegner, 1970, 95-97, 224).[161]

Blood atonement was a concept Brigham Young preached, stating that Christ's sacrifice did not cover all serious sins and that in certain cases, the blood of the offender had to be shed for complete atonement.[162] This form of atonement could be applied to both members and non-members of the church and ranged from beatings that drew blood to death by shedding blood. Infractions requiring such atonement included, but were not limited to, disagreeing with or disobeying church leadership, committing fraud, or trying to leave the territory without securing permission (Alexander, 2012, 115-116). Invading

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[161] See also "Fame Meets Infamy: the Powell Survey and Mountain Meadows Participants, 1870-1873." The essay by Richard E. Turley, Jr. and Eric C. Olson details John Wesley Powell's interactions with and reliance on some of the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows Massacre during his second expedition down the Colorado in 1870 (2013, 4-24).

[162] It is this concept of blood atonement that may be the underlying motive for the narrative in *A Study in Scarlet*.

the territory by attempting to pass through on the way to somewhere else was also likely motivation for blood atonement.

Historian Will Bagley, in his review of *Mountain Meadows Massacre: The Andrew Jenson and David H. Morris Collections*, edited by Richard E. Turley and Ronald W. Walker, states that the two editors were given access to documents closely held by the LDS Church that other scholars, no matter their credentials, have neither seen nor read. The documents, collected between 1896 and 1909 by church historian Andrew Jenson documented that it was white men, sometimes referred to as Danites or destroying angels, and not Indians as originally claimed, who did most of the killing at Mountain Meadows. Bagley notes that early scholars used documentation they had to place blame for the massacre on a few individuals and to deflect blame from others, particularly those in leadership positions. Bagley also claims that most discussions of Mountain Meadows are problematic, including that in the reviewed book, but that the Church's release of some previously restricted documents may indicate a new openness in Mormon studies that may benefit scholars within and outside of the Mormon Church (2012, 95-96).

As Bagley suggests, documents held in the LDS Church archive or by other official Church sources are seldom released to scholars, and on the rare occasions that does occur, the scholars seem to be carefully chosen official academics within the Church's sphere of influence. Documents that are readily available through other sources and archives provide at least some of the perspective the LDS Church had, and possibly has, of "others" coming into and residing within the geographic spaces officially and unofficially that have been regarded as in the Church's sphere.

By the end of the Utah War, secular officials in the territory were all non-Mormon and the federal government had seized thousands of acres of LDS Church-owned collective lands, including forests, and private farmland, both under federal law and by fraud, to eventually sell as homesteads and to develop public lands (Alexander, 2012, 118-120).

Meanwhile, Utah, expected within the territory to become known as the State of Deseret, had begun pursuing full statehood as one of the United States. As the United States moved into a Civil War between the North and South, Brigham Young was elected as governor of the State of Deseret, with the federally imposed territorial government as a parallel secular governing structure (Alford, 2012, 87). Editors of the *Deseret News* of April 29, 1874, expressed concern that New Mexico was also moving toward statehood at the same time. Citing the Pueblo, Colorado, *People,* the editorial writer stated that, while Congress had passed an enabling act to admit New Mexico as a state, the New Mexico press did not favor the decree and expected that the people of the territory would defeat the measure when put to a vote. The *Deseret News* then justified that Utah, or Deseret, should be granted statehood over New Mexico. Their rationale was that

> "New Mexicans would rather wear the badge of territorial servitude and continue to receive the few thousands of dollars furnished by Congress for the payment of legislative, judicial, and executive officials, than assume the dignity of statehood and pay their own way. But rather than that a statehood go a begging, we are sure that Utah would patriotically step forward and accept the offer if it were placed within her reach. By the by, now that economy is considered a virtue in Congress, we may remind that honorable body that it might save a few thousands by letting Utah pay her own legislature and other rulers, which she could do properly by becoming a state" (7).

Utah had another, larger issue to contend with on the path to statehood. Polygamy had become a national issue, which proved to be a major dilemma. Joseph Smith had

taught that the practice of polygamy was a theological doctrine to be practiced in this life and the next. The United States was determined to extinguish the practice with new laws and threats against the hierarchy of the LDS Church. Brigham Young was equally determined to preserve the doctrine and sought to purchase expanses of land in Mexico and Canada where branches of the Church could be relocated. For forty years the church was in movement to the north, south, and west to protect polygamy and enlarge Zion. American intrusion by large numbers of Gentiles contested the rapid expansion and purchases of vast tracts of land across the west, resulting in economic and social accommodation. Many locations the Church scouted for colonization already had been settled by Gentiles who had no desire to leave. The State of Deseret, which was to cover most of the Great Basin, north to Canada, south to Mexico, and west to include some of California, did not meet the demands of the federal government. By 1890, the LDS Church within the United States had capitulated to the federal government and issued a decree that officially ended polygamy[163] and another statement, under federal guidance, that decreased the State of Deseret to the borders of what is now known as Utah (Meinig, 1965, 200-201, 203, 207-209). The core of Mormon influence could be traced on a map along the outline of the proposed State of Deseret, which extends far beyond the Utah state line to the north, south, and west (Meinig, 1965, 200).

As both the central religious and governmental authority, Brigham Young wanted to establish, enlarge, and maintain a space where members of his church be part of Zion,

[163] Jeffery Nichols chronicles how polygamy helped shape Utah during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power, Salt Lake City, 1847-1918*. Polygamy is not extinct in the United States. For information on the practice of polygamy in the United States in the twenty first century, see "A Mormon splinter group is neighborly—and notorious" by Scott Anderson, in the February 2010 *National Geographic*.

as the kingdom on earth. By sending out missionaries and settlers, Zion extended its influence throughout the Rocky Mountain West and Southwest, although Young did not acquire complete possession of the lands and peoples of the region. Several of Young's proclamations for the kingdom, including those cited in this study, give testament to Brigham Young as empire builder. Young's actions and proclamations, and the actions he inspired in his followers, indicated that most "others" were not welcome. In the Territory, unwelcome outsiders were often excluded by exile or by cultural imprisonment within their communities. Such self-imposed isolation of Zion was not to last as the United States expanded across the continent, in claim and in practice, and as "Others" continued to arrive in Utah, welcome or otherwise.

**Nuevomexicanos in Utah**

When New Mexicans from the northern villages began to move into Utah seasonally for work, their bodies were not especially welcome by official decree, although their labor was needed. They took on necessary jobs not considered appropriate for the saints, but they were jobs that had to be done. Nuevomexicanos were needed as agricultural workers, as labor on the railroads, and in the mines, beginning before the turn of the twentieth century beyond the Great Depression and the Second World War. Nuevomexicanos committed to other types of work as well, difficult work that those who considered themselves more genteel were not generally inclined to take on. Solórzano states that New Mexicans were moving into a highly racialized space where the social hierarchy was based on religious acceptance with white Mormons at the top, Lamanites next, and Mexicans following. Understanding the social structure meant accepting Mormons as the redeemers because their whiteness ranked them higher in society. It was

unthinkable in Mormon theological categories of race, that members of different races would intermarry. Members of each race were to remain socially within their group, although they were to be officially considered one human family, together, but separate, which put Mexicans, and those of Mexican heritage, at a distinct disadvantage (1998, 103-104).[164]

Nuevomexicano villagers knew what it meant to work hard. They knew what it meant to have their lands taken from them and redistributed to others and to the "public," as in the case of the forests and common lands that historically belonged to villages and land grants. So when Nuevomexicanos arrived in Utah, but not for the first time, with their labor necessary and their bodies not necessarily wanted, they took on the task of survival and making a place in Utah.

**Gateway Communities on the Spanish Trail**

The gateway into Utah from the southeast, along the Old Spanish Trail, grew communities that were more hospitable to a diverse population than was the Salt Lake Valley. The gateway communities were also more welcoming to a cultural and ethnic diversity that took longer to develop along the Wasatch Front from Provo to Ogden. Margaret K. Brady, professor emerita of English and folklore at the University of Utah, in describing the process of cultural change, wrote that as ethnic groups engage in

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[164] It is likely that treatment of the Lamanites in Utah, Native and *mestizo,* stemmed from the writings of Joseph Smith, who deemed it reasonable that the Lamanites, as a people, should not be restored, but assimilated, with their lands taken from them and their identity forfeited (Brodie, 1945, 93-94). Mignolo posits that lands populated by people considered uncivilized barbarians, such as Indians and mestizos, had to be colonized and the people civilized. The concept of internal colonization was prevalent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (2000, 282). As he was living in the eastern United States at the time, it seems possible that Joseph Smith would have been exposed to these ideas that intersected with Manifest Destiny, and could have incorporated them into his philosophy.

cultural contact with each other, the idea of acculturation as an exchange one for one of traditions and practices should be replaced by the concept of cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism suggests that diverse cultures interact in a fluid and dynamic process resulting in mutual cultural change, while seeking ways to identify and differentiate themselves from other cultures, which can result in stereotyping to maintain social and cultural boundaries (1984, 5-6). The process of coming to terms with cultural pluralism may be more difficult and take longer in the presence of a dominant culture, but it is likely that by accepting the fluidity of culture, ethnic groups may each modify the other to a degree and arrive at a level of mutual acceptance.

Monticello was, and still is, the first major community one encounters when entering Utah on the route from northern New Mexico through Durango and Cortez, Colorado, that closely approximates the Old Spanish Trail.

The earliest Nuevomexicano settlers of southeastern Utah had originally arrived to tend the sheep owned by Mormon ranchers. Having had centuries of experience with sheep, from working with sheep brought by Spanish colonizers, the sheep ranches in the Monticello area provided seasonal work. Men traveled by horseback the two hundred mile distance between northern New Mexico and Monticello to work in shifts on the ranches. That is, one group would arrive and work for several months, then return to their home villages, to be replaced by another group of Nuevomexicano men, who would arrive and work for several months before returning home. Shifts on the sheep ranches continued for some time on a yearly cycle. As the sheep had to be tended all year and men from New Mexico who had known sheep all their lives had the understanding and skills to do that work, eventually a number of men who had been seasonal workers

moved their families to settle in and around Monticello. Even though many *Nuevomexicanos* came to remain permanently in the area, their family and cultural ties were firmly situated in New Mexico (González and Padilla, 1984, 9-11).[165] Sarah Deutsch (1987) recognized the disruption caused by the American invasion and the effects this had on the villages of northern New Mexico that caused villagers to move throughout the Southwest to seek work while maintaining ties with home as an example of what she terms the regional community. In her study of Nuevomexicanos who originally traveled to southern Colorado for seasonal work, eventually bringing their families and remaining permanently, Deutsch notes that they essentially took the substance of their home villages in New Mexico with them, recreating the village within the context of their new circumstances.

When the Homestead Act took effect, Nuevomexicanos, as citizens of the United States, were eligible to stake their claims, a privilege not permitted to immigrants without citizenship. Since Nuevomexicano men were known as legendary sheepherders, they had been hired into the community to work for established ranchers on a seasonal basis. As they began to homestead, Nuevomexicanos became farmers, ranchers, and, eventually, leaders in the sheep industry while working on the properties they themselves owned (Mayer, E. 1996, 436-437). González and Padilla write of Ramón and Guadalupe González, parents of Prudencio, who was father to William González, one of the co-

[165] When this article was published in 1984, William H. González was assistant professor of languages and Genaro M. Padilla was assistant professor of English, both at the University of Utah. At the time of this study, Padilla was associate professor of English at UC Berkeley. After a long and distinguished teaching career, González passed away in December, 2017, in Salt Lake City, Utah (Obituary, *Intermountain Catholic*. January 12, 2018). I became acquainted with Professor González at a religious education conference at Juan Diego High School in Draper where we discussed the state of private Catholic education as well as religious education for public school students in the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City.

authors of the article. After several seasons traveling between Dixon, New Mexico and Monticello for seasonal work, Ramón brought his wife, Guadalupe, daughter Romana and son Prudencio, and moved to Monticello live permanently. The González family was among the first Hispanic families to homestead in Utah. A symbol of that permanence is the engraving of the name Ramón González on Newspaper Rock,[166] which was located on the González homestead (1984, 10).

The article does not indicate what personal physical belongings families took with them to Utah, but with human movement at that time mostly limited to walking, horseback, and wagon, and in having limited space whatever the means of conveyance, physical possessions transported in a move were likely few and small. González and Padilla state that the early Hispano settlers of the region around Monticello primarily carried the language of northern New Mexico, their culture and traditions, and their Catholic religion with them as they "maintained constant contact with their home towns and their relatives." As more Nuevomexicanos and other Hispanos moved into the area, whether to settle permanently or as a stop on the move north toward the Bingham mines or the Wasatch Front, the first settled gateway community welcomed the newcomers "with warm greetings in their native tongue"  (1984, 11).

González and Padilla explain that culture and traditions regarding marriage, children's baptisms, funerals, and Catholic liturgical observances could be traced back to sixteenth-century Spain. Customs and traditions surrounding important life occasions had been in continuous practice with minimal change as brought from Spain to the villages of

[166] Newspaper Rock is now the main feature in a state park, apparently carved out of the land Ramón González and his family homesteaded, approximately 28 miles northwest of Monticello. The rock is densely covered with ancient petroglyphs, a record left by the ancient people who populated the area.

northern New Mexico, where they had been preserved in the isolated geographic space. Families celebrated momentous occasions enveloped in the community. Such celebrations signified a lifelong commitment to family, faith, and to the larger community that carried on long-standing traditions, albeit with some adaptation to location and circumstance. These important occasions were celebrated with as great a feast as monetary poverty could provide. Celebrations were also accompanied by prayer, song, and *alabados* (hymns)[167] appropriate for the occasion. Like many others, Prudencio González kept small notebooks where he wrote prayers he both remembered and composed along with alabados, some written for particular occasions, for his personal devotion, to be used in family and communal prayer (1984, 11-27).[168]

Perpetuation and practice of the Catholic faith occurred in the home and community because there were few Catholic priests in Utah. The diocesan priests stationed in Price were charged with the spiritual needs of all the Catholics in southeastern Utah well into the twentieth century. They traveled assigned circuits to make sure Catholics in Vernal, Roosevelt, the coal camps of Carbon County, farms, ranches, and small settlements south to Monticello had their spiritual needs met as best as

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[167] González and Padilla explain that *alabados* would be appropriate for the occasion in which they are sung. At funerals, *alabados* commend the soul of the departed to God in the company of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints as mourners make a profession of faith on behalf of the departed soul. Alabado*s* are also sung for Christmas, Easter, and other Holy Days, and for occasions such as daily Mass and during family commemorations of Holy Week, the week between Palm Sunday and Easter. The authors note that some of the alabados are consistent with those in Spain from centuries prior having been preserved in the relative isolation of northern New Mexico (1984, 21-22). I would expect that alabados sung in the Easter season would be the most joyous and exuberant with the release from a long Lenten season of penance. Perhaps this would also be the case in the Christmas season, as joyous alabado*s* could also bring a brightness to winter.

[168] William González's obituary includes among his many achievements, his tracing of the alabado form and substance to southeastern Utah, southwestern Colorado and northern New Mexico, following the trail of the form and practice of sung praise to Spain. González used the information and oral narratives he collected on alabados, with which he was familiar from his childhood, and included that research in two of his books (*Intermountain Catholic*, January 12, 2018, 3).

they were able. Monsignor Jerome Stoffel became the pastor at St. Joseph Church in Monticello. In a 1989 interview, he recalled Prudencio Gonzales,[169] whose son William was teaching at the University of Utah, as prominent in both civic and religious life in Monticello. With help from the Catholic Extension Society, Gonzales and four others built St. Joseph's Church. In the early twentieth century, there were about one hundred adults and their children, whom Stoffel would see on his monthly visits to Monticello, where he would perform weddings and baptisms, and teach religious education to the children. As far as possible, Stoffel became part of the communities in which he served, including Monticello (Interview by Everett L. Cooley, February 14, 1989).

For example, following a wedding ceremony which would normally take place in St. Joseph's Church in Monticello, or sometimes in a parish church close by in Colorado, or occasionally in a private home, the couple would lead a procession to the home of the bride's parents for a feast, a dance with "*rancheras*, polkas, and waltzes, and a sung tribute to the couple in the form of an *entrega,* a song form dating from sixteenth century Spain. A singer presenting an entrega dedicated to a newly married couple sings the biblical history of marriage from Adam and Eve in the story of creation, gives instruction and admonition on the nature and purpose of marriage, and instruction on parenting. Specific content of the entrega may vary from singer to singer and from location to location, but the basics remain. González and Padilla include a version of the *entrega* sung in a Utah version for a newlywed couple instructing them to remember the Cross and the spouse that God has given to them, reminding them to leave neither behind. At the conclusion of the celebration another reminder to the couple that they are together

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[169] In the transcript of the Msgr. Stoffel interviews, Prudencio González family name is spelled as "Gonzales."

part of a new family and their acceptance as a married couple is given in a blessing by parents, grandparents, and *padrinos* (Godparents) as wedding sponsors and mentors, and by members of the community present. It is with that blessing that the couple is considered truly married, with all the joys and difficulties that life will bring (1984, 17-19).

At the close of a life, the community accompanied the person who was near death. Death was not a solitary experience as the person was prayed from this life into the next by the family and community of believers. When a priest was available, the person would have the benefit of Extreme Unction, or last rites in the Catholic Church.[170] Younger members of the family and of *vecinos*' families would let the community know of the impending death. As many people who were able, would arrive to pray and to sing alabados, in this case, hymns for the dying and dead. The wake, *velorio de difunto*, frequently lasting all night before the funeral, gave the community a final time to commend the soul to God as it left this life, accompanied by the saints to the next life. Rituals surrounding death served as reminders that death was both a time of sorrow and a time of joy, a connection between this world and the next, and that the soul was on its way to Paradise. The prayerful, sorrowful period of mourning traditionally lasted a year in New Mexico and among the first Nuevomexicano settlers in southeastern Utah. However, with the passage of time, long-standing, prolonged rituals and practices surrounding death have declined, and in some places all but disappeared. They have been

[170] After Vatican II Council in the 1960s, the sacrament of Extreme Unction became known as the Anointing of the Sick. It was no longer exclusively reserved for those near death, but is also administered by a priest to those who are very ill or facing serious surgery. For further information on the sacrament, see the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (2003).

replaced, usually with brief wake and funeral services and a short mourning period before normal life resumes (1984, 19-21).

González and Padilla make no mention of Mormon presence at any of the ceremonious occasions celebrated within the Hispano community. It appears that Nuevomexicanos in the Monticello area carved out their own space apart from Anglos where their home language, culture, and traditions could be practiced with minimal interference from the dominant majority. The space Nuevomexicanos carved out for themselves was an interstitial third space that was neither bound in the Anglo community, nor was completely the home village, as both temporary and permanent Nuevomexicano residents of the Monticello area came from several villages in northern New Mexico. In the interstitial space, culture, traditions, and language from the home villages had to have blended into an evolving culture that was neither fully Utah nor fully New Mexico, containing elements of both, and yet neither. Perhaps part of the reasoning for continuing specific cultural practices in a community included an element of resistance to being encompassed within the influence of a dominant host that neither wanted to fully welcome these newcomers and also exhibited hegemonic tendencies in other areas of life.

They note that there was separation in death as in life between Hispanos and the primarily LDS Anglos in Monticello. When Ramón González died, his body was buried in the non-LDS section of the cemetery with other Hispanos (1984, 10).

World War II brought disruption to southeastern Utah, but I argue not on the scale as it did in New Mexico. In northern New Mexico, Nuevomexicanos were, and are, the host community, with a vested interest in their homeland, while in southeastern Utah, they were not a host community, but did host permanent and transient Nuevomexicanos

in the area. A number of Nuevomexicanos became rooted in southeastern Utah and for the first generation, at least, ties to the home village were strong. I would infer that for some time they were considered more as guest workers, appearing and leaving seasonally. Further, as guest workers, it was their labor that brought money to their employers, while they, themselves, were not always considered by the dominant community to have intrinsic value. In other words, if they became ill or injured, or simply did not show up, they could be easily replaced. Laborers did not necessarily have to have names or status, just bodies to produce work.

González and Padilla (1984) point out how the first generations in Monticello recreated the village as far as they could within the context of a host community that used their labor when needed, but marginalized the people themselves. Jorge Iber (2000) asserts that as the Hispano population in southeastern Utah grew during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they carved a niche for themselves. The settlement was not prosperous, especially in contrast to their Anglo neighbors, but it became a true gateway, welcoming newcomers from northern New Mexico on their way to expected jobs as they moved north toward the developing military and industrial base in northern Utah (6).

Few, if any, Nuevomexicanos had settled in the northeastern corner of Utah into the early twentieth century, in the region northeast of Carbon County, along the Green River in the ranching communities near Flaming Gorge. Educated at Andover and Yale, with a dream of going west, Keith Smith, who owned a ranch in Linwood, Utah, from 1902 to 1954, carefully noted the people who came to the ranch either to work or visit and those who also visited or settled on the ranches in surrounding communities in his

journal. He documented each person he encountered by gender, ethnicity, age, education, employment, and potential capability as a ranch hand. While Daggett County, where Linwood was located, was becoming more diverse into the mid twentieth century, Smith made no mention of Hispanos of any origin in the entirety of his memoir (1968). Smith noted that a dam was originally proposed at Flaming Gorge in 1914, and a bunkhouse at his ranch became the original government office for the project. F. H. Newell, head of the Reclamation Service for the federal government, awarded the permit for building the dam to Utah Power and Light, which abandoned the project three years later (1968, 42).[171]

### Castle Valley – Carbon County

The Great Depression did not devastate Castle Valley as much as it did other parts of the West and Southwest, and indeed, other parts of the nation. Perhaps the main reason is that the people of the region had been steeped in poverty for so long that the additional burden was not felt as acutely as it was among wealthier people in wealthier places. During the 1920s in a period of relative prosperity, sugar beet crops expanded and Green River Melon days were brought back as a celebration of the region's most famous crop and to draw tourists to the area. The poultry industry expanded and selling chickens and eggs into larger markets also became more lucrative. However, during the first four years

[171] Flaming Gorge Dam came to fruition in the late 1950s and early 1960s and was built by the Bureau of Reclamation to provide power to cities downstream on the Green and Colorado Rivers, to store water for agriculture and community use, and to provide recreation opportunities. George Eleshuk, the author's father, was an engineer on Flaming Gorge for the duration of the project, as well as on a number of other Reclamation projects in the Intermountain West. Smith notes that with the finality of Flaming Gorge Dam in sight, several of the buildings from Linwood were moved to higher ground or into other communities, farms and ranches were abandoned with the lands purchased by other property owners or the federal government, and the community dissipated. After his wife passed, Keith Smith moved to Greendale, Utah, into a community called Flaming Gorge Acres. He designed a home that incorporated materials that represented many of his memories of Linwood (1968, 54-55).

following the stock market crash in 1929, as overproduction made the soil more and more alkaline, land prices and prices for crops and livestock fell. Two mines opened and hired, then closed and laid workers off in the deepening Depression. Residents who felt most "lucky" during the Depression lived in homes without electricity, gas, or running water before the Depression, so in a time and place with few to no jobs, those residents also had no utilities to pay (Taniguchi, 2004, 201-203).

Hispanos who moved into the Castle Valley and Carbon County region became part of what was probably the most ethnically diverse population of Utah through the early twentieth century. Helen Papanikolas noted at the beginning of the twentieth century, residents of Carbon County represented thirty two nations, as counted by WPA workers (1976, 269).

Vicente V. Mayer indicated that settlement and labor patterns in Carbon County repeated settlement and labor processes that had transpired for decades in Bingham Canyon. Numbers of Mexican workers were relatively small as compared to other ethnic groups, and the numbers of Mexican Americans were added to the population considered Mexican. Most Mexican American laborers came from villages of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico, with the majority coming from Tierra Amarilla, Coyote, Gallina, and Abíquiu. Many had first found work as sheepherders in the Monticello area, and some had previously homesteaded there before arriving in Carbon County. The *colonia*, the ethnic neighborhood where Spanish-surnamed laborers and families lived in Carbon County, while not a full replication of a particular Nuevomexicano village, had a larger ratio of Mexican Americans to Mexicans than did the colonias in Salt Lake City and Ogden, where Nuevomexicanos were in the minority of the larger group of primarily

Spanish-speaking residents (1976, 438-439). The colonia was also a place where the people could observe their culture and traditions, as well as speak the home language and dialect. Because Spanish-surnamed people in the colonia came from disparate parts of the Spanish-speaking world, it is likely in that contact zone, each culture modified the other, at least to a degree.

Spanish speaking people arrived in Carbon County for the same economic reasons as did people of other ethnicities who had arrived earlier. The main difference between Hispanics and other ethnic groups is that the Hispanic experience in the Southwest extends centuries into history. Hispanic women formed bridges to the other communities, built societies for mutual aid and to continue cultural practices, especially within the framework of the Catholic Church and Catholic schools. In Carbon County, as in the rest of Utah, Hispanics did not fare as well during the Depression as did other groups. Nearly everyone suffered greatly, but Hispanics carried the additional burden of discrimination because they were considered less educated and morally inferior in comparison to other groups of migrants and immigrants and to the dominant community. It was the women who reaffirmed ethnic identity, built community, and contested prejudice, largely through the societies they created where they could associate with greater freedom to express themselves than in the community at large. Women often assumed the role of supporting the family during lay-offs, mine strikes, or in case of mine accidents where the man who had been the provider was injured or killed. It was in taking charge of the situation that many women transcended expected gender roles and discovered strengths they possibly did not know they had while forging a new identity that countered stereotypes, including

that of viewing Hispanas as submissive, while maintaining their families as the center focus (Solórzano, Ralph, and England, 2010, 59-66, 75).

Carbon County is mining country. Early in the twentieth century, Mexican Americans, including Nuevomexicanos*,* and Mexicans who arrived from Mexico during and after the revolution, found work in mines and on the railroad and many stayed in the area. Coal mining in the vicinity of the town of Price served the war effort during World War II. Coal camps in that era were segregated ethnically and miners who were Mexican or of Mexican descent were assigned the worst housing in coal camps living in clusters of shacks as they did in other mining towns. Those living in Price congregated in a colonia dubbed Little Hollywood for the dramas that played out there. The colonia provided the opportunity to associate with others sharing the same or similar culture in heritage and practice so they were able to observe traditions and customs they had practiced in their villages of origin, and to adapt traditions and customs of cultures of distant cultural relatives with whom they now closely associated (Taniguchi, 2004, 245).

Because of discrimination they confronted, Mexican Americans formed lodges and associations for mutual aid and support. Mexican nationals also formed associations, one purpose of which was to maintain contact with the Mexican consul in Salt Lake City. Most prominent of the societies to which Mexican Americans belonged were the American GI Forum and its successor, Spanish Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity (SOCIO). Chapters in Price and Salt Lake City became especially active in supporting disabled and needy Spanish speaking veterans, aiding in court cases affecting those who spoke only or primarily Spanish, and in promoting education as a way to counter discrimination. While there was not always agreement as to

how much discrimination Mexicans and Mexican Americans encountered in Carbon County, there was a general understanding that discrimination existed. In addition to the associations that were formed, Hispano residents of Price and the mining camps countered discrimination by maintaining a strong sense of self (Taniguchi, 2004, 245-246).

The American GI Forum, founded in Texas by Dr. Héctor P. García, was formed to support Spanish speaking veterans, promote the well-being of citizens of Mexican descent, and to deal with Mexican immigrants they termed “wetbacks.” Along with the Texas State Federation of Labor, they published a report in pamphlet form entitled *What Price Wetbacks?* The pamphlet denigrated Mexican immigrants for displacing American workers, bringing disease across the border, increasing crime, and lowering socio-economic standards in the United States. The report contains photographs and newspaper clippings to reinforce their statements of how contemptible Mexican immigrants, especially those who migrated illegally, were and why the bracero program that brought immigrants in to the United States should be terminated (1953). In reading the pamphlet, the photographs and newspaper clippings demonstrated how deplorable living and working conditions were for Mexican workers in Texas and raised the question as to whether the workers had left worse conditions at home. University of New Mexico English professor Michelle Hall Kells addressed the rhetorics used in the pamphlet as contrasting Mexican American workers who belonged in the United States with the “disembodied ‘other’” Mexican immigrants and migrant workers who posed a threat to the American way of life. In the process, the pamphlet moved Mexican Americans toward a more mainstream “middle class civic identity” (2006, 132-133). Descriptive

terminology for Mexican immigrants such as lazy, shiftless, illiterate, uneducated (Kells, 2006, 132) and rhetorical moves used in the report describing Mexican braceros were also used to advance and maintain a position for Mexican Americans as "other" in Utah.[172]

**The Bingham Mining District**

During the early 1920s Eloy and Eloisa Roybal were among the families who left New Mexico for mining jobs outside the state. It seems that Eloy Roybal was not among the seasonal workers in Utah, but that he found the possibility for regular, consistent work, and moved with his family to pursue that opportunity. The Roybal family moved to Bingham Canyon, near the edge of the open pit Kennecott Copper Mine, where Eloy had obtained a job. They took their firstborn son, Epifanio, and moved hundreds of miles away from family and village to join others in work that in other times would likely have been short term. According to Epifanio Roybal's unpublished memoir, the family remained in the town of Bingham Canyon until after their first daughter, Emilia, was born. Not long afterward, the work dried up and many of the miners, including Eloy, were let go, and the family returned to New Mexico to live on the family farm in Embudo in a house on the property he and his father built.[173] In addition to farming on the family farm his father, Don Antonio had purchased and expanded, Eloy Roybal took on additional work helping others build houses in Embudo and also worked for a time on the railroad in Colorado. Epifanio also went to work on the railroad and father and son worked together (Roybal, E., n.d., n.p.). It seems the family moved back to New Mexico

[172] See William González (1996) and George Gonzales (1991).

[173] The Embudo house Eloy built burned down early in the twenty first century. Eloy's granddaughter, Epifanio's niece, and her husband rebuilt the house using local stone and are living on the property at the time of this writing.

sometime between Emilia's birth in 1925 and Antonio's birth two years later. The rest of the children in the family were born in New Mexico. Census records indicate that the family lived on the family farm that belonged to Don Antonio Roybal, Eloy's father. In census records through 1940,[174] Eloy's job was either listed as "none" or "common laborer," possibly when he worked on the railroad. An interpretation of older census records indicating a person as having no job while living on a family farm indicates the probability that the son was working for the father, in this case, Don Antonio Roybal, who was listed in census records of 1930 and 1940 as "farmer" (1930, n.p.; 1940, 61A). When the Manhattan Project came to New Mexico, Eloy Roybal went to work at Los Alamos Laboratory as a janitor for the duration, working on the family farm in his time away from Los Alamos (Roybal, T., n. d., n. p.).

Bingham Canyon, the oldest and largest of the mining towns in the Bingham Mining District, is about twenty five miles southeast of Salt Lake City in the Oquirrh Mountains. The canyon forms a funnel that concentrates both wind and water, resulting in both powerful wind storms and frequent serious floods (Addy, 1949, 4-5).

Thomas Bingham and his brother, Sanford, were recorded as the earliest Mormon pioneers of the canyon in 1848. The land proved valuable for both grazing and timber cutting. The brothers built a cabin in the canyon and started prospecting for minerals, which they began to find near the surface of the ground.[175] Soon after, the Bingham brothers moved to Weber County, possibly deterred by the admonition that mining was not a suitable occupation for the saints. Others moved into Bingham Canyon in pursuit of

[174] The U. S. Census of 1940 is the most recent official count made available to the public.
[175] Addy (1949) states that LDS leaders suppressed information on initial discovery of minerals in Bingham Canyon (14).

minerals, and by 1868, one claim had produced more than $2 million in gold. Some miners, however, neared starvation as their claims yielded little to nothing. When the Central Utah railroad arrived in 1873, improved transportation provided a more efficient method to move extracted minerals, and growing mining companies throughout the United States took note. Mining companies operating in the Bingham Mining District hired laborers and by 1912, more than sixty five percent of the residents of Bingham were foreign born. Additional laborers came from inside the United States. Residents of the town were separated ethnically in housing developments. There was only one road going in and out of town, limiting ingress and egress, adding a level of complication when residents experienced damage from wind, flood, and fire. Eventually the town of Copperton was formed at the base of the canyon, and some of the miners moved there with their families (Powell, 1994, 42-43).

Jorge Iber, who earned his doctorate at the University of Utah and is currently professor of history at Texas Tech, noted that mining was the second greatest user of labor of Spanish-surnamed individuals, following agriculture. The majority of Mexican and Mexican American miners who worked in the mines of the Bingham Mining District were originally hired as strike breakers, beginning in 1912. More followed during the first quarter of the twentieth century, but employment in the mines did not last long and very few brought wives and families. Work in the mine was backbreaking and the average salary for miners was less than $3.00 per day. It often worked better for the miners to bring a brother, cousin, or friend to share the financial burden of housing and other living expenses than a family one had to support in the mining towns. The average length of employment for Mexican and Mexican American laborers in the Bingham

Mines was 43 days. Most of the laborers soon moved on to better employment elsewhere (2000, 10-12).

Photographs of Bingham Canyon and Copperton that are housed in the Utah State History Archive show Bingham as a town comprised of clusters of small houses perched precariously on the edges of the canyon, apparently on terraces cut into the mountainside. Photographs taken of the same locations over time show increasing density, until there was almost no space between houses. Some of the photographs show what appears to be mine tailings from the growing Kennecott Mine piled around some of the houses. Few, if any, houses in Bingham Canyon had room for even a small garden. Copperton, was developed as a mining town at the base of Bingham Canyon. In contrast to the mining towns in the steep canyons above, Copperton was carefully laid out, even sculpted in appearance. Although the photographs were black and white, green space is evident in the pictures of Copperton. Literature from the Utah Copper Company accompanying the photographs explains that roofs, downspouts, and rain gutters on the houses were made of copper taken from the mine above. Miners paid rent in mining towns to the company that owned all the housing (MSSC 812, Env.1).

Housing in the Bingham Mining District was separate and unequal. The mining town on the hillside was said to be occupied by miners termed "visitors to Bingham who have had an anti-Mormon axe to grind" which contrasted with "the torpor of the valley towns under the sway of Mormonism." Residents of Bingham Canyon on the hill and other similar mining towns were said to be rowdy, vulgar, uncultured and were compared unfavorably to "tarantulas, rattlesnakes, and mammoth spiders." Residents of the mountainside mining towns were also overwhelmingly Gentile with a high percentage of

people having southern European and Hispanic heritage, which was similar to the proportion of workers in the mine. Residents of valley towns at that time were overwhelmingly Mormon and possessed more whiteness than those in mountainside mining towns. An editorial in the *Deseret News* asserted that there should be a modification of the Gentiles to develop in them a better social organization so they could be more like their Mormon hosts (Addy, 1949, 75-77, 89, 90).

Immigrants provided labor for the mines in Bingham as they did in mines throughout the West. Immigration patterns in Bingham differed from the rest of Utah, as more immigrants from southern Europe, Asia, and Eastern Europe Slavs arrived, along with many northern Europeans and Scandinavians. Northern Europeans found absorption relatively easy. People of color did not assimilate as readily and their incorporation into Utah was difficult and prolonged. Many more Northern Europeans became Mormon than those with southern European, Eastern European, or Asian heritage. However, conversion was encouraged among all groups of immigrants. By the early twentieth century, Mormons were employed in Bingham Mine, but the miners were still overwhelmingly Gentile (Addy, 1949, 90-91, 93-95).

It seems that Eloy Roybal was not "imported" as one of the strike breakers to whom Addy (1949) refers. He and his young family arrived at Bingham Canyon in the mid-1920s (Roybal, E. n.d., n.p.) At that time the Bingham mine was recovering from the strike. Both need for and production of minerals extracted in Bingham surged following the First World War. Addy states that large groups of Mexicans and Spaniards had been imported to serve as strike breakers during the major labor dispute near the start of World War I. As miners from outside Utah became established in the mine and in the

community, their numbers increased steadily, especially during and immediately after the First World War. Prior to the War, a number of miners had come from European nations, but the war cut off that supply (1949, 95).

Some of the strikebreakers were likely still working at the Bingham Mine when Eloy Roybal arrived there for work. Addy (1949) states that Hispanos became the largest "foreign group in Bingham" (95). He documents the variations in the numbers of miners at Bingham Canyon and how they were recruited. Mining company officials recruited many workers due to increased need for minerals produced from the mine and miners were let go when the market for the minerals produced in the mine declined (Appendix Tables). In Addy's study, Hispanos are sometimes differentiated by origin and New Mexicans are sometimes identified, and sometimes all Hispanos are included as one group. The statement that Hispanos were the largest "foreign group in Bingham" (95) is not clear as to whether the study includes or excludes New Mexicans in this category.

Sociology professor Robert J. Durán, states that in 1955, Kennecott Copper Company pushed residents out of Bingham Canyon so the buildings could be bulldozed to accommodate the expanding mine. As non-Mormons and people of Mexican descent they were not permitted to live in Copperton, Durán's family resided in Bingham Canyon in the last years of the town's existence and they were forced to move to Midvale. Midvale was the closest town to the mine, about twenty miles away, that allowed people of Mexican descent to live there, so many of the miners and their families moved from

houses perched on the walls of the canyon to houses in Midvale in the valley. Midvale had the largest concentrations of Latinos in the state of Utah at that time (2013, 21).[176]

It seems that mine owners in the Bingham Mining District considered the workers to be expendable and almost always temporary help. To my knowledge, there is not extant evidence that there was any significant attempt on the part of mine owners or supervisors to manage work in mines to provide long term, stable work for laborers. It is also likely that particular situation is common in other mines, wherever they may be.[177]

**World War II: Nuevomexicanos on the Wasatch Front**

Just as the Great Depression and World War II instigated disruption on a massive scale in New Mexico for lack of jobs and a declining economy that gave Nuevomexicano villagers cause to look elsewhere for work, World War II brought thousands of defense and defense-related jobs to Utah, especially along the Wasatch Front and in the Tooele area. Workers were needed to fill those jobs and they came.

Utah had had a military presence since the Civil War with numbers of military personnel fluctuating according to perceived need. The approach of World War II meant that the few federal military installations already in existence grew and new installations

[176] Durán's family eventually moved to Huntsville, east of Ogden, Utah, an all-white Mormon community and he attended high school in Ogden and earned an undergraduate degree at Weber State in Ogden (2013, 21, 30).

[177] While I was living in Rock Springs, Wyoming in the late 1960s, the mine report on the radio that was broadcast long before dawn was mandatory listening for miners' families. The mine report let the laborers know what mines were operating that day, what shifts would be working, if a mine was temporarily closed for maintenance, or if there had been an accident that would close the mine for a longer period. When a miner worked, he, and in my youth, it was always a "he," would get paid and be able to provide for his family. When a miner did not work, the family often had no income for that period of time. Although it is likely not widely known, many miners' wives worked outside the home doing menial labor as women's work. Miners' wives took in laundry and sewing, baked for other families, or rented out a spare room to earn something. Barter was common as an informal means of exchange in southwest Wyoming as it was in New Mexico, and possibly in southeastern Utah and Carbon County, in the early decades of the twentieth century.

were created to meet the new need. The federal government selected Utah as a major hub of defense as the nation prepared for war because the inland state was relatively protected from potential attack by Axis powers, open spaces in Utah were accessible for training, and the Wasatch Front was approximately equidistant from the three major military operations centers on the West Coast. Transportation of personnel and materiel could be easily facilitated by access to railroads and good highways already in place between northern Utah and the Coast. Utah had a population of intelligent, deferential, unemployed workers who were willing to retrain to meet the defense industry's needs. An abundance of natural resources with an infrastructure in place and mines that were able to reopen and expand to meet wartime needs cemented northern Utah as the center for defense in the intermountain West (Launius, 1994, 645-647).

The federal government took thousands of acres of farm land in northern Utah to build an airport, a supply depot and prisoner of war camp in Ogden, the Utah General Depot, a facility that would become Defense Depot Ogden, a complex designed for storage and distribution of war materiel during World War II and in the years immediately following. Farm families were displaced, and canneries that had employed large numbers of people who packed and shipped local farm produce, either closed or moved. The federal government paid at most one fourth of the land value. Northern Utah residents seeking work in defense industries left farm work for more lucrative employment. To continue agricultural production, the state brought in Japanese Americans and housed them in one small clustered community. Some German prisoners of war incarcerated at the Ogden POW camp at the Utah General Depot were also allowed to go out to work on area farms. Mexicans, and I expect this term includes

Mexican Americans, although they are not specifically identified, arrived at harvest time in 1944. Recruiters also scouted taverns on Ogden's Twenty Fifth Street for potential labor. Many farm jobs continued after the war, and a number of the people who had filled them during the war continued in that employment (Sadler and Roberts, 2000, 234-238).[178]

During the war, Utah, and particularly the northern part of the state, experienced unprecedented change and growth. Population in the state shifted as the state experienced a rapid incursion of outsiders seeking employment, many of whom did not subscribe to the state's dominant religion and culture. Over 60,000 Utahans served in the military during the war, most outside the state and overseas, where they encountered others with different life experiences that had to have influenced them as they continued in the military and later returned to Utah. Women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers, both in traditional women's work and in what had been men's occupations. With great numbers of people coming into the state from outside, thousands of Utahans leaving the state in the military for other parts of the world, and women entering the workforce, the state experienced previously unimagined social dislocation (Launius, 1994, 647).

Hilda Roybal Williams wanted to leave her hardships in New Mexico behind and, upon hearing the government was hiring for defense jobs outside the state, went to the government office in Albuquerque where they were hiring and signed up. A few days

[178] The index to *Weber County's History* lists names of many of the people who made major contributions to the development of Weber County, Utah, through the beginning of the twenty first century. Although names in the index reflect some diversity of cultures, there is not a Spanish family name in the index.

later, she was on a train to Ogden, Utah, to work at the Naval Supply Depot in Clearfield, just south of Ogden.

> "It was a very large place. The buildings were cinder blocks. . . . There were a lot of warehouses . . . for storing supplies. This depot was huge and was the biggest, largest place I ever saw. Someone said they had 8,000 people working there.
>
> "I finally got the job and I start to work and we were on shipping and *receiving. We had to lift 30lb boxes onto the box cars that came in or sometimes we had to unload box cars that came in. . . . I enjoyed the work and the lifting. I was [a] young woman and single, strong, healthy, with no health problems. I was able to do labor work. . . . [The] work I did was not easy, but I thank God for helping me find work" (n.d., 78-81).

Epifanio Roybal met Hilda Aragon at the Naval Supply Depot. She was attempting to lift a large item and he went over to help her with the heavy lifting (Roybal, E. n.d., n.p.).[179]

Hill Air Force Base in Weber County became the largest employer in the state during the war by adding 10,000 civilian jobs and increasing the number of military personnel on base by 3,000. Many of these jobs ended after the war, and women were usually the first dismissed (Basso and Christensen, 2017, 14-15).

When *Nuevomexicanos* moved into Utah and north to the Wasatch Front and Tooele, they brought their culture, traditions, values, and religion with them. As their distance from New Mexico increased in miles and in time, they developed customs and traditions particular to themselves. They also tended to settle in areas that were open to them, where they found others of Spanish heritage from Mexico, Latin America, and villages of northern New Mexico. In these neighborhood and small community enclaves,

[179] Epifanio and Hilda married soon after and had four children. Their oldest son died at age 5. The author's husband, Ted, is the second son. Two younger sisters followed.

cultural practices and holidays of these various groups were shared and adopted by other Spanish speaking cultural groups (Gallenstein, 1998, 12-13).

The LDS Church had developed a congregation dedicated to reach out to Hispanos in general. The Rama Congregation sent out missionaries throughout the Bingham Mining district and in parts of northern Utah with the goal of converting Hispanos to their religion. They based their proselytizing efforts on connections with church members in the communities, who referred the missionaries to those who might be receptive to their efforts. While the converts did not want to sever ties with their families and former communities, there was estrangement and altered behavior. While some celebrations might continue to be shared, their forms were altered when the Mormons were present (Iber, 2000, 60).[180]

Gallenstein (1998) states that for New Mexicans specifically, the preferred term of identity is *manito* (13). Iber (2007) notes that in his Utah research, he has employed several identity terms for individuals from northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. His most expansive term is "Spanish-surnamed people," which encompasses a larger population and does not limit to one region or village. He also suggests "manito/a," which is considered appropriate. From the 1970s onward, Iber suggests using "Hispanic" as a broad term encompassing many peoples of Spanish heritage. Identity terminology for individuals or groups in this study continues to be as stated in interviews and other texts, particularly as individuals and groups self-identify. It is understood that this approach may result in confusion within some readers of this work, however, it is important to this

[180] In my experience, this pattern has continued in Utah to the writing of this study, creating divisions in Hispano communities, wherever the people have originated prior to their arrival in Utah.

study that individuals assert their agency, including in what terminology each prefers to be identified.

## Discrimination and Determination

Discrimination affecting Hispanos was, and I contend still is, common in northern Utah in spite of growing numbers and diversity of Spanish ancestry.

School is possibly one of the earliest places a child of Nuevomexicano heritage encounters discrimination. For the transitional generation, the children of Nuevomexicanos*,* as Danny Quintana identifies the generation (2012, 19), school could be brutal. In New Mexico, for the parental generation carrying forward to the same generation as Quintana's, a major conflict occurred over who would be allowed to teach children in the public schools, nuns in habits or secular teachers alone. There were lawsuits in New Mexico, and in the Dixon school, nuns were ruled out, although they continued so teach in some other public schools in the state for a number of reasons. Perhaps because they were a significant part of the population, even as Anglo population increased and schools were challenged, Nuevomexicano children did not seem to be automatically excluded from school or from receiving scholastic benefits (Holscher, 2012).

The situation was different for Hispanic children and teens in Utah. Whether in school our out, Anglo students emphasized Hispano students' "otherness," often by name calling or brutality. With support from his stepmother, who would not allow other children to taunt him because of his dark skin or his Hispanic heritage, Quintana came to terms with the verbal violence, realizing that the children he encountered are like children

everywhere and the stories within them could appear outwardly as viciousness, kindness, shyness, and cowardice (2012, 27).

Andrew Valdez, also of the transitional generation, gained support from a Salt Lake City business owner who bought daily newspapers from him. Andrew was one of four children of a single mother from the mountain villages of New Mexico who was determined to build a life for her and her children and to lift them out of poverty. Having her sons sell newspapers on Salt Lake street corners on the blocks just west of the Salt Lake LDS Temple was part of the plan. Income from newspaper sales added to her factory income was necessary. After Andy had been beaten and robbed several times by newspaper boys who had done time in the reform school in Ogden, Jack, the daily newspaper customer, had Andy come to his shop where he ran errands and cleaned up. Jack could not pay much, but he was able to pay more than Andy made selling newspapers on the street corner and Andy worked in a warm building (2006, 20-28).

The transitional generation of Nuevomexicano children experienced discrimination in school, from school personnel. Ted Roybal recalled being told at Ogden High School that he would not be allowed to take advanced classes in science and math because he was Mexican and could not understand those difficult subjects (Roybal, T, n.d., n.p.).

Dahlia Cordova, an educator in her adult life, recalled

> "My father always believed that neither ethnicity nor the color of one's skin should hold a person back from accomplishing his or her dreams and aspirations. Growing up in Carbon County, I attended elementary school, junior high, and one year of high school [there] and I always felt I was excluded socially and academically from all the activities. People of color were put down, taunted, and told—even without words—that we would never amount to anything. Our survival relied on our sticking together" (1996, 501).

Discriminatory practices were not limited to the communities and public schools, however. Hispanas criticized the Catholic Churches in Price and Helper because they were discriminated against and were not permitted to become part of established societies within the parish. The women decided to begin with themselves and establish their identity as *mestizos* within a community of mixed-ethnic people to contest the discrimination. By challenging the Church, Hispanas in Price were able to convince the congregation that all, no matter skin color or ethnicity, were equal in God's eyes. The women also set their sights on the next generation (Solórzano, Ralph, and England, 2010, 65-66).

The staff at Notre Dame Catholic School in Price made a concerted effort to preserve a superior secular education and to foster positive interactions among students through an initiative designed to teach all students the histories of each ethnic group in the school. Their understanding was that education could counter negative stereotypes and misunderstandings students may have had about cultures outside of their own. Hispanic families who had children in Notre Dame saw the school as an extension of the family, having goals of preserving traditions and culture, and making the effort to preserve the diverse cultures of students in the school, and by extension, families in the community. Because of the efforts to bring people together, Notre Dame School became a center for diverse cultural observances that could be celebrated by others in the community. Children who attended public schools complained about the heavy emphasis on Mormonism, the neglect of other histories, and prejudice directed at them by their teachers (Solórzano, Ralph, and England, 2010, 67-68).

Adults in the parent generation felt that discrimination at work and in the community, as well.

On nearly every page of his autobiography, George Gonzales (1991) writes of instances of discrimination directed toward himself at work or toward a member of his immediate family in the community or at school. He records incidents of being insulted where he worked at Hill Air Force Base by supervisors, not included in group conversations, and lack of promotions where Anglos would be promoted ahead of him. He was angry and did something positive with his anger. First, he became active in the union at work, eventually leading the local chapter to insure that people of color and non-Mormons would receive equal treatment and promotions based on merit rather than whiteness and church membership. While he was only partly successful in his efforts, his successes were emulated and expanded upon by those who followed at HAFB. Second, Gonzales turned to the media. He persuaded the management of KTVX, a Salt Lake television station, to let him develop and produce a show entitled "El Rancho Grande" on a monthly basis that was geared toward an audience of multiple minorities in Utah. The show was the first Latin program in the Salt Lake media market and was abruptly canceled when a new program director arrived at the station. Gonzales also had a bilingual radio program featuring local talent and talk that aired on two different stations for a combined twenty one years (68, 76-77). Third, he channeled his anger at discrimination against Hispanos and other minority groups into his self-published autobiography. While he is clear in his frustrations, he also expresses gratitude throughout the work toward those who have supported his life journey.

Epifanio Roybal also worked at Hill Air Force Base from the time he left the Naval Supply Depot until his retirement. He was known for his accuracy and precision in machining wheels and brakes for the B-52 heavy bomber and for being able to operate and maintain all the equipment in the shop. Epifanio received several awards for the quality of his work. While his salary increased on the wage board scale, he never became a supervisor. It is said that he trained the supervisors who came into the shop, all of whom were Anglo. He knew the work, but he never saw the pay and privileges of being a supervisor. His form of resistance seemed to be refusal to take over the supervisor's work when the boss would be absent and to refuse to teach supervisors things they did not know, but should have. It appears that he would refuse politely, but firmly, before walking away (Roybal, T. n.d., n.p.).

Born in Laramie, Wyoming, a daughter of Nuevomexicano parents, Julia M. Candelaria Lobato left a legacy of perseverance for her children. Part of her obituary in the *Intermountain Catholic* reads,

> "She had 10 children and we all learned from her nothing in life is free; it takes hard work. Some of us may have thought she was hard on us, but we all agree that helped make us the adults we became, just as Mom's hardships taught her. Mom's first language was Spanish, but she did not teach any of her children her language because of the discrimination she and her siblings suffered as children. Mom retired from LDS Hospital . . . "(January 12, 2018).

# Epilogue: ¿A dónde vamos?[181] The Work Continues

## Conclusion and Findings

The departure of Nuevomexicanos for Utah, as part of the New Mexico diaspora, can be considered initially a narrative of loss and disruption. Confronted with loss of land and livelihood beginning with onset of the American invasion and its economic, legal, and cultural impositions, Nuevomexicanos could be deterred, but not defeated. Juan Estevan Arellano situates the foundation in *querencia*, which gives Nuevomexicanos "a sense of place, anchors us to the land, and makes us a unique people" (1977, 35). Arellano states that when land was passed down, so was knowledge of how to live on and use the land and water. By the late twentieth century, with land and water treated as commodities, land passed from owner to owner so quickly that no one had the time to learn the land, and with each sale the price of the land increased. True economic benefit comes from deeply knowing the land (35-36).

Arellano lived in Embudo, a rural community that was in decline for most of the twentieth century. A major concern is that the community would either disappear or become another suburb for commuters. He asserts that the primary function when one lives on the land is to understand the place in which one lives. To be part of a place requires intimate knowledge of the soils, rocks, animals, birds and the water. The landscape itself carries memory and memory takes the shape of the landscape, as Arellano explains querencia (31-32). For many Nuevomexicanos, to be compelled to

[181] Translation: Where are we going?

vacate the land that was intimately known must have been akin to separating one's body from the soul.

To establish a new home and make a new place where one is not necessarily welcomed takes courage. To make the sacrifice to take a hard life and make it better for one's family and new community marks a new beginning. For Nuevomexicanos in Utah, especially those who came during the New Mexico diaspora, that meant hard work in making a new place for themselves as well as preserving ties to home and the land intimately known. While the first generation maintained significant ties to the home villages, the transitional generation and subsequent generations have become rooted in their new geographic space, loosening, and sometimes stretching ties to their home villages. In Monticello and other Utah communities, Nuevomexicanos, sometimes in conjunction with other Spanish-surnamed peoples, have created interstitial spaces for cultural expressions and practices reminiscent of home, yet adapted to new settings and new circumstances. Moving toward the mainstream meant diluting discrete cultural practices, while integrating them with other peoples considered as Hispanic. It seems that losses have outweighed the gains. Younger people may identify as having New Mexico connections, but when elders, especially grandparents, have died, New Mexico roots become more tenuous. New Mexico then becomes a nice place to visit, spend time with extended family, and be tourists, but then they go home.

**The Work Continues**

The Ogden School District in the mid-1980s embarked on a mission to develop a program for students in the district identified as gifted and talented. The program was to be designed as magnet schools within schools with one location for elementary and one

location for junior high students. Selected pupils would be able to explore their interests and grow academically beyond the regular schools. Students from the gifted (GT) program would then go to the high school in the district closest to their residences, ostensibly prepared to take on the rigors of advanced placement classes and early college.

Warne, Anderson, and Johnson found in their 2013 study that Hispanic, Black, and Native American students in Utah were much less likely to be identified for gifted programs than were their Anglo and Asian counterparts. The study was facilitated by the education department at Utah Valley University in Orem. Such was the case in Ogden.

It would appear that selection for GT programs, at least in the Ogden District at that time, had been intended as a benefit for wealthier, primarily white students. The principal of the elementary school my children attended arranged for me to have a position on the steering committee for the development of the GT program. One of the first things the chairman told us is that the program was to be housed at an elementary school and a junior high school on the East Bench where a large percentage of Ogden's doctors, business owners, lawyers, and professors lived. The district had determined that the children of prominent parents would have the kind of background needed to succeed in such a program. The chair told us that the design was established to exclude children north of the Ogden River and west of Washington Boulevard, the two areas of town that were poorest, home to the majority of families of color, and least LDS.[182] The two areas comprised what could be referred to as the city's colonias.

My first question to the chair was, "Do you mean to tell us that the taxes of the poor in this city will go to fund a superior education for the wealthy?" The meeting went

[182] I have lived north of the Ogden River since 1976. In the neighborhood where I live, if one wants to converse with all the neighbors, one must speak Spanish along with English.

silent and several parents representing schools on the East Bench expressed that they were not happy.

After nearly a year of negotiations, not all of them pleasant, the GT program was placed in elementary and junior high schools in the central city nearest to bus lines. Children from every school in the city were given the opportunity to test for the program and qualified students represented every school. The East Bench parents who strenuously objected to having their children attend school with children from north of the river and west of Washington generally withdrew their students in favor of private education and did not usually take advantage of the program.

Students who graduated from the GT program are now adults and most have become parts of all the professions that they would have been largely barred from had they not had a quality education. Most of them have made their way in spite of societal barriers. In Utah, access to a quality education is often acquired by challenging the dominant paradigm.

Less than a decade later, the Ogden School District dropped the GT program.

When William González (1996) returned to Utah from obtaining his education in Spain, he soon realized that the general attitude toward minorities was patronizing. Hispanos were excluded from most professions, including education, and graduating Hispano university students had a hard time finding jobs commensurate with their education. Where he had been entirely accepted in Spain, he found both secular society and the Catholic Church in Utah to be racist and unwelcoming. González joined SOCIO at the beginning of its existence in Utah and the group fought within church and secular institutions to foment change. As a result of his and the group's persistence, Utah

Hispanos have begun to reclaim their identity and heritage without having to give up religion and culture to fit into the dominant Utah society. Graduating students entered professions from which they had previously been barred and González views one measure of progress in the number of lawyers, doctors, professors, and teachers who have Spanish origin surnames. González earned the honor and reputation of being called a troublemaker, both in religion and in secular society, doing what had to be done, which has resulted in measurable change (496-498).

The work is not done yet as of the beginning of the twenty first century. Accomplishing change will not come from a host community still willing to see Nuevomexicanos and Spanish-surnamed people as “other.” As González (1996) points out, changing a society can more likely be achieved from within than without. Hispanos can continue the move forward by their individual accomplishments and by joining with others in societies, such as SOCIO, to accelerate the process.

For Nuevomexicanos and their progeny, knowing their strength conferred through their heritage in the home villages of their parents and grandparents can help them look forward with understanding that they can exercise agency to create a future where they can define and achieve their own successes. It is taking some time for Nuevomexicanos and their descendants to fully establish a place in Utah, but as familial roots are planted and influence increases in the state, creation of a definitive place is possible and probable. Nuevomexicanos are part of the narrative and a growing force in Utah. However, full equality has yet to be achieved. Change has not happened as fast as some would prefer, but there is growth that counters a history of colonization, discrimination, and cultural dissipation.

## Permissions

***Exploration, Disruption, Diaspora: Movement of Nuevomexicanos to Utah, 1776-1950***

Working Title: American Diaspora: Nuevomexicanos in Utah from the Great Depression Through the Rise of the Chicano Movement

To: Judy A. Roybal

From: Linda Eleshuk Roybal

Reference: American Diaspora: *Nuevomexicanos* in Utah from the Great Depression Through the Rise of the Chicano Movement

Date: November 14, 2017

Contact Information: Department of American Studies
425 Humanities
MSC03 21119
University of New Mexico
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505.277.3929
leleshuk@unm.edu

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Passages in the following documents pertaining to New Mexico villages, movement to Utah, and life in Utah from the unpublished

- journal/memoir written by Griselda (Hilda) Aragon Roybal Williams
- journal of Epifanio Roybal as dictated to and recorded in writing by Judy Roybal
- family genealogy record belonging to Judy Roybal

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Linda Eleshuk Roybal
PhD Candidate, American Studies
University of New Mexico

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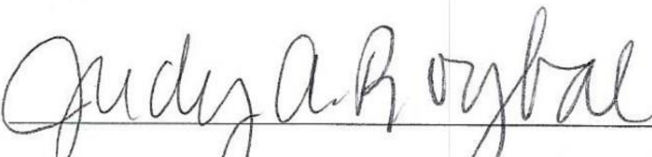
Date: 11-16-2018 Approved by: 

To: Theodore (Ted) Roybal

From: Linda Eleshuk Roybal

Reference: American Diaspora: *Nuevomexicanos* in Utah from the Great Depression Through the Rise of the Chicano Movement

Date: November 17, 2017

Contact Information: Department of American Studies
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I am writing to request permission to reprint the following material:

Passages from your unpublished memoir and notes for your memoir pertaining to living in Utah as a first generation Nuevomexicano-Utahan and passages that demonstrate a relationship with New Mexico and transmission of that relationship to your progeny.

Passages from your unpublished reflection paper on personal experience of living in Utah

This material is to appear as originally written and/or published in the doctoral dissertation referenced above.

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Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely yours,

Linda Eleshuk Roybal
PhD Candidate, American Studies
University of New Mexico

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Archive of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, Utah.
Carnegie Public Library and Special Collections, Las Vegas, NM.
Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM.
Hispanic Genealogy Research Center of New Mexico Online Archive, Albuquerque, NM.
Lee Library Online Archive, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
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Monticello Public Library, Monticello, Utah.
Merrill Library and Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
National Hispanic Cultural Center, Library and Visual Arts, Albuquerque, NM.
Stewart Library and Special Collections, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.
Utah State Historical Society and Archive, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Weber County Library and Special Collections, Ogden, Utah.
Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM.

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