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Living the Manito Trail: Maintaining Self, Community, and Culture

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Living the Manito Trail: Maintaining Self, Culture, and Community

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DISSERTATION

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Requirements for the Degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy
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Dedication

This Dissertation is dedicated to my children, Giovontá, Faith and Orlando.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank the good Lord for blessing me with this journey, along with the inspiration and strength to endure. My daily grind and motivation are indebted to my three amazing children. Giovontá, Orlando and Faith-thank you for your endless love, support and prayers. Mommy did it for you. To my grandparents, Miguel and Alice Martinez, thank you for your sacrifice, labor, and prayers. Along with the many other Manitos who came before us I am honored to follow in your footsteps and further the Manito Trail. Thank you, mom, for your “you can do it” spirit, and always coming thru when it matters most. To my dad and to the dream, may our prayers never cease and the Lord’s promises continue to prove true. Special thanks to my chair, Dr. Gabriel Melendez, for supporting the focus areas of my academic research and guiding me through my graduate school experience. Dr. Irene Vasquez, I am forever grateful for your ongoing love and support that continues to be a blessing. Thank you, Dr. Vanessa Fonseca-Chavez, for standing by my side during this process, supporting, editing, and inspiring me. Professor Levi Romero, for your vision regarding the Manito Trail Project and your continued support. Joaquín, thank you for your continued prayers and encouragement. Special thanks to Sandy Rodrigue and Antoinette Rael for all of your guidance, labor and love. Dr. Carmen Samora for blessing us with wonderful meals and encouragement. To my Chicana and Chicano Studies and Transnational Research Collective homies. Our circle of support has served as a blessing of familia that I will forever cherish. Thank you for all of your love, bbqs, and conference adventure trips. To my homegirls aka sisters in Christ, thank you for all of your support, prayers and love. Shout out to the Women’s Resource Center (WRC) and El Centro de La Raza for supporting me during my time at UNM. To my family at the Division for Equity and Inclusion, your support and inspiration to reach the finish line of this long journey was a true blessing.

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ABSTRACT

Living the Manito Trail: Maintaining Self, Community, and Culture is an ethnographic interdisciplinary study that draws upon the voices of Manitos, or Hispanic New Mexicans, and experiences of migration from Northern New Mexico into Wyoming from late 19th century to the present. This project exemplifies how consciousness or a heightened sense of awareness derives from the value system of *querencia* or how one establishes a sense of self and community through place. I argue the cultural landscape of a person's place of origin injects a set of values and distinct qualities that create a strong sense of identity, enable community, and serve as a social form of resistance in marginalized spaces. As an everyday practice and cultural tradition, memory, and orality provide tools for accessing the past, experiencing the present, and leaving a legacy to guide the future. For this reason, I draw heavily upon testimonios or oral histories of Manitos who experienced this migration, allowing the study to take shape by personal narratives and cultural dimensions that elucidate the dynamics of *querencia*.

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Introduction

Soy Manita y Más

My grandma has always emphasized that we are Hispano and not Mexicano but in Spanish “*somos Mexicanos de aquí pero no de allá.*” Growing up outside the state of New Mexico I was unable to recognize this distinction, because I felt connected to the culture and community of my *compañeros Mexicanos*. Through scholarship and lived experience I have learned about the historical conflicts that are evident in New Mexico’s identity politics and the ways they have been mobilized to serve particular agendas. My Nuevomexicano heritage is distinguished and complex. The legality of geographic borders, racial politics, and nation-building initiatives all play a significant role in identity constructs. I identify as Hispana, Manita, Chicana, Nuevomexicana, and Latina. As one may be able to perceive this contradiction, the interchangeability of these terms accentuates their fluidity. I am Nuevomexicana due to my family heritage and own experienced ties to New Mexico, Hispana with Spanish roots and an heir to the Arroyo Hondo Arriba Land Grant. My self-identification as a Chicana embodies the tension between my ethnic identifiers that converts into heightened sensitivity of the collective struggle. It fuels my desire for social justice and service to creating spaces and opportunities for underserved communities. I also identify as Latina, another term that umbrellas me, my ethnic origins, and cultural identity.

This story that I am about to tell is based upon the lives and experiences of Manitos, Hispanic, (mixed blood) New Mexicans from northern New Mexico. A group of people whose identity and communal values were shaped by lived rural experiences,

stories of migration, marginalized journeys, and struggle. Descendants of close-knit villages with a sense of belonging or *querencia* strengthened in spaces outside of the homeland. Joaquin Argüello of Valdez explains,

To me the word Manito has always meant like home. When we lived in Salt Lake City, Seattle, and Califa we always ran into other Manitos. And like when you meet somebody and you hear their accent, and you ask them where they're from and they some little *pueblito* up in the *norte*. You give them a big old hand shake and a hug "*orale somos manitos!*" like you know? It's like the brotherhood, I learned it comes from the word *hermano* or Manitos and its short just saying we're Manitos and Manitas. And so for us it was always a sense of belonging. (Arguello 2018)

To belong is an important notion that I explore in this paper through the value system of *querencia*. It is a concept and experience I believe we all strive for in some way, shape, or capacity. To be a part of something be it a community, a project, or event is to feel valued and gives a sense of purpose and brings value to our everyday experiences. In northern New Mexico, Manitos are known for their collective efforts and tight knit communities. Outside of the homeland, communal bonds continued to be vital to survival, one's adaptability, feelings of connection, and experiences of success. The racialized experiences Manitos endured influenced their efforts to advocate and create those very spaces of belonging that would enable them to thrive in harsh social living conditions. As I continue to learn who we are as a people and how our prayers, energy, and investments surpass limits of time, I recognize the significance of our history and the value of this life we have been given. I perceive how our trails of life and the various pathways people journey to survive interweave and intersect at particular junctions, and most often in more ways than one. Stories of human movement and community illuminate the very qualities innate to our being-a people's hunger to survive, the value of connection, and importance of our cultural heritage and traditions. These particular

aspects of our identity can be found in communities throughout the world. They influence our work ethic and reasonings for everyday practices and expressions that can be traced throughout the Manito Diaspora.

Manito Trail

Traveling the Manito Trail between Wyoming and New Mexico has been a recurring experience. I was born in Cheyenne, Wyoming and am an heir to the Arriba Arroyo Hondo Land Grant in Valdez, New Mexico. During my studies at the University of Wyoming, I was inspired to pursue graduate school. The University of New Mexico (UNM) was at the top of my list. Like my ancestors, I traveled the Manito Trail for opportunity and to continue to provide for my family. Due to the investment and impact communities of color have made in academia, I am blessed to pursue academic projects, as such, that engage and express the depth of my cultural heritage. This dissertation builds upon the work of the Following the Manito Trail (FMT) research that happens to coincide with my family story of migration. Following the Manito Trail in an interdisciplinary research project that was conceived when Professor Levi Romero¹ traveled to Wyoming to visit his wife Jeana (Rodarte)'s family. During his visit, he was captivated by the strong Manito community in the South Park Barrio of Riverton. In 2007, Professor Romero decided to take his UNM English summer class on a research trip to Wyoming.



Figure 1: Professor Levi Romero with students from 2007 English summer course

During the summer course, students were conducted a number of interviews with Manitos living in Wyoming, arranged by fellow Manita de Wyoming and community organizer, Ann Esquibel Redman. Little did I know I was a part of this project before I even knew about it. During this trip, Professor Romero and his students interviewed my grandmother, and as part of the summer research archive, a Wyoming Tribune Newspaper clipping was included that has a picture of me in my *folklórico* dress, accompanying the announcement for the Cinco de Mayo schedule of events.



Figure 2: Article on Cinco de Mayo celebration from the Wyoming Tribune Eagle

It was shortly after meeting Professor Romero that I learned of the Following the Manito Trail project and immediately signed on as a project assistant. One of the first opportunities I had working with the team was to listen to the 2007 interview recordings. To my surprise the very first audio was a familiar voice, that of my Grandma Alice. I was surprised because I was unaware that my grandmother ever participated and contributed to this research endeavor. She shared stories about our family history in New Mexico and Wyoming, including cultural practices and experiences. She even commented about my recent graduation from Laramie County Community College (LCCC), and how the band I had for my party played more cumbias than *rancheras*. During the interview, she and Levi talked back and forth about me starting my studies at the University of Wyoming and she mentioned how one day she thought I would move to New Mexico, because of my love for it. It's intriguing how grandmas seem to always know best.

Through further research, in the *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal*, I came across an article titled "Hispanic Shepherders in Annals of Wyoming" written by Peg Arnold. In its context, Arnold referenced my grandmother and how her father Victor Sánchez migrated to Wyoming as a shepherd. This study led me to another source titled, La Cultura Oral History Project, which consists of eighty-two interviews of Latinos in Wyoming recorded in 1982 and 1983. Again, to my surprise, these oral recordings include my Great-Grandma Tiodorita, Grandma Alice, my nina Kathy, and even some family members from my children's father's side are included. Through the voices of my elders and ancestors, I continue to learn more about our family history, while also able to draw upon them as critical sources that inform my dissertation research. Following the Manito Trail is much more than an academic research project. It

is a trail of memories and experiences that reflect who we are as a people, and our journey of survival.

Overview of Chapters

The Movement of People from one locale to another is not a new phenomenon. Rather it has been a common means of survival for various groups. Histories of migration should serve to unite us, as many of our families have left their homeland for better and improved living conditions. Yet, nation-state building initiatives, problematize and distinguish our lives by the politics of borders, juxtaposed by state versus national boundaries. As I mentioned, I have always felt connected to my Mexicano and Mexican American counterparts. We share cultural practices and traditions, physical characteristics, along with comparable racialized experiences, that one cannot easily distinguish any difference. While we do exhibit strong sociocultural ties, overarching generalizations of us as one of the same, tend to nullify my own family history, and negates the enriched lives and experiences of Manitos. Chapter 1 begins by engaging with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and its border politics in order to entertain racialized geographies, identity constructs, and experiences of displacement. The Treaty was not only responsible for changing the boundaries of the U.S./Mexico border but also had a significant influence on how land grant communities were able to function and have their being. Drawing upon the work of María Montoya and David Correia, I entertain the idea of shifting boundaries that propelled community activism and resistance, that still carry on today. This chapter then contextualizes Manito migration, as a part of a larger movement taking place throughout Greater Mexico. I focus on this area in particular, because of the rich history of the region, but also because the Manito homeland, northern New Mexico is part of what Américo Paredes termed as Greater

Mexico. This movement brings together Mexicanos, Mexican-Americans and Manitos alike as a stream of migrants who fulfilled the work demands available in Wyoming. In this chapter, I also draw upon the concept of diaspora to situate the migration of Manitos from the homeland and as a means to understand the flow of their culture and community. Significant to the Manito Diaspora, in particular, are the ties and connections to the homeland which sustain Manitos and village communities through patterns of in-and-out migration.

To fully comprehend the experiences of Manitos in Wyoming, I find it important to examine the dynamics of the rural village lifestyles Manitos were accustomed to in northern New Mexico. For this reason, Chapter 2 provides insight to the everyday experiences of Manitos exhibited through agricultural labor, sociocultural relations, traditional practices and spiritual beliefs. I illustrate the sacred ties and *querencia* Manitos have for the homeland exhibited through lived experience and stories that intertwine with the landscape, nature and seasons. However, I also illuminate the struggles and hardships associated with the rural lifestyle, including the impact of Anglos influx on New Mexico's already struggling socioeconomic conditions. This reality influenced Manito migration out of state. In this chapter, I consider the early experiences of Manito migration, particularly in terms of the responsibility and strength of Manitas, the women who held down the villages, during the seasons the men were away working. To understand where you are going, it is important to know where you come from. Family history has the power to influence social qualities and cultural tendencies that enable us with the strengths and characteristics that propel our journey.

Anytime I've ever told anyone that I was born in Wyoming, they seem to give me a look that inspires my regularly given disclaimer "I was born in Wyoming, but my family is from northern New Mexico." This seems to settle any curiosities related to my presence or ties to the state. Wyoming is Anglo dominant, but rich with Mexicano and Manito history. Chapter 3 examines Manito patterns of in and out migration between New Mexico and Wyoming, and the push-pull factor related to labor demands and the economy. In Wyoming, Manitos were able to draw upon their experience as famed shepherders for employment. They also labored in the sugar beet fields, on the railroad and in mining towns. For years, Manitos sustained themselves in this capacity by meeting the seasonal labor demands and working to provide for their families and sustain their village community. This chapter also takes into consideration the racialized dynamics of working in an Anglo dominant state, and how this impacted Manito social mobility via housing conditions, paygrade, and opportunity. Despite these limitations, I emphasize the value of *querencia* that extended throughout the regional community.

After years of laboring in the state of Wyoming, many Manitos established permanent residency. Survival and success in an Anglos dominant state required of Manitos, their collective efforts and energy. In Chapter 4, I consider various spaces and events that inspire *querencia*. I consider the warmth and cultural touch of a Manita home, the connection and sacred spaces of churches on the Southside of Wyoming towns, and the spiritual transcendence of Manitos to the homeland.

It is interesting how things often come full circle. In this case where the Manito Trail begins, the homeland of northern New Mexico, is where this paper ends. I conclude the dissertation by examining the lives of Manitos de Wyoming who returned back to

New Mexico to establish permanent residency. I unpack their ties and attachment to place and the various factors that inspired them to return. To acknowledge these connections is important considering the reality of migration. And because they had been gone for so long, I also consider the challenges Manitos faced when they returned. Most importantly, I reflect upon the importance of these acts of return and how they work to sustain the Manito legacy.

Significance

This study draws heavily upon my own family history and personal narrative. I consider it a God given blessing to use the journey of my ancestors to fulfill the requirements of my dissertation, and to acquire what will be my families first doctoral degree. I am astounded by the oral accounts provided by my grandmothers who contributed to this project before I even started my graduate studies, like I said Heaven sent. This work is a contribution to the fine collection of testimonios documented in academic scholarship that attest to lived experiences in northern New Mexico.

Community-based scholarship bridges the very spaces and realities that envelop our lives with the educational institution. Integrating the knowledge and experiences of our communities has been vital to shaping the constructs of what is perceived as knowledge from the institutional perspective, while validating our own lived experiences in the realm of the academy. There are a variety of scholars who have influenced this trajectory: Felipe Gonzales, Levi Romero, A. Gabriel Meléndez, Brenda Romero, Cleofas Vigil, Tessa Córdova, Karen R. Roybal, Juan Estevan Arellano, Jimmy Santiago Baca, Oliva Romo . . . In a similar manner, this project is a significant contribution to the Manito Trail legacy. While many scholars allude to the migration experiences of Manitos, relatively few delve into studies that conceptualize Manitos lives and experiences outside

of the homeland. The Following the Manito Trail research is in fact doing just that. As with any research project, this project only scratches the surface to what can hopefully be expanded upon in the years to come.

Living the Manito Trail is a journey that started long ago with our ancestors from northern New Mexico. It is about carrying the memories of our loved ones and their values into the various facets of our lives that allow for us to exude in our culture, expressions and pursuits. To follow a trail is to learn from the imprints left behind, while also leaving our own footsteps for the next generation to follow.

Chapter 1: Mexicanos, Manitos, Movement, and Diaspora

“. . . at the heart of the modern Nuevomexicano identity formation is the paradoxical condition of being simultaneously displaced and place-based: a dispossessed, diasporic, deterritorialized yet landed people.” – Sylvia Rodríguez

The Movement of people from one locale to another draws upon foundational cultural and communal values. Moving across borders is a form of social movement. *Living the Manito Trail: Maintaining Self, Culture, and Community* is an interdisciplinary ethnographic research project that examines the migration experience of Manitos to the state of Wyoming. This migration is part of a larger internal diaspora of movement taking place among Mexican/Mexican-American/Manito peoples of Greater Mexico.² A study of (im)migration, contextualized in this manner, offers insight to the shared experiences inhabitants of the U.S./Mexico borderlands endured during the late 19th century and early 20th century. Human movements such as these point to mobility as a means of survival among communities that are often set apart and economically disposed or displaced from their homelands. At the same time, a study of human mobility accentuates the experiences and stories of Manitos that are commonly alluded to in New Mexico scholarship and studies but not covered in depth or detail.

To understand the experience of displacement and migration, it is important to realize how people were placed, categorized or referenced and, in this case, how they came to recognize the limits of imposed borders and boundaries. Therefore, I consider the impact of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the racial geographies it encoded that stimulated identity politics, ideals of community, and migratory movements. This analysis foregrounds an understanding of the production of a more specific Manito diaspora and the impact of this migration by those who experienced it either directly or indirectly.

Bordered Realities: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the U.S./Mexico Border

Geographic, social, and imaginary borders and boundaries are influential to the politics of space, life experiences, and community understandings. Throughout time, borders have extended in service to colonial agendas, nation state formation, liberalism, and United States imperial development. As a multiply colonized region, the area referred to as the United States Southwest has functioned under various forms of governance (Spanish, Mexican, and the U.S.), through which overlapping boundaries have been used to demarcate space and to complicate social understandings of identity and belonging. The notion of borders has perpetuated popular beliefs about claims to belonging that have influenced understandings about self, culture, and community. Therefore, it is important to consider the intricacy of borders and their persuasive perceptions to move beyond narrow minded sensitivities about (im)migrant communities.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) is a prime example of a border pact that has influenced identity complexities, border disputes, and issues around civil and property rights. The Treaty not only served as the official document that ended the Mexican-American War but “is the oldest treaty still in force between the two countries.” (Griswold del Castillo 1990, XII) The implementation of a geographic border that flowed with the currents of the Río Grande River was as complex as the identity issues and politics of belonging that inhabitants of the borderlands faced as Mexico’s northern territory was annexed into the U.S.³

The Treaty afforded people language rights and the opportunity to choose their national affiliation, an opportunity to decide whether they wanted to maintain their Mexican citizenship, or to acquire U.S. recognition of their property and rights as citizens of the United States. Some individuals chose to leave their homes in order to remain living under Mexico. Mexican historian and borderlands scholar, Martín González de la Vera explores the fluidity of the U.S./Mexico border and its influence over national identity. In *Contested Homeland* (2000), he documents the

efforts of Father Ramón Ortiz who helped relocate Nuevomexicanos to the Mexican state of Chihuahua. While those who emigrated believed they were far enough south to maintain their Mexican nationality, the shift in the current of the Río Grande and the Gadsden Purchase made it so that many towns were still within the territorial boundaries of the United States.⁴ (González de la Vera 2000, 49) This is significant because it demonstrates the historical influence of the border that stimulated a movement of people. The act of removing oneself from U.S. authority reveals how influential a person's sense of belonging based upon citizenship status, generated from an applied geographic boundary. "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us" is a phrase and sentiment commonly used among descendants of this historical moment to describe the Mexican experience and this U.S./Mexico border phenomenon.

The Impact of the Treaty on Land Grants

Access to and use of land has been an important marker for Mexican descent communities in New Mexico. Land grants in Mexico and in what is now known as the U.S. Southwest were established in the Spanish (1598-1821) and Mexican (1821-1846) periods. They remain significant areas of study that illuminate the complexity of borders and legal issues in relation to identity and community that have resulted from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. I consider them noteworthy because they symbolize historic ties to the land and demonstrate how understandings of place and belonging changed over time, particularly as different communities have come to occupy the area. In a study of the Maxwell Land Grant,⁵ María Montoya explains that since the beginning, "people told stories that marked boundaries on the landscape" and "these stories and boundary markers were rooted in the particular culture of the group inhabiting the land." (Montoya 2002, 36) She goes on to describe how the various boundaries were established.

The Jicarillas, in particular, marked their territory by the natural boundaries of the four rivers that surrounded their homeland. In turn, the Spanish explorers gave natural features (rivers, mountains, springs) Spanish Catholic labels to mark their possession. The Mexican government . . . used maps and seison (the physical act of taking possession) to mark the land grant . . . And finally, the U.S. federal government used the power of the state—through the military, office of the surveyor general and the federal courts—to mark the boundaries of the place they knew as the Maxwell Land Grant. All of these competing groups labeled the landscape with a different name, marked its boundaries by different means, and even drew different boundaries that were in constant conflict with their neighbors’ notions of property and ownership. (Ibid.)

In New Mexico, overlapping borders and boundaries had a significant and often distressing effect upon villages and their communal survival. Montoya, along with other land grant scholars, write of experiences of subjectivity by examining ties to property through law and legal adjudication. Montoya argues the problem of land grants in the Southwest has largely been related to the problem of translating the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and has resulted in the loss of land, particularly in terms of the Maxwell Land Grant. In *Properties of Violence: Law and Land Grant Struggle in Northern New Mexico* (2013), David Correia demonstrates how violence was interwoven within the legal system and how contested ownership over land affected social relations on the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant. He explains that dismantling the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was necessary for land speculators and investors to move into the region and “transform remote lands into an investment arena for surplus capital, a source of raw materials for the industrial sectors,” that seemed to be “a seemingly vast vacant lot to enter and occupy.” (Correia 2013, 57) This reality has had a significant impact on the day to day experiences of Nuevomexicanos. Communal lands where they once grazed their livestock and gathered wood, were seized and no longer accessible. Many communities were banished from their property and displaced from their livelihood.

While not all of New Mexico's land grants share the same history, the application and interpretation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is meaningful to the lives and experiences of Nuevomexicanos because it remains an active document validating the property rights of land grant heirs. Considering this, various channels and structures have been implemented in an attempt to curtail any further injustices to the people stemming from the (mis)reading of the treaty. Article II of the Constitution of the State of New Mexico, Sec. 5., reads "The rights, privileges and immunities, civil, political and religious guaranteed to the people of New Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo shall be preserved inviolate." This recognition foregrounds the opportunity for a separate division in the attorney general's office, along with policy development, and other programs that support New Mexico's land grants.

When one considers the legacy of Nuevomexicanos, they often acknowledge the organized efforts and revolutionary spirit of land grant heirs and allies. Correia conveys this through his analysis of the various acts of agency and resistance enacted by Nuevomexicanos to retain their legal rights and property.⁶ He argues the land grant struggle is not a thing of the past, but rather an ongoing struggle Nuevomexicanos still wage today. As an heir to the Arriba Arroyo Hondo Land Grant and participant in land grant meetings and events, I can attest to the activism, effort, and energy invested in the struggle to maintain New Mexico's land grant communities. I believe that the level of connection Nuevomexicanos, particularly Manitos, have to the Land Grant Movement influences their connection to community, as well as their sense of identity and purpose.

The border politics and injustices implemented through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo demonstrate the initial processes of marginalization New Mexico communities were subjected to. As a land-based people, maintaining the rights and privileges of New Mexico's land grants is

integral for survival and maintaining a space for belonging. Knowing the land or, as I would describe, being one with the land is vital to one's sense of self because much of a person's identity is shaped by the memories and day to day experiences in a particular place.

Consequently, to be displaced ultimately influences constructs of identity, and the significance of culture, and community.

Migration Across Borders

“Changing one's place of residence in the eternal quest for a better life is a common historical phenomenon.” (Balderrama and Rodríguez 1995, 6)

The movement of people across state and national borders is a frequent and common experience. For the inhabitants of the U.S./Mexico borderlands, many of these movements resulted from the pressures of failing economies and intentional acts of displacement.

Throughout Greater Mexico there have been several migratory streams that have contributed to the dispersal of people, culture, and the conceptualization of extended communities. For example, the Mexican Revolution, World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, seasonal labor demands, and urbanization all played a significant role in facilitating migratory patterns.

Although the U.S./Mexico border has imposed boundaries and restrictions on the inhabitants of the borderlands, it has remained porous to the influence of people, economies, and the politics of both nation states. In *Crucible of Struggle*, Labor historian, Zaragosa Vargas (2011) provides a sweeping account of Mexican/Mexican American experiences from colonial times to the present era. He considers the dynamic forces including social, political, and economic relations that influenced various waves of migration.

The first three decades of the twentieth century witnessed the rapid growth of the Mexican population in the United States. Between 1910 and 1920, an estimated two hundred nineteen thousand Mexican immigrants entered the country, doubling the Spanish-speaking population in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas and quadrupling it in California. World War I shut off immigration from Europe and, along with the mobilization of the armed forces in 1917, exacerbated labor

shortages. Tens of thousands of Mexicans were allowed into the United States as war emergency measure. The demand for labor due to the economic boom in the Southwest facilitated the entrance of additional Mexicans into the United States. Immigration from Mexico also gained momentum because of unfolding events in Mexico, namely the spread of violence and the disruption of Mexico's economy by revolution. The United States offered the new comers—overwhelmingly young, single, and of working age—not only freedom from revolutionary upheaval but work at wages almost six times higher than in their homeland. (Vargas 2011, 177)

Although, the benefits of U.S. employment in the early 20th century outweighed the social and economic circumstances of Mexico, U.S. working conditions remained bleak. In “Mexican Workers in Wyoming During WWII: Necessity, Discrimination and Protest,” William Hewitt (1982) documents Mexican settlement prior and during WWII. He writes, “The sugar beet industry drew many Mexicans to Wyoming in the early 1900s. Mexican Nationals and Mexican-Americans provided a ready supply of labor for the sugar companies. (Hewitt 1982, 21) Hewitt acknowledges the significant role the railroad played in dispersing migrant groups. He states, “recruiters for the sugar companies loaded special trains with Mexicans in El Paso, Texas, to transport to Denver, then to Wyoming and Montana.” However, “After they arrived, they found poor housing, low wages and prejudice.” (Ibid.) Pivotal to this study is the documentation of state and national politics that attempted to curb Mexican/Mexican-American opportunities, combined with efforts of protests that worked to combat experiences of discrimination in the workplace.

In the fields, mining camps, factories, and on the railroads, immigrant workers from Mexico became a significant source of labor for the United States. However, important as they were in fulfilling labor demands, Mexicans often became scapegoats for local and national issues. Along with other immigrants who were entering the U.S., they were perceived as a problem or threat which influenced repatriation. Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond

Rodríguez (1995) document the deportation of Mexican immigrants during the Great Depression: “The intent of repatriation was three-fold: to return indignant nationals to their own country, in this case Mexico; to save welfare agencies money; and to create jobs for real Americans.” (Balderrama and Rodríguez 1995, 99) Mexican immigrants were mobilized as a U.S. workforce then easily disregarded and deported at the convenience of U.S. officials and politics. While forced deportation continues to be implemented as some sort of solution, acts of hatred and racism run rampant. We must understand the historical context for Mexican/Mexican American communities throughout the U.S. and the border politics involved. For many, the United States is home, with a historical sense of belonging that cannot be erased nor easily deported.

Throughout the Southwest and the inter Rocky Mountain region, there were various streams of Mexicans and Mexican Americans correlated to economic labor pursuits. These experiences of im(migration) are well documented. The scholarship on the specificities of Manito migration and the context of those experiences remain limited, because of a focus on Mexican immigration to the U.S. Yet, it is important to acknowledge the conflation of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans and Manitos particularly in terms of how they have been perceived as one culture and community. Historical documentation in government and economic reports are often projected from a limited Anglo perspective and are general in description. According to Vargas, “Anglos did not (and I add-still do not) distinguish between the newcomers from Mexico and Mexican Americans. Both were perceived as foreigners, even though the latter’s ancestry had been in the United States or had become Americans with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexican immigration reinforced and intensified both the external Anglo hostility and the internal pressures within Mexican communities.” (Vargas 2011, 2016) I build upon this analysis in

acknowledging the notable experiences of Manito migration across U.S. state borders and distinguishing them from their Mexican counterparts.

Racial Geographies: Identity Politics in the U.S. Mexico Borderlands

To understand the Manito experience, it is imperative to recognize the influence of racialized processes and politics that influenced daily experiences and worldviews. The social construction of race plays a significant role in identity formation and the politics of belonging. Critical race theorists and ethnic studies scholars demonstrate the dynamics of race and the significant role whiteness has played in colonization, U.S. nation building, and globalizing efforts. Through the Spanish caste system and U.S. racial order, whiteness continues to operate as the privileged ideology denoting all others as inferior and primitive. The issue of race makes legible the experiences of displacement, reasons for migration, and the significance of cultural production and expressions in Anglo dominated spaces.

According to María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo (2016), scholar of colonization and comparative race in the Americas, “Geography is not only a discipline for mapping the world to be seen; it is also a way of disciplining what we see, of disciplining us into seeing (and knowing) mapped space as racialized place.” (Saldaña-Portillo 2016, 18) The racial politics that accompanied the re-structuring of the U.S./Mexico border intensified and complicated claims to belonging, identity constructs, popular discourses, and the social, political and economic trajectories of both the United States and Mexico. Saldaña-Portillo describes the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as a spatial practice that instituted a dramatic remapping of North America through overlapping racial geographies. She contextualizes the “Indian and Indio” as generic terms mobilized in colonial spatial practices, and significant figures to the ongoing historical-geographical process in the (b)ordering of space. (Ibid., 24) Saldaña-Portillo asserts, “colonial exploration of the “new world” was fundamentally an ocular experience full or devoid of

barbarous life.” (Ibid., 18) For example, in Mexico, the figure of the Indian was drawn upon to fuel the nation state, while eradicated in the U.S. to serve purposes of land acquisition.

U.S. racial politics has functioned through a white/black binary that influences experiences of subjectivity based on the belief that non-whites or people of color are inferior to the supposed superiority of whites. Through a structured hierarchy this ideal has been fueled by colonial and neo-colonial processes to acquire property, wealth, and power. In *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*, (2018) Laura Gómez, professor of Law and American Studies, depicts the complex and often contradictory nature of white supremacy, as it pertained to the racialization of the original Mexican Americans⁷. She explains that Mexican Americans became “a wedge racial group between African Americans and whites” that ultimately impacted the larger racial order, organized social life, and shaped relations on regional and national levels. “The central paradox was the legal construction of Mexicans as racially “white” alongside the social construction of Mexicans as non-white and racially inferior.” (Gómez 2018, 5) While Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were able to claim whiteness in some situations, on an experiential level they were faced with the same discriminatory and racist policies and practices other communities of color were forced to endure. The white/black binary is problematized as those in between didn’t necessarily fit into either classification but struggled toward social recognition that afforded them civic rights and opportunity. For many, to express a sense of belonging in the U.S. was to distance oneself from the conceptualized taint of Mexican origin. This lends insight to what emerged as the Mexican problem and the identity politics that worked to distinguish and create tension among Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Manitos in the U.S. Southwest.

In northern New Mexico, Spanish colonial settlements and doctrines established a profound legacy that worked to distinguish the Hispano from their Mexican counterparts. Emphasis on a Spanish ancestry has been essential to statehood, U.S. nation building, and has enhanced New Mexico's tourist economy, while also symbolizing claims to space and belonging. Carey McWilliams (1947) who wrote the first Chicano history text, *North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States* refers to the idea as a romanticized "fantasy heritage" that correlates to claims of whiteness. New Mexico Scholars—Charles Montgomery (2002), John Nieto-Phillips (2004), and Sarah Horton (2003) all recognize New Mexico's Spanish American heritage as a process and politics of interpretation and preservation.

Montgomery demonstrates how public displays of Spanish heritage via architecture, folk art, literature, and civic pageantry projected claims to whiteness that shifted identity politics in the upper Río Grande. Such Spanish colonial symbols projected the area "in terms that were more acceptable, perhaps even valuable, to twentieth century America." (Montgomery 2002, 229) In the *Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s*, Historian Nieto-Phillips asserts agency in these identity claims. He writes, "To claim "Spanish" blood was to declare one's deference from "Indian" and "Anglo" American neighbors; it was to lay claim to a European (read: racially white) heritage; it was to aver one's historical attachment to the land (by way of conquest); and it was to distinguish oneself from the maligned, mixed-blood Mexican immigrant." (Nieto-Phillips 2008, 16-17) Drawing upon the past has been central to staking claims in the present and distinguishing oneself via Spanish heritage. Sarah Horton (2003) recognizes these aims, and extends her analysis to include more contemporary understandings of Spanish colonial symbolism as expressed in New Mexico's Santa Fe Fiesta. Her analysis considers the experiences of Hispano displacement and the

revaluing of the Santa Fe Fiesta as an ethno-nationalist claim to Hispano continuity. (Horton 2003, 24) Like Horton, I find it important to interrogate the effects of a dispersed Hispano or more specific to my project, a dispersed Manito community.

While critical Indigenous studies and Native American activist groups make decolonial strides against colonialism and public displays of Spanish heritage,⁸ we must remember that there are multiple strategies occurring simultaneously through expressions and claims to Spanish blood and identity. There is a preservation of heritage in an effort to counteract Anglo hegemony during U.S. occupation. Such claims are a strategic class move to ensure social standing, and a negation of the mixed ancestry that is in alignment with Mexican, mestizo or Indigenous heritage. This is the result of multiple layers of colonialism – identity chaos. Nieto-Phillips writes, “When Nuevomexicanos elaborated and deployed their hispanidad, or Spanishness—when they became authors of their own past, authorities of their own language—they often did so as a way of resisting and not just accommodating Anglos’ ascendancy and touristic fantasies.” (Nieto-Phillips 2008, 8) To claim Spanish descent, despite the reality of inter-mixing is establishing a claim to belonging and space that goes against the Anglicized pressures that displaced and outcasted many New Mexicans. It is a heritage intermixed with the blessings and conflicts of the Spanish legacy.

Manitos

The tricultural history of northern New Mexico has inspired a rich cultural knowledge of mixed heritage. Politics of race and blood are used to distinguish communities, depending on the context of the conversation and generational perspective. However, what remains true is that the skill sets and culture of northern New Mexicans are inspired by the mixed, Indo-Hispano practices of their forbearers. Despite effort toward division, community has been essential to survival and can be distinguished by Manitos’ traditional values and expressions.

Scholar Brenda Romero, ethnomusicologist and fellow Manita, acknowledges that majority of Manitos were already mestizos, mixed Spanish and Native, when they settled in the region (beginning in 1598).” (Romero 2011, 287) In her analysis of New Mexico popular music, she highlights the cultural and religious (more specifically Penitente) connotations of the concept. Romero’s use of Manito symbolizes “old Hispano culture” while also providing an understanding for contemporary descendants “who claim a regional (New Mexico and southern Colorado) Hispano identity.” (Ibid., 289) Though she references the term being used in Juárez, Mexico and California, my study accentuates Manito culture and community exhibited in the state of Wyoming.

Manito is a term of endearment used to reference a native of northern New Mexico that derives from the word *hermano* (brother).

The term is an indirect reference to Los Hermanos, the Brothers, or Cofrados (Confraternities, or secular brotherhoods), perhaps more notorious for their penitential devotions than for the vital contributions to community welfare and the governance of resources relating to agriculture, land, and water. The Cofradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno or brotherhood of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene assumed a pre-dominant role in populated and more dispersed frontier communities, especially following independence from Spain in 1821. The brothers themselves prefer the term Hermanos to the term Penitente. Although not everyone was or is a practicing Hermano, the oldest layer of Spanish-Mexican culture in New Mexico and southern Colorado is defined by penitent beliefs and practices, and these extend south beyond the political border. (Ibid., 289)

Considering the sacred value of communal practices, the term has extended into the village community. It is quite common to hear Manitos refer to a respected elder as “Mana Soveida or Mano Victor” for example. Out of respect for their heritage, the upcoming generations also use the term in reverence for their *gente* or people from northern New Mexico. Scholars such as Eric Romero (2004), Levi Romero (2011), Brenda Romero (2011), Alvin O. Korte (2012), Arturo Madrid (2012), A. Gabriel Meléndez (2017), and Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez (2017), among

others, deploy the term in scholarship giving it merit and validity in academic circles. My goal is to flesh out the distinct qualities of Manitos within the scope of their migratory experiences. More so, I am interested in the very practices and characteristics that have been able to sustain Manitos generationally across borders; while also analyzing the effects of migration on Manito communities, including their social and communal well-being.

Manito Routes

Fixed routes are established throughout the northern New Mexico landscape. As part of everyday experience Manitos embarked on pathways to various areas and places that were essential to survival and as a means to engage community. For example: foot trails connect one *vecino* or neighbor to the other and pathways lead to the local village church. Established routes linked villages to towns and to the nearby *pueblo*, where Manitos were able to conduct trade with neighboring Native communities. Trails lead down to the river, and routes to and through the *monté* or mountain. The Manito trails throughout the homeland are many.

As a result of the bordered realities and Anglo influence, Manito trails began to branch out from the homeland. “After 1900, Hispanos were increasingly pulled by the Anglo economic opportunity from the interior to the periphery of their region . . .” (Nostrand 1992, 226) In need of supplemental income, Manitos took advantage of labor demands outside of the state. There are many stories of family members living *por allá* that influenced dispersed routes frequented by those from northern New Mexico. By bus, Manitos would travel from Mora and Taos to work as sheepherders in Wyoming (Archuleta 1940); wartime industries attracted working class Hispanos to work in California’s aircraft industry and naval shipyards (Horton 2003, 236); some traveled to Colorado to work in the mines and sugar beet fields; army remissions called for Manitos into Utah and there is evidence that documents Manito trails that extend into Arizona, Texas, and other parts of the U.S.

Sarah Deutsch (1987) argues that Hispanic migration became the dominant strategy of survival on an intercultural frontier. Her text, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* is the most accurate and thoroughly researched study of the Nuevomexicano diaspora that examines Manito migration outside of the state and serves as an example of the project I seek to emulate. Whereas Deutsch's study engages with the migration of Manitos to Colorado, my work extends this analysis into the state of Wyoming. According to Deutsch (1987), a "regional community describes the mutual dependency of migrants and villagers and the extended village that dependency created. It describes both a strategy and a geographical area, a migrant system and the routes those migrants traveled." (Deutsch 1987, 10) By following the Manito Trail, we can trace an extended Manito community through a continued flow and exchange of people and culture beyond bordered realities. This approach to the study of Manitos allows for a consideration of the various factors that link Manito communities on localized and national levels. It provides the opportunity to examine the reasons for migration, Manito experiences in Wyoming, and the contemporary conditions of their culture and community as it persists outside of the homeland.

While borders remain vital to identity constructs and spaces of belonging, I am interested in exploring the ideals and practices of community that surpass the limitations borders ascribe. For this reason, I take a diasporic approach to Manito migration to better understand the dispersal of Manito communities and the conceptualization of the Manito diaspora. This framework permits a realization of the homogenizing effects of power structures that tend to generalize varied experiences and qualities of distinct groups. It also provides the flexibility to respond to the processes and practices of identities in motion that bring together community through overlapping histories, goals, and experiences.

Diaspora

To contextualize the Manito experience as a diaspora, it is important to understand the evolution of the concept and how it has been used. The term diaspora has been commonly used to reference the Jewish people and their collective exile, as well as the African, Armenian and Greek diasporic experiences. According to Sukanya Banerjee (2012), “. . . diaspora has gained currency as a productive frame for reimagining locations, movements, identities and social formations that have either been overlooked by early modes of analysis or, equally important, stand the chance of being flattened by the homogenizing effects of global capital.” (Banerjee 2012, 1) The various im(migration) movements mentioned above demonstrate particular routes Mexicanos, Mexican-Americans and Manitos traveled for employment reasons to improve their quality of life. Their histories, experiences, and cultures are distinct yet, in some ways, tend to overlap. I find it indispensable to locate the Manito diaspora within the larger movements of immigration, where their distinction has gone relatively unnoticed or undocumented.

Originally used to reference the displacement of people based upon their ethnic or religious connotations, the field of diaspora studies has extended to include diasporas based upon race, class, gender, caste and sexuality. (Emergence and Evolution, 6) Scholars such as Paul Gilroy (1993), James Clifford (1994), William Safran (1998), and Robin Cohen (2008) have been instrumental in broadening the conceptual understanding of diaspora, and the applicability of the term across disciplines and communities.

Global Diasporas: An Introduction is a foundational text to the evolving field of diaspora studies that demonstrates an approach to the study of world diasporas. Drawing upon classical tradition, the characteristics of diaspora as proposed by Safran, as well as his own personal contributions, Cohen developed a list of common features associated with diaspora. Cohen does forewarn that not every diaspora will exhibit every feature listed, nor will they be present to the

same degree over time and in all settings. Within the context of this study and specific to the Manito diaspora, I explore several of the features Cohen mentions, such as: 1) the dispersal from an original homeland; 2) the expansion from a homeland in search for work; 3) collective memory and myth about the homeland, including location, history, suffering and achievements; 4) an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity; 5) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, including the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage; 6) a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance and; 7) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. A diasporic approach is a starting point to engage with the dispersed Manito communities that compose an internal diaspora. By following the Manito Trail, we can identify the roots and routes of Manito identity that extend across generations and are maintained through ties and connections to the villages of northern New Mexico, the Manito homeland.

Diaspora Studies and the Notion of a Homeland

Significant to the conceptualization of diasporas is the notion of a homeland or place of origin. Scholars acknowledge the differences between diasporic communities that share some type of connections to their place of origin versus those that do not have personal relations to their homeland. As I will demonstrate, the link between Manitos and the villages of northern New Mexico have been pertinent in maintaining cultural values and a sense of ethnic identity in marginalized spaces. This connection inspires the potential for a Manito diaspora and the ability to trace its various trails.

According to Robert Nostrand, cultural geographer and author of *The Hispano Homeland*, “The concept of a “homeland,” although abstract and elusive, has at least three basic

elements: a people, a place, and identity. (Nostrand 1992, 214) He goes on to explain, “The people must have lived in a place long enough to have adjusted to its natural environment and to have left their impress in the form of a cultural landscape. And from their interaction with the natural and cultural totality of the place they must have developed an identity with the land—emotional feelings of attachment, desires to possess, and even compulsions to defend. Hispanos developed such a level consciousness about their land.” (Ibid., 214) While the homeland consists of numerous isolated villages dispersed throughout northern New Mexico, everyday practices, politics, and performances distinguish the qualities of Manitos and their ties and attachments to place. In the Spanish language, homeland is referenced as *Patria* or fatherland which “embodies the aggregate of the hundreds of *patrias chicas* which ordinary Hispanos know intimately and for which they have sentimental and enduring feelings of attachment. The idea of a Homeland, then, is the totality of the *patrias chicas*.” (Ibid., 225-226) The cultural landscape and distinct characteristics of the people from the villages of northern New Mexico produce the essence of a homeland that holds a special place in the hearts and minds of Manitos throughout the diaspora. It is engrained in one’s memory and influential over ones’ life-long experiences. Manita, poeta, and acequia activist, Olivia Romo, reveals the depth of her Manita identity and ties to northern New Mexico in a poem titled, *Querencia*.

The deep profound love I have for my homelands.
My connection to the earth through adobe bricks, communal ditches, and the rural traditions of my Nuevomexico.
Soy India-Hispana. Proud of Spanish coat of arms, Comanche cautiva songs, and Meso-American seeds, like corn.
These are my raices. (Romo)

Considering Manitos’ migratory experiences, it is important to critically engage with their ties or attachment to place, particularly the ways they have maintained their *querencia* or sense of belonging in New Mexico and regenerated *querencia* in Wyoming. According to

community scholar Juan Estevan Arellano, from Embudo/Dixon, *querencia* is “that which gives us a sense of place, anchors us to the land, and makes us a unique people.” (Arellano 2012, 158) Anthropologist Sylvia Rodríguez (2017) explains, “from the verb *querer* (to want, love), *querencia* is both a physical place or location and the subjective feeling that ties a person or a people to that place. (Rodríguez 2017, 199) I argue that the cultural landscape of a person’s place of origin injects a set of values and distinct qualities that create a strong sense of identity, enable community, and serve as a social form of resistance in marginalized spaces.

My study emphasizes the importance a place of origin has upon a person’s diasporic experience, including their relations to place and understandings of self. Within the field of diaspora studies, the significance of “homeland” and its conceptualization continues to evolve. While many perceive the homeland as a territory in which the people of the diaspora hope to return, that is not always the case. Safran (1991) demonstrates that while many diasporas maintain a ‘myth of return’ not all are interested in returning to the homeland. (Safran 1991, 89-90) This is evident in the numerous Manito families that have established permanent residency in Wyoming. James Clifford (1994) demonstrates that not all understandings of the homeland are linked to a particular territorial space, rather there is more interest in maintaining a sense of community. (Clifford 1994, 305-306) We can understand this through the ideals, practices, and memories that were internalized by Manitos, cherished as a community, but no longer fostered through a direct connection to the homeland. Further, Stuart Hall considers the significance of hybrid identities and the comfortability of being able to maintain a sense of belonging in their (new) home and homeland. In this context, I examine Manito experiences and the simultaneity and spatiality of being able to have two or more homes through the conceptual lens of *querencia* or sense of belonging.

Contextualizing my research within the framework of the diaspora and an emphasis on the homeland opens up an understanding to the various groups that compose Wyoming's Latino community. While I focus this study on Manitos in Wyoming, I recognize the various trails and journeys that produce Wyoming's Latino community and the significance of their social, cultural, and communal connections. Similar to the African diaspora, among other diasporic experiences, survival in foreign and Anglo dominated spaces required marginalized communities to unite as a form of resistance against racial imperatives and processes. This is evident in the state of Wyoming, as Mexicano, Mexican-American, and Manito communities come together to fulfill political and organizational agendas and to celebrate cultural events. While Wyoming's Latino community streamed together in routes of migration, there are both similarities and differences in heritage, ties to the homeland and, *querencia*.

To understand Manitos as a community, historically and today, I consider their migratory experiences, and who they are as part of a larger Manito diaspora. *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* is a collection of essays that emphasize the significance of disjunctive diasporas, and how gendered memories and migration influence Latin@ history, community spaces and cultural identities. (Ruiz 2008, 2) While there is a long history of settlement associated with Manitos in northern New Mexico, this collection encourages us to consider the importance of locating identity in movement, and the process by which lived and gendered experiences are shaped by community, and how community, in-turn, is shaped by those who inhabit those spaces. To understand Manitos as a community, historically and today, we must consider their migratory experiences, and who they are as part of a larger Manito diaspora. Whether they experienced migration directly or indirectly, there has been generational effects within the villages of northern New Mexico and throughout the dispersed Manito communities.

Methodology

For the purpose of this project, I incorporate and engage literature and scholarship that contextualizes Manito history in New Mexico and Wyoming. New Mexico Studies and scholars are well versed on its people, culture, and environment. Through the scholarship of George I. Sánchez (1996), Sarah Deutsch (1987), Suzanne Forrest (1989), and Nancie González (1969), I examine the sociocultural and community changes that were the result of struggles between Anglos and Hispanics over territory, resources, and power. I utilize anthropological research, such as the Tewa Basin Study, that examines northern New Mexico villages during the 1930s. The Spanish Colonial Arts Society (1925) and the Federal Arts Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), are also significant resources that have worked towards preserving Hispano material culture and New Mexico's traditional arts. My work draws upon these key scholars and studies of northern New Mexico to provide a historical background and insight to the community, along with the socioeconomic conditions that influenced Manito migration. I am particularly interested in the lives and experiences of Manitos as a migrant community and the effects of this migration. I integrate cultural forms, such as music, poetry and performance to demonstrate the depth and extent of Manito identity as expressed in New Mexico and Wyoming.

A generalized history of Mexicans/Hispanics in Wyoming has been documented in various sources, including: *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal*, WYOFile- a three-part series on Hispanics in Wyoming (2011), "Construyendo Latinidad: the Hispanic Mexican Influence in Wyoming, 1650-2005" (2006) by Ed Muñoz, and archival materials of the Wyoming's Latin American Organizations. More recent research and scholarship reference the experiences of Manitos in the state: "Donde mi amor se ha quedado": Narratives of Shepherding and Querencia along the Wyoming Manito Trail" by Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez, "Following the Manito Trail: Los Nuevomexicanos en Guayomin (Wyoming)" by Adam P.

Herrera, “Pal Norte: The Sanchez and Espinoza 1940s Family Migrations from Mora County, New Mexico, to Cheyenne Wyoming” by Virginia Sánchez, and “Making Heritage and Place on the Trees: Arborglyphs by Latina/os in Wyoming” by Troy Lovata.

By drawing upon Diaspora studies through the work of the scholars mentioned above, I am able to build upon a framework that affords an understanding to the various streams of Manito migration that have resulted over time. The dispersed Manito communities exhibit social and cultural qualities that are fashioned from direct (and indirect) ties to the homeland. To experience the flavor of New Mexico’s northern villages in Wyoming and other locales, speaks volumes to the ways Manitos’ have sustained particular practices and connections. A diasporic approach provides the opportunity to consider the effects migratory movements have had upon the villages of Northern New Mexico over time, as well as the pressures upon Manitos’ living in an Anglo dominated state.

To learn about a marginalized community’s history and their diasporic identity, it is critical to consider sources that exist outside dominant archives and materials. Personalized narratives of experience, cherished and not so cherished memories are integral to creating a well-rounded account or understanding. The significance of memory and orality resonates across marginalized and diasporic communities. As an everyday practice and cultural tradition, memory and orality provide tools for accessing the past, experiencing the present, and leaving a legacy to guide our future. According to oral historian, Alessandro Portelli (2006), “Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.” (Portelli 2006, 36) Portelli argues that the various components of the oral history-narrative form (i.e. subjectivity and relations between interviewer and interviewee) should be viewed as strengths rather than weaknesses. Considering this and the

limited scholarship on the Manito diaspora, I draw upon oral history through varied collections of testimonios that contextualize the history and effects of this migration. I also incorporate my own knowledge and understanding as a participant-observer to this project.

As a team member of Following the Manito Trail research project, I encapsulate the research collected thus far that speaks to the experiences of Manitos in Wyoming as they expand the regional economy and contribute to the Manito diaspora. In 2014, I became project assistant to the Following the Manito Trail research project (co-led by Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez and Levi Romero) and aided in producing more than forty oral history interviews, three documentaries, and archival materials including hundreds of photos and a gallery exhibit. This research collective stems from an inquiry Romero had while visiting his wife's family in Riverton, Wyoming, where he recognized a strong Nuevomexicano community and cultural presence. As a result, Romero led a group of students north from New Mexico on the Manito Trail, along the I-25 corridor, during a 2007 summer intercession course, and collected approximately ten testimonios from Manitos in Wyoming that speak to this migratory experience and the retention of cultural practices.

My work also engages with La Cultura Oral History Project, thirty sets of three-generation oral interviews from Hispanics in Wyoming, recorded in 1982. This collection provides a lens to the generational differences between Manito migrants and their descendants, revealing, in some cases, a disconnect from the homeland. I also incorporate narratives drawn from recent interviews with Manitos in northern New Mexico, who either experienced this migration themselves or never left, but whose family migrated. Through the testimonios drawn upon in this study, along with my own personal connections to this project I trace Manito migration through marginalizing discourses and routes that interrogate border politics, and the

identity complex of Wyoming's Latina/o population. Most importantly, I am able to invoke the extent of Manito culture and community as it extends beyond one place to another.

Conclusion

The Manito Trail is a pathway that bridges economic necessities and identity formations among fellow Mexican and Mexican-American (im)migrants. In efforts to survive and provide for their families, individuals from New Mexico have crossed borders and boundaries that are predominately exclusive in social, economic, and civic matters. Applied and extended borders have prohibited access to particular lands, spaces and resources, but only in conjunction with needed labor demands that benefit U.S. capitalistic endeavors. In this current moment, border politics remain heightened, intersecting with racialized discourses and processes that continue to taint perceptions and the social representation of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Manitos alike. While community mobilization and advocacy seek to provide greater political, educational, and social benefits, racism persists. Manitos and their Mexicano relatives continue to evolve in a world of borders the attempt to limit and define their existence. This dissertation demonstrates the legacy of a Manito diaspora that has surpassed many of the restrictions that borders ascribe.

To better understand Manitos as a people, we must factor in experiences of migration and how that has affected them as a community. In the next chapter, I begin to unpack the cultural and communal landscape of Manitos in their northern New Mexico villages, as lived and expressed in the earlier part of the twentieth century. I draw attention to the economic conditions and the social changes that influenced migratory movements.

Chapter 2: Northern New Mexico: Manitos, Cultural Values, and Migration



Figure 3: Carlos and M. Mercedes Prandi and Antonio Valdez



Figure 4: Wedding Photo: Tiodorita and José Victor Sánchez, December 26, 1922

This chapter begins with photos of my paternal ancestry, my familial roots embedded in the village of Valdez, New Mexico. While I never had the opportunity to meet them, I've been blessed to learn about their lives through *cuentos* or stories my grandparents and other family members have shared with me over the course of my life. Access to these memories provide insight to lived experiences and serve as kernels of wisdom, that inspire the next generation with the values and customs of our *antepasados*. For this reason, I incorporate a personal account into this chapter, and draw upon

testimonios and other scholarly studies that contextualize Manito history and the conditions of their migration experience.

The rural village lifestyle in northern New Mexico is profoundly interconnected to the land, strong faith/spirituality, and social relations-made evident through daily and ritualized practices. These embodied qualities among Manitos required time, integrity, and devotion; fashioning their cultural community with core values and a strong work ethic that sustained families and communities. In this chapter, I examine the principles and communal practices associated with the villages of northern New Mexico. For example, I consider the sacredness of acequias, communal principles of land grant administration, and the divine experiences of moradas as unique features that distinguish many Manito communities from other Latino communities. These sociocultural realities established a foundation for resilient thriving communities that shaped the lifestyles of their descendants. Before sunrise to sundown, Manitos spent the days working the land, irrigating the fields, tending to the animals, gardens, and harvests. Every person in the family had to complete chores and daily tasks. Grandma recalls planting the garden, making choke cherry jelly, washing the *jergas* (hand-made rugs), and caring for the animals. A daily work load was required to survive, and as I will demonstrate, inspired a set of values that sustained and enriched life. Nevertheless, as the leaves change with the seasons, so did the economic climate; Manitos were land rich but money poor.

Manito resilience derived from decades of facing economic insecurity, dispossession of land, and discriminatory practices stemming from U.S. expansionism. Drawing upon the scholarship of Nancie González (1969), Sarah Deutsch (1987), Suzanne Forrest (1989), and George I. Sánchez (1996) I consider the sociocultural

changes that resulted from the struggles between Anglos and Hispanics over territory, resources, and power. These scholars of northern New Mexico speak to the Anglo influences over the local economy, and how seasonal labor outside of the state became a common living experience. Many Manitos traveled as shepherders, to work in the sugar beet fields and mines, and on the railroad. Their efforts to survive created a diaspora, a movement of Manitos that expanded the regional community and can be traced through labor efforts, cultural expressions, and their collective identity in spaces outside of the homeland. To conceptualize Manitos in the context of their diasporic experience, I examine the reasons for migration and how this impacted village life. How did Manitos maintain household duties and family obligations with majority of the men absent? In what ways did migration influence social relations and what was the context of these interactions? This chapter explores the initial experiences of migration and its influence on Manito identity and community.

Northern New Mexico Villages: Place names and Cultural Wisdom

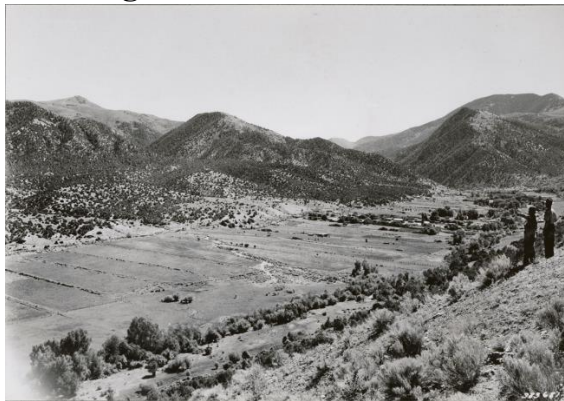


Figure 5: Valdez (San Antonio), New Mexico

My dad's side of the family is from San Antonio, now known as Valdez, a small village 12 miles north of Taos, located in the valley and mountain of the Arroyo Hondo Land Grant. The town was renamed after my great-great grandfather, Antonio Valdez,

who settled in San Antonio and served as the local post-master after being displaced from Vermejo Park. To rename a village after the local postmaster was a common practice in northern New Mexico. Agua Negra in Mora County was renamed Holman after the postmaster Joseph S. Holman. According to Juan Estevan Arellano, academic and community scholar, “a lot of names started changing when the post offices came about.” (Arellano 2007) For example, Embudo was re-named to Dixon, after the postmaster Collins Dixon, a civil war soldier who relocated to Embudo, or who could’ve been hiding there from his Illinois family, as another oral story goes. Besides alluding to the mystery behind Mr. Dixon, Arellano elaborates on the traditional naming practices of northern New Mexico and how most village names describe features of the landscape.

Here Embudo means a funnel. And why Embudo? Because the water shape is in the form of a funnel . . . cause El Rio Embudo empties into the Rio Grande here. If you start up in northern New Mexico with Costilla. Costilla means the rib, and then you come further south and there’s Cuesta (hill). Before you get up to the Costilla, you have to go Cuesta arriba or Cuesta abajo. The same with Arroyo Seco, the dry gulf, or Arroyo Hondo, the deep gulf. And all the way down, you know. Velarde was not Velarde. It was called Joya, because it was a very fertile place. It is a fertile place. (Arellano 2007)

In *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest*, Thomas J. Steele explores such naming practices, or how Spanish New Mexicans (or Manitos) applied names to particular spaces or natural locations “elevating them from the natural world into their Spanish cultural world.” (Steele 1983, 293) To name a place “according to its characteristics, which can be either descriptive, historical, or ethnographic” is what Steele references as an intrinsic naming practice. Many villages of northern New Mexico were also named after saints, a practice that brought a sense of sacredness to a new locale or territory. For example, there is San Antonio, San Cristobal, San Ildefonso . . . Steele

considers the significance of chapels and villages that were named after saints as an extrinsic naming practice for practicing Catholics. (Ibid., 299) He writes, “They may have been living in some raw new village recently wrestled from the unbounded chaos of the outer darkness, but now the local habitation constructed a chapel and therefore possessed a sacred name, and in this name the people sensed that they could survive and that they should survive. And they did survive in the fullness of their humanity and their Christianity within a space that they and their saints had humanized.” (Ibid., 302) By naming the geographical features of the landscape, villages, and chapels, Manitos established personal connections to the spaces they occupied. They transformed them into sacred spaces with sentiment meaning that would carry value into the succeeding generations.

Manitos have a strong familiarity with the landscape that is built upon history and personal experience. As children, many of us begin to learn about the special village places. We hear the elders repeatedly tell stories about them and perhaps even create our own experiences. I have done this many times when walking or riding around with my dad on the village of Valdez. Eventually, the recollections of those special places become embedded into our own consciousness and we continue the legacy by passing on the stories associated with our family and community histories. For example, growing up *mis abuelas* (my grandmothers) would share stories with my dad about *El Ojito de la Virgen*, an underground spring that produced cold fresh water, frequented by the village people of Valdez. My dad recalls stories of horseback riding with his *primos* (cousins), and stopping there for a drink. *El Ojito* is located off the side of the road that heads up to Twining or what is now known as the Taos Ski Valley. At the top of the mountain, there

is a rock that resembles *La Virgen*, so much so that years ago, Antonio Baca and a friend climbed up the mountain to paint the rock and accentuate it with *La Virgen's* qualities.

Arellano also reflects upon the meaning behind places. “In Spanish, we’re a lot more lot more clearer [sic], as to the landscape. Like here we have *las lomas*-back there, but we call them also *la cejita*. *La ceja* means the eyebrow. But in English you would never hear anybody calling, oh look at that eyebrow on that mountain. But in Spanish we are, you know. That’s *la ceja . . .*” (Arellano 2007) Arellano’s explanation of *la ceja* serves as an example of the differences in translation and how interpreting Manito culture from an outsider’s perspective cannot truly convey the fruits of wisdom derived from living in the villages and being one with land—to have history and memories embedded in those particular places. These are Manito distinctions that give reverence to the significance of our culture and spirituality.

The geographic qualities and land-based economy of northern New Mexico have played an important role in developing Manito’s distinct social and cultural relations. Through interdependent communal obligations, a social network of intimacy and support has been established. This is evident in the physical, social, and spiritual elements associated with land grants, *ranchitos*, *acequias*, and *moradas*. They all contribute to the legacy of northern New Mexico that inspires Manito identity and a strong sense of community.

Land Grants: A Legal Legacy of Querencia

Land grant communities or *la corporación* serve as an example of the historical connection between Manitos and New Mexico. They also demonstrate *querencia*, a sense of belonging through legal means executed through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

(1848). While one cannot neglect histories of dispossession that resulted in tremendous loss of property, it is significant that land grants have worked to sustain the people through various governances (Spanish, Mexican, and United States) and economic hardships. Land grant heirs have been afforded opportunities to graze their animals, gather wood for their homes, and Traditionally, land grant membership has been passed down generationally, allowing for sustainability of the movement and the protection of culture, traditions, and values. It must be noted, not all Manitos are land grant heirs, yet the struggle to retain the land, including victories and defeats, continue to influence all New Mexican communities. *Tierra o Muerte* (Land or Death), the popular slogan associated with the activism of Reies López Tijerina and La Alianza Federal de Mercedes, signifies the strong attachment between northern New Mexicans and the land. Who and how people occupy the land remains a critical concern for the survival of Manito culture.

Several facets of land grant operations exhibit the communal values of Manitos. For example, there are land grant working days, when members get together to accomplish a specific task or need for the community. Land grant heirs gather to clean the village *acequia* or cemetery, cut *postas*, or fix and put up fence lines. According to Venessa Chávez-Gutiérrez, Tajiique and Chilili Land Grant heir, the best thing about being a part of the land grants is the community and support. “If one hurts, we all hurt. We lift the burden off each other. We bring our faith, money, every resource to the table. Nothing is off limits. That’s why we’ve been able to maintain the movement. If somebody or something comes against us, we resist and unite”. (Chávez-Gutiérrez 2018) The New Mexico Consejo, a grassroots member association organization was established

in 2006 to promote and protect the interests of New Mexico's Spanish and Mexican land grants. Over the years, they have advocated for New Mexico and its people, making great strides in bringing land grant issues and concerns to the forefront. Land grant communities also honor New Mexican cultural and spiritual traditions. Collectively, they come together for fiestas, to perform *Los Matachines*, participate in *las posadas* for Christmas, and distribute wood to the elderly. Land grant communities are a unique network of *Nuevomexicanos* who look out for each other and the everyday preservation and care for the welfare of New Mexico and her people.

Acequias

Water acequias are another part of the northern New Mexico landscape that serve and reproduce Manito community. As the key source of water supply for the village people, crops and animals, the maintenance of acequias remain pertinent to survival. According to Arellano, the first thing people did when they settled the land was dig an acequia, because that's what brought water to the villages; then they would usually build a church. (Arellano 2007) The *mayordomo* or foreman oversees the water sharing among the *parciantes* or villagers with water rights, making sure that everyone has access. With his knowledge of the landscape and traditional water ways, he ensures that the village community is well irrigated and able to reap in the blessings of harvest.

In *Enduring Acequias: Wisdom of the Land, Knowledge of the Water*, Arellano historicizes the water flow of acequias and emphasizes their significance and ability to connect community. He writes, "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 lands one. But the acequias were not built for modern-day watercolorists to paint; they were a necessity for survival, for without the acequia water there would be no food.” (Arellano 2014, 5-6) I appreciate how Arellano’s stresses the value of these waterways that extend beyond their marketed picturesque qualities. Over the years, water contamination has become an issue due to business development and the influx of outsiders who moved into the area, accompanied by a lack of respect or need for the traditional agricultural ways. This has required for the united efforts and activism of *parciantes* and *mayordomos*.

The New Mexico Acequia Association (NMAA) was formed as a means to collectively protect these communities by offering legal support and workshops in regards to water rights, acequia bylaws and acequia easement. According to the vision statement of the NMAA, “acequias flow with clean water, people work together to grow food, and communities celebrate cultural and spiritual traditions. People honor acequias as part of our heritage and express *querencia* through a strong connection to land and community. Knowledge and experience about growing food, sharing water, and saving seed are passed on from generation to generation.” (About Us, NMAA) The vision of NMAA focuses on sustainability for New Mexico’s rural communities. NMAA acknowledges the importance and sacredness of traditional water practices because they forge a sense of community tied to place and space.

Acequias are a fine example of Indo-Hispano cultural-mixing embedded within the landscape. Sylvia Rodríguez, anthropologist and resident of Valdez, explains how “acequias made possible the Spanish colonial settlement of the semiarid Upper Río Grande Valley starting in the late sixteenth century . . . as they “accommodated to and

modified the irrigation practices already present among the Río Grande Pueblos.”

(Rodríguez 2007, 29) In *Expressing New Mexico: Nuevomexicano Creativity, Ritual, and Memory*, Rodríguez contributes a chapter titled, “Honor, Ardity and Place” where she engages with the performativity of acequia culture as expressed through repeated acts of irrigation and ritual performance. Her well-documented account of Taos’ acequias speaks to the importance of place making or how local subjects are produced through practices of place. (Ibid., 32-33)

Local subjects create themselves by making place, activity that in acequia communities invokes a moral economy of water sharing based on the principles of reparto and respeto. Place making entails bodily practices such as walking in procession, cleaning a ditch, and irrigating a field. Procession and irrigation require both individual and collective action carried out with reference to a community of participation and to a landscape inscribed by hydraulic and architectural structures that are fraught with meaning. These performances of self, community, and place are observable through time. (Ibid., 41)

As mentioned, New Mexico’s acequia culture entails physical obligations, but also spiritual commitments as well. Rodríguez mentions the participation of villagers in processions carried out for the feast day of San Isidro and the praying of novenas that exhibit religious practices or spirituality. (Ibid., 33) Such practices allow for the people to embody and express their respect for the value of cultural and spiritual practices that are intertwined with the landscape and the sacredness of all that God has created.

Hermanos to Manitos: The Transcendence of Spiritual and Communal Values

The faith of Manitos extends across generations through devout Catholic practices and beliefs. Daily prayer and *bendiciones, que te vaya bien* are quaint but powerful symbols that attest to a profound spiritual testimony. The structure of northern New Mexico villages is highly ritualized and in tandem with the religious calendar. There is

reverence and celebration on Holy days of obligation which include: Assumption of blessed Virgin Mary (Aug. 15), Easter Sunday, Christmas (Dec. 25), New Year's Day (Jan.1) but also in subtle and what are deemed necessary practices such as, daily prayer, penance, and sacrifice. However, the spiritual depth of faith and is much more significant than expressed religious practices. Powerfully exhibited through the Penitente Brotherhood also known as *La Fraternidad* or *La Cofradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno*. Scholars and community members alike acknowledge Hermanos as pillars in village communities. They support each other physically, emotionally, and spiritually. With the best interests for community and family.

Penitente Brotherhood, Moradas and Their Architecture addresses the structure and sacredness of moradas and the significance of the Penitente Brotherhood. The essay draws upon Bainbridge Bunting's architectural study of Moradas, along with the field work of Thomas and Margil Lyons. Moradas and *La Fraternidad* are common to many towns and villages throughout northern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado. *La Fraternidad* is exclusively composed of Catholic males of Hispanic ancestry. (Bunting, Lyons, & Lyons 1983, 31) Moradas serve as the consecrated meeting space and special place for prayer and worship, particularly during *Semana Santa* (Holy Week). The faith and rituals expressed by the Penitentes who occupy these spaces are respected as sacred and of high communal value. Scholars and community members alike attest to the respected roles and valued leadership Hermanos continue to carry out in the village communities.

In the nineteenth century, they served as a means of maintaining law and order through the impress of religious sanctions during periods when connections with both secular and ecclesiastical authorities of Spain,

Mexico and the United States were minimal and tenuous. Perhaps the greatest significance was the fact that La Fraternidad remained a fortress of cultural identity when the Hispanic settlers and natives were faced with Indian incursions and later with the more culturally destructive forces of the dominant Anglo-American Society. (Ibid., 32)

La Fraternidad and moradas, maintain the sacred values of Hispano/Manito culture.

Their ethnic influence has intertwined with expressed Catholic rituals, membership requirements, morada architecture, and religious art. However, in effort to acknowledge the communal basis, ministry of servitude, and sacred flow, I note the historical tension between Penitentes and the Catholic church to demonstrate the spirit filled distinction of Manito communities that extend beyond the demands of institutionalized religion.

My children and I descend from strong blood lines of faith filled and God-fearing Manitos. Both of Grandma Alice's grandfathers Gabriel Sánchez and Rafael García, as well as her dad, José Victor Sánchez, served as Hermanos for the Morada in Valdez. Considering my own faith walk, my grandma tells me how much I would've enjoyed spending time with them. She recalls how her mom's dad, Pa'ito Rafael (García) would sit at the side of his bed, put his vest over his shoulders and spend over an hour praying in the morning. Again, at night, before bed, he would sit there and pray. His death was also the first my grandma ever experienced. On June 15th 1951, at my great grandma Tita's house in Valdez, Pa'ito prepared to go to his eternal resting place with God. My grandma recalls that with a crucifix in his hand, he prayed for himself. "He made the sign of the cross on his chest and forehead, and motioned to Los Hermanos to make the sign of cross on his back." (Sánchez-Martínez 2018) In northern New Mexico, it is custom for the church bells to ring, indicating the death of a fellow Manito or villager. My grandma explained how her Pa'itos *velorio* or wake took place in last room of the house and

people came to pay their respects and be with the family throughout the night. His body was placed on the table which was eventually transported to a handmade coffin lined with material, mostly black. Henry Mascareñas of Mora also talks about the sacredness of *velorios* and northern New Mexico's burial practices.

Y todo la gente iba y cantaba (alabados) hasta la media noche alla y cenaban y comían y otro día iba todo la gente al funeral. Lo enteraban y hacían el poso con la pura pala y talache, que le dicen el pico. Talache. Nosotros dicimos talache. Iban y hacían el poso. Envitaban personas, you know, que fueran abrir el poso y luego cuando la abrian venían y se les daba de cenar y segian el velorio hasta el otro dia en la mañana. Era muy bonito antes. Toda la gente no se iba en los velorios hasta que no amanecía. Allí se estaban, y luego les daban de comer y todo.

(Mascareñas 1983) (Everyone sang (hymns). All the people went and sang until midnight then they ate and the next day all the people would attend the funeral. They would bury him and they would make the grave by just pick and shovel. They would go and make the hole. They would invite people to go and make the hole when they were done, they were fed supper and they would continue with the wake until morning. It was very nice before. All the people would remain at the wake until morning. They would stay there and were fed and everything.)

Women of the villages have also been vital to expressing and retaining the spiritual practices of Manito culture. Commonly referenced as, female auxiliaries (*auxiladoras*) who “support and minister to the Hermanos during times of secluded prayer and sacrifices.” (Bunting, Lyons & Lyons 1983, 33) These pious women, are sometimes referred to as *Veronicas*, *Carmelitas*, or *Terceras* and are reported to practice some devotions and penances separately from the males.” (Ibid) I am witness to the strong faith of such women. My grandma Alice has cherished memories of serving with her *primas* (cousins), Naoma Valdez, Edna Martínez, Rosalina Apodaca, and Angie Sánchez as *Verónicas* on Good Friday. *Las Verónicas* are symbolic for Veronica in the Bible who sympathized with Jesus as He carried His cross to what would be His

crucifixion. She offered Him her veil to wipe his face. He accepted and when He returned the cloth, an image of His face miraculously appeared. *Las Verónicas* wore black dresses, black veils, and black shoes as a sign of mourning for our Lord Jesus Christ. Grandma recalls that on Holy Thursday, her and the other Veronicas were required to fast until Midnight. They would attend *el velorio*, that took place at a local village home where most of the furniture would be removed and a big altar was set-up with materials draped over wooden boards, sheets on the walls, with *santos* and candles placed to adorn the altar. The host would provide a meal for anyone who chose to attend. Grandma recalls all of the good food, such as, *macarones con tomates*, *sopa* (bread pudding), *frijoles* (beans), *chile rojo con torta huevo* (red chile with egg patty), and *pasteles de frutas* (fruit pies). She remembers how wonderful it smelled, particularly due to the sacrifice of not being able to eat due to her fast. Grandma always remember her dad's *padrino*, Leonel Trujillo, who would visit and sing *alabados* or hymns. "He was a beautiful singer, but he didn't do it because he was religious but because he was hungry," she chuckled. (Sánchez-Martínez 2018) While people came and left, the *Verónicas* remained in prayer. At ten o'clock at night, my great-Great-Grandmother Abenicia offered a prayer to close the fast – the girls would kneel next to her. At midnight, one could hear the sound of the *Hermanos* singing *alabados* as they walked through the village, from the *morada* to the home where *el velorio* was taking place. My Great-Grandmother Tiodorita would meet the *Hermanos* at the gate with a plate of incense prepared from sugar and ashes. The *Hermanos* would take the statue of Jesus back to *morada* with them and after grandma greeted them, she would get rid of the ashes.

My children's great grandmother Amalia Durán from Des Montes, a small village located at the ridge of the Valdez valley, was also a woman of great faith. Only a few years ago, did she pass at the age of 103. Larry Torres, family friend, local historian, and University of New Mexico (Taos campus) professor prepared her eulogy that recognized the special contributions of Mana Amalia to her village community.

Beyond the Institutional Catholic Church, Amalia gave over 35 years of her life every Holy Week to assist Los Hermanos Penitentes de Nuestro Padre Jesús over at the Morada. She replaced the late Benigna Valencia as Madre Cuidadora, teaching the young Verónicas how to care for the wooden bulto saints, carry them in processions and remember the ancient prayers. She was the last surviving woman who actually bore the title of "Penitenta" in New Mexico today. (Torres)

Understanding the sacred practices and prayers of Manitos provides a cultural understanding of village life in Valdez, and the lifestyles of those who came before us. They established a foundation for a spiritual community that supersedes notions of time, geographic borders, religious understandings and boundaries. Like many of my fellow Manitos, we have all attended Sunday Mass, lit candles for our loved ones in need, fasted, and prayed the rosary with special intentions. These everyday expressions of faith serve as the source of hope in circumstances that are often considered dire and bleak. Like the brotherhood of the Penitentes, the intimacy between Manitos is built upon intentional relations, daily sacrifice, and a purpose for living that extends beyond ideals of self. The rural living conditions in northern New Mexico inspired this understanding of brotherhood that testifies to an enduring, long-lasting community. *Como hermanito espirituales*, through expressed faith and sacred ties to the homeland, Manitos express a sense of belonging that knows no limits.

Ranchitos: Labor and Changes

Manitos have always been self-sustaining communities who survived with the wisdom and skill-sets passed down from the generations before them. At one point in time, particularly during the latter part of the 19th century, “the settlers were able to survive and even thrive with the benefit of their crops and livestock. There was not much of a cash economy as barter and subsistence agriculture was the lifeblood of the economy.” (Romero 2018) This resonates with me, as my dad always explains the blood, sweat, and tears that have gone into the land as a result of Manito’s hard work and efforts to provide for family and preserve the village community. Such responsibility entailed a daily workload of obligations that nurtured a set of qualities inherent to the Manito identity complex. My primo Joaquin Argüello alludes to this when discussing his *abuelos* commitment to their *ranchito* in Valdez.

Rising before sunrise and dealing with all of the chores, taking care of the animals and then going to whatever work or meetings you need to during the day and then coming back. My *abuelos* didn’t travel that much because they had that responsibility of always taking care of livestock or sheep, or irrigating the fields. So, a lot of what they did was there in Taos, when they did travel, they had to have someone come take care of those things. . . There’s a lot of values in that, family values, trust, and honesty and hard work, sense of belonging. My grandpa used to always talk about stories growing up and just being from here. How much the land, the water, the animals meant in terms of the value of life. (Arguello 2018)

The small village and agricultural lifestyle associated with daily labor and communal efforts enabled a network for productivity, exchange, and support. This cohesive village structure has distinguished Manitos and their close-knit community. According to ethno-historian, Nancy González, “Communal labor and mutual aid seem to have been the primary bases upon which the social structure of these early agricultural villages was founded. Together the settlers built houses, maintained irrigation ditches, grazed their

livestock, cared for their sick, buried their dead, and celebrated holy days of the Catholic religion.” (González 1969, 41) This life required a synthesis of mind, body, soul and spirit, exemplified through Manito’s extraneous labor and faith-filled practices.

Mona Cordova, granddaughter of Porfiria Córdoba, reflects on the many stories her grandmother shared about growing up in Madrid, New Mexico, a small village in Santa Fe County. She describes the hard times in terms of the amount of labor and effort made towards preserving food. She states, “. . . they used to can and pickle everything, when they were little. And stuff like that. They used to, in order to be able to keep food for extended periods of time, they would salt their meats and they would package them up, and you know.” (Cordova 2016) My own grandma tells me that my Great-Grandma Tiodorita had a double sized pantry filled with jars of corn, green beans, and peas, canned fresh from the garden. Like many other Manitos, Grandpa Mike tells stories of how he would collect wood from the *monté* and chop it to be used for the stoves and to keep the house warm. To haul water from the river or *acequia madre* was another everyday chore done before or after school to be used for drinking purposes, to wash laundry, and bathe. My grandpa explained that back in those days the water was pure, safe to use for consumption, because there was no one living in the *cañón*, and the ski valley had yet to be developed. In the village communities, a child has never been too young for the responsibility of chores and the elderly never really experienced retirement. But rather each generation played an important role in upholding the village structure through a system of labor that invests time and energy into the landscape. This reality is a way of life that distinguishes Manito community, ways of knowing, and produces an instinct for survival.

Anglo Influx, New Mexico Studies and Community Impact

In *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans*, George I. Sánchez traces the heritage and struggles of Spanish Americans from conquest into the 1930s. He focuses on the people of Taos or *Taoseños* to illustrate the unfavorable circumstances of imperialism New Mexicans were forced to endure. He emphasizes that centuries of isolation and their dependency upon the landscape distinguished their lifestyles from the American fold. Sánchez argues that due to their traditional ways of living, *Taoseños* were unprepared for the new culture contacts and the conflicts that came with becoming a United States territory and state. (Sánchez 1996, 10-11)

The opening of the area to American commerce opened the door to economic competition of a scale, and on a basis, far beyond the comprehension of the natives. Business relationships, legal technicalities, and sharp practices soon began to take their toll of the economic resources of the people. Urged to exercise their rights as free citizens, they, in their ignorance, entered into agreements which lost them their birthright. (Ibid., 18)

While Sánchez emphasizes the struggle of New Mexicans' with American tactics or forms of business, particularly assimilation, I argue these are the very qualities that distinguish Manitos from the American fold and are the exact characteristics that shaped Manito strength, culture, and survival.

Railroad expansion enabled an influx of Anglo migration⁹ to the state of New Mexico, already inhabited by Native American and Hispano communities. The social and political impact of this incursion forever influenced the legacy of New Mexico. Historical documents, law suits and legislation speak to the economic advantages of Anglos (including wealthier Hispanos) that propelled changes within the landscape and attributed to communal land loss and the displacement of New Mexico's working-class

communities. (Maciel & Gonzales-Berry 2000, 5) Tourist agendas, tax break changes, residential and business development in cities and towns near and abroad influenced communal changes that significantly impacted village operations. The ideal of “tri-cultural harmony” among Native Americans, Hispanos, and Anglos-popularly alluded to in reference to New Mexico is then dismissed when one considers the social conflict that arose due to job competition and struggles over land, resources, and power.

New Mexico and its people became subjects of exploration and study after becoming a part of the United States and as a result to the influx of Anglos. There were several federal initiatives that supported these research endeavors. The Tewa Basin Study of 1935¹⁰ provides a detailed analysis of the sociocultural, environmental, and economic conditions of the Hispanic villages in northern New Mexico. Based upon extensive fieldwork, and other public and governmental reports the relationship between the people and the land is clearly conveyed. From an outsider’s vantage point, the study depicts the history of the villages in regards to years of settlement, land grant associations, and its geographic markers and boundaries. The agricultural produce of each community is well documented, particularly its value in terms of consumption and trade. For example, the village of Chimayó, located in the valley of the Santa Cruz River, is referenced for its variety of crops: wheat, corn, alfalfa, onions, cabbage, apples, peaches, and apricots. (Tewa Basin Study, 89-90) “Practically 100 percent of the people of Chimayo engage in agriculture, the amount of dependence upon it for livelihood depending upon the size of the land holding. The most important crop, being the only money crop is chili. The land is ideally suited for this crop. The flavor of the Chimayo’s chili is famous throughout the Southwest, and fully one-third of the land under cultivation is given over to this

production.” (Ibid., 89)¹¹ Water assessments in terms of community water rights and irrigation systems were conducted and clearly allude to the value of acequias, as mentioned above. The study also examines the local economy in terms of labor and trade, including the particular skill sets of community members and their crafts, such as weaving and woodwork.

The sociocultural and environmental variables of northern New Mexico’s villages are explored in terms of the deplorable living conditions of the Great Depression and New Mexico’s drought years (1931-1934). While these circumstances did influence a decline in labor opportunities, of particular interest for my own research is the documentation of the various trails Manitos travelled to pursue wage labor opportunities. The majority of the villages analyzed in this study had men who spent months away working. The men of El Rito migrated to work the sheep ranges in Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. Approximately 250-300 men from Chimayo left to work in these same states. (Ibid., 92) “They averaged 5 to 6 months of work and the earnings ranged from \$35 to \$50 a month.” (Ibid.) In Chupadero and En Medio, “Prior to 1930, on the average of forty men every year went out of the village on section gangs, in metal mines in Colorado and Utah, or as shepherders in Wyoming.” (Ibid., 65) In Cundiyo, “. . . all the men left to work in the metal mines of Colorado and Utah, the section-gangs on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, and as shepherders in Colorado and Wyoming.” (Ibid. 102) “Before the depression as much as 85 percent of men” from Tierra Azul, “found work away from home in sheep and lumber camps.” (Ibid., 142) As noted, the Great Depression did have a significant impact on the economy and wage labor opportunities made available. During this time, fewer men obtained

employment out of state, and more families became dependent upon relief aide, and relied on the value of their subsistence crops. Nevertheless, the Manito trails established served as a strategy for survival that would have a long-lasting impact on northern New Mexico's village communities.

American historian, Suzanne Forrest, emphasizes the cultural autonomy Hispanos (or Manitos) maintained through patterns of seasonal migration. She explains, "Migrant labor, in particular, became a means by which Hispanic men, and sometimes whole families, kept a secure foothold in the villages, while branching out in search of new sources of income to compensate for the loss of their grazing lands. The migrant brought much needed cash to the villages, while the villages preserved the migrant workers' ethnic roots and protected them and their families against the exigencies of seasonal flux. (Forrest 1989, 18) Through out-of-state labor opportunities, Manitos were able to obtain monetary provisions that would help support Manitos and their families. However, these economic gains did have a significant impact on the dynamics of village life. "The rise of the regional community had not placed women at the center of village life. They were already there. But it did create a situation where they held that spot increasingly alone." (Deutsch 1987, 20) Women were left no choice but to respond to the rising pressures of seasonal migration.

Manitas: The Women of Northern New Mexico

With the men gone for months at a time. The women adapted to the seasonal and social structural changes by meeting the agricultural labor demands and family responsibilities at home, In *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*, Historian Sarah

Deutsch, provides a sweeping account of the community network of women who were instrumental in sustaining the Hispanic villages while men migrated for work. Through “informal hierarchies of skill, age, knowledge, and spirituality” the women were able to hold onto and foster the communal virtues prominent to village ways and culture. (Ibid., 60) Their strength and ability to function without the dominant male presence, speaks volumes to the significance of Deutsch’s work that centers women who endured gendered, economic, and cultural oppressions.

In 2007, Levi Romero and students from his English course at the University of New Mexico traveled along the I-25 corridor, through Colorado and into Wyoming. They conducted a series of interviews as part of the initial phase of Following the Manito Trail research project. My grandmother, Alice Sánchez-Martínez, was one of the fellow Manitas who shared her experience. She talked about the life of my Great-Grandma Tiodorita (Tita) Sánchez, whom she cared for until she passed at 98 years old. My grandma Alice reflected on the special memories she made with Grandma Tita in New Mexico, while her dad and older brother were working in Wyoming. She recalls how her mother always had great stories to share.

Alice: She’s the one who more less built our house because my dad was always here in Wyoming working” fifty dollars was a lot of money in those days. But she was the one that was out there.... She says she brought all the *latilla* for her house, with techo and it was all forest. And she used to cut it right there alongside of the road. She said nobody ever stopped me (Laughs).

Levi: She did it herself huh?

Alice: Her and - she would take her younger brother and one of my dad's first cousins. His name was Benjamín Apodaca and she'd take them, they were teenagers.

Levi: So, she built the house while he was gone?

Alicia: Mmhmm

Levi: Was that common?

Alice: Among women there? Yeah . . . oh yeah. And she would plant all these fields of corn, peas, green beans, pumpkins. And along side of her house, we would have onions, lettuce, and radishes, and maybe a little bit of corn. I participated in that at the end of the harvests. (Sánchez-Martínez 2007)

My grandmother's recollection and experiences are like many other memories embedded into the hills and valleys of northern New Mexico that Manitos hold dear to their heart. Yet I emphasize, the surreal experience and labor involved as my great-grandmother took the initiative to work on the construction of her home. While we witness women today serving and occupying equal positions to men. During the early twentieth century, the tenacious qualities of Manitas were set apart. With majority of the men absent, women surpassed essentialized gender norms as they labored in the fields, in and on their homes, attending to the religious and medical needs of the village community. As mentioned above, Manitas embody great faith and their spirituality has transcended generations. Their wisdom for healing has passed down generationally through *remedios* or natural remedies that continue to care for the people and their ailments.¹² Manitas have always been vital to sustaining community. "Through their visiting, their sharing of food, plastering, childbearing, and most important, their stability, production, and earnings as non-migrants, women provided for increasingly mobile villagers not only subsistence, but continuity and networks for community, health, and child care for old age and emotional

support.” (Deutsch 1987, 61) With genuine concern for one another, *como hermanitas*, they looked out for one another.

To truly enjoy the conversation and presence of one another is another Manito cultural value that gains great currency when we consider the impact of migration, in terms of separating families and expanding Manito community. While a visit could entail lending a helping hand, most visits always accompany the blessing of a shared meal. You can still experience this today when you go and visit a fellow Manita. Even with unexpected visits, there will be *plática* in the kitchen over some fresh tortillas, *papas, chile verde y frijoles*; a welcoming experience that allows you to feel at home despite the familial distance or miles spent apart. Communication and time well spent that is a rarity for this day and age.

Although early migration experiences influenced dispersed Manito communities, the villagers have remained knitted together throughout the generations. Historian, Suzanne Forrest, documents the pertinent role women played in keeping the village community intact. She writes, “The key element in this highly successful strategy of cultural and economic survival was the performance of Hispanic women in building and maintaining kin and cultural networks throughout an area that included all of northern New Mexico, much of Colorado, and parts of Utah, Montana, and Wyoming.” (Forrest 1989, 10-11) While the Manito diaspora includes communities beyond those listed, Forrest helps us to ponder the efforts entailed to keep families and friends connected. This was a time when communication via telephone, text, or email was not common. My Grandpa Mike explained that laborers working out of state were encouraged and informed with the latest village news by the letters sent from family. That is how he

learned that he had been drafted by the United States Army to serve in the Korean War, by a letter sent from his mother, Magdalena Martínez.

Distance, including the time and restraints of communication by mail, did not impact the continuation of Manitos' sacred values and practices. For example, it was custom that when a man was seeking a woman's hand in marriage that his father would respectfully ask the bride's parents for approval. This practice was honored, despite the fact that many men were working outside of the state. Alfredo Arellano of Costilla, New Mexico explains the process of asking for his wife's hand in marriage. "*No estaba papa aquí, no estaba papa en Costilla. Estaba en Wyoming. Entonces. . . eh . . . Yo decia a mi mama de yo que me dijo ya que me madaron alli que me mandaron pedir. Y papa le mando una carta a la mama de ella de que pidiendo de ella de aqui. Y lo, la mama de ella me escribio la carta a mi y me la daban . . . me la dieron a me. Ve?* (Dad wasn't here in Costilla, he was in Wyoming. I told my mom. Dad sent a letter to her mom requesting her hand and her mom answered that she would give her to me.)" (Arellano 1981) Mr. Arellano's mother exhibited diligence in sending that letter to her husband that would lead to her son exchanging nuptials. Testimonios of family blessings by letter attest to the importance of Manito's sacred practices and family values that were upheld despite the constraints of distance apart.

Community and Social Experiences

While the days were filled with hard work and labor, when time did free up Manitos embraced the beauty of their surroundings and the resources they had access to. For example, horseback riding, fishing, and playing in the river were common recreational activities. Manitos also enjoyed each other's company at family gatherings or

social functions at the *sala* or local bar, pool hall, and skating rink. Almost every Manito I know has a special memory of attending a *baile* or local dance. Many recall sneaking to the dances, while others were able to attend with parents or extended family.

Bailes or dances are social functions that have risen in accompaniment with Manito's musical skills and artistic talents. They have become a key element to New Mexico's culturally rich community. Antonia Apodaca from Rociada, a small village in San Miguel County, is considered a treasured gem among New Mexican musicians. At 94 years old, she still sings and performs at local events, and is able to recall many special memories of the *bailes*. As a young girl she learned to play the accordion and guitar, accompanying her parents, José Damacio Martínez and Rafaelita Suazo Martínez, and their band. As a good love story would go, she fell in love with the harmony created between her and Max Apodaca, a fiddler and guitar player who eventually became her husband. Like Antonia and Max, many talented musical families originate from northern New Mexico, such as: Blue Ventures from Alcalde, Mezcal from Arroyo Seco, Cuarenta y Cinco from Chamita, including the late Godfather of New Mexico music-Al Hurricane from Ojo Sarco. Their songs and sound fused together to create a legacy of music that has traveled with Manitos throughout the diaspora. Antonia recalls playing for dance halls and family gatherings in Riverton, Wyoming, after she migrated there with her husband and his family for work. The distinct sounds of New Mexico's *rancheras* and *corridos* serve as expressions of *querencia*, invoking cultural memory, and an attachment to the homeland. New Mexico music in conjunction with the *bailes* remain a significant cultural expression that so many of us have come to cherish. In the next chapter, I further explore

the various facets of these gatherings as they foster and fuel Manito community throughout the diaspora

Conclusion

From the outside looking in, the villages of northern New Mexico have been popularly alluded to in terms of their quaint and picturesque qualities, but their functionality and cultural depth is generated from the ground up. Through familial roots and historical ties, sacred attachments have produced a community knowledgeable of the land and its affective qualities. Rural and agricultural living experiences have equipped Manitos with a strong set of work ethics, including social, spiritual, and communal values. With miles between one village and another, they had a unique opportunity of getting to know, work, and support one another in the various capacities mentioned throughout this chapter. These experiences provided them a sense of being rooted and knitted together, *como hermanitos*.

Manitos have always valued who they are as a people and the distinguished lifestyle that northern New Mexico avails. In spite of the economic struggles and hard-working routines, I remain inspired by the words of my Great-Grandma Tita, documented in Wyoming during a 1982 La Cultura Oral History interview. Remembering her parents and the life she lived in the village of Valdez. She states “*Mi mama siempre estaba de estafetera y trabajaba con mi papa en el comercio. Nosotros tenemos mucho. No pasamos ningunos trabajos. Tenemos de todo.*” (My mom- Eufracia-was always a post master and worked with my dad in the store. We had a lot. We never suffered hardships. We had everything). (García-Sánchez 1982)

To be content and appreciative during a time that was filled with adversity, speaks volumes about Manitos' sense of worth and the fulfillment derived from faith driven rituals and cultural land-based practices. The value of family support and the time Manitos share with one another has always been cherished. Even when many of the households went months without their male counterparts, Manitas were able to maintain the functionality of the property, gardening and animal responsibilities, along with tending to the children. The possibility for stress, worry and fear could easily run rampant among the wives, mothers, and children. Yet they survived. Perhaps that is why their faith has always been so strong, and rosary beads worn down by all the time spent in prayer. In this paper, I attest to Manito spiritual devotion that has transcended generations, and continues to create ample opportunities and divine provisions. It seems as if navigating the spiritual terrain has been both necessary and complex, similar to the migratory journey Manitos embarked upon.

Considering the significant impact migration had upon village dynamics, it is important to examine what life was like for those Manitos who transcended geographic borders into unfamiliar spaces. My work seeks to expand our knowledge on the continuing history of the exodus of Manitos and their migration experience to Wyoming. The next chapter fully explores the work and living conditions of Manitos who labored to support their families. However, as I will explain what was only supposed to be a seasonal experience eventually became more permanent as Manitos established residency in Wyoming.

Chapter 3: Manitos in Wyoming: Early Labor Experiences

For generations, Nuevomexicanos traveled outside of their home state primarily for economic survival. Seasonal labor opportunities along with induction in the United States' Armed Services had resulted in the unintended dispersal of Nuevomexicanos creating a set of what I call Manito trails extending from northern New Mexico across the Rocky Mountain region and into other parts of the United States. Existing historical narratives and studies reveal the dynamics flows of the Manito Diaspora. Several scholars invested in documenting these experiences. Recently, Jorge Iber and Linda Elezhuk Roybal have produced doctoral dissertations on the movement of Nuevomexicanos to Utah.¹³ Sarah Horton's dissertation that eventually transpired into a book titled, *Santa Fe Fiesta Reinvented: Staking Ethno-Nationalist Claims to a Disappearing Homeland* draws upon oral testimonies of Hispanic New Mexicans who migrated to California and Colorado, and returned to New Mexico, and Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez is following the Manito Trail from western New Mexico to eastern Arizona. Sarah Deutsch has also contributed greatly to this endeavor. Her book, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* is one of the most thoroughly researched studies that engages with the regional community as a vital framework to examine with the intercultural, Anglo-Hispanic frontier. This approach reveals the dynamics of the Anglo capitalist economy, and the autonomy Manitos exhibited through patterns of migration. Deutsch elaborates, "For these Chicanos the region is their community, and questions of cultural and familial survival or breakdown, initiative or adaptation, can be understood only through a regional focus." (Deutsch 1987, 9) Like Deutsch, whose detailed study provides insight to the migration experiences of Manitos to Colorado, I am interested in examining the lives of those who

migrated for work in Wyoming, how they adapted to their new communities, and how these migrants maintained ties to their families and cultural communities through patterns of in-and-out migration. Each of the above-mentioned studies make significant contributions to the corpus of knowledge that delves into the experiences of Manitos outside of the homeland; a narrative that has been largely neglected in United States' history accounts.

Aside from secondary sources, I also employ qualitative textual analysis of existing archival evidence.. These materials include information gathered from the *testimonios* in La Cultura Oral History Collection and the Following Manito Trail project (FMT). Both research projects bring to light the various aspects of everyday life and work in Wyoming, such as the type of jobs, pay, and social conditions. These personal testimonies historicize the Manito experience in Wyoming and also serve to validate communal and cultural ties to the state.

The Politics of Borders: Mexicanos and/or Manitos

The intricacy of borders and their imposition upon the lives of Manitos extend beyond my analysis of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and New Mexico's land grant communities that I engaged in the previous chapter. In Wyoming, Manitos and Mexicano laborers experienced racialized processes of United States' economic expansionism such as labor recruitment, segregation, and discrimination. The everyday pressures of navigating these geographical borders, social, and political divides are essential parts of a complex Manito identity. Wyoming has a pronounced history of White supremacist, racial ideologies that have dominated politics and perspectives that resulted in exploited working conditions and racialized living experiences. Like their Mexicano and Mexican

American counterparts, Manitos were affected by social and legal practices that resulted in discrimination against people of color. Although, Manito labor has been essential in generating state and federal revenue for the state of Wyoming, their public service has been negated and/or dismissed vis-a-vis their economic contribution. Relatively few studies delve into the labor experiences of Manitos or Hispanos from northern New Mexico, in Wyoming. Sometimes they are briefly mentioned, but more commonly noted or generalized in connotation with the Mexican and Mexican American streams of labor. I argue that understanding the unique and shared history of Manitos in relation to other Mexican populations is critical to a more diverse appreciation of U.S. history. Moreover, understanding Manito and Mexicano historical roots and ties to the region goes against the homogenizing impulses of U.S. expansionism.

Diminishing the socio-cultural and historical distinctions between Manitos of northern New Mexico and Mexicanos leads to cultural and historical stereotyping that impacts the way Manitos are viewed in spaces outside of their communities of origin. “To the Anglos we’re all Mexicans,” explains Nativday (Nety) Arias of Cheyenne, Wyoming, whose father originated from Mexico. Expressing a similar view, my Grandma Alice from Nuevo Mexico explains “I didn’t know I was Mexican until I came to this town.” (Sánchez-Martínez 1982) The complexity of shifting geographic borders merge significant aspects of the struggle, for Mexicano and Manito communities to experience alike. “Like Mexicans, Hispanos who worked for Anglos were usually residentially segregated and were on the bottom rung of the socioeconomic ladder. Not surprisingly when the two groups came into contact, competition for jobs and status brought them into conflict. (Nostrand 1992, 163) In group social identifiers, such as those

related to class status, at times stimulated pronounced distinctions between Mexicanos and Manitos. United States (U.S.) nation building, and the belief of White Supremacy has significantly impacted the conceptualization of im/migration and the racial geographies mapped onto these movements. Yet Manitos endured the ascribed markers, discrimination, and the boundaries of limitation that continue to shift with time, space, and demographics.

Wyoming History: Economy, Land, and Industries

U.S. expansion evolved through legal and extralegal processes and politics that worked to displace Wyoming's Native American population and clear space for new Anglo settler communities.¹⁴ During this time, throughout the 19th century, successive laws, such as the 1820 Land Act, the 1862 Homestead Act, the 1873 Timber Culture Act, and the 1877 Desert Land Act of 1877 stripped Indigenous peoples of access to much of their traditional land bases and encouraged homesteading and land development in Wyoming. Along with cattle, the sheep industry proved to be a very lucrative business that resulted from ease of access and use of the public domain. The emerging U.S. nation utilized the sheep industry and the forced (mis)conception of open territory to justify land acquisition and grazing opportunities for their businesses that prospered in resources and assets. Michael Cassity, a Parks and Services worker of the state, documents the history of ranching, farming and homesteading in Wyoming. Cassity focuses on the rise of agricultural, ranching and sheep herding sectors after Wyoming achieves statehood in 1890. He writes, "The census report for 1890 showed Wyoming with 712,520 sheep. Ten years later the census showed a total of 5,099,613 sheep an increase of 716% in the decade." (Cassity 201, 24)

More and more sheep were moved in, herded north from New Mexico, east of Oregon and west from the Midwest. A multitude of small flocks of sheep, numbering in hundreds and then several thousand, with a few flocks as large as ten thousand head, were mainly located in the southern part of the territory, near—the railroad, essential for shipping wool. Many of these herds started out “on shares,” a system in which the owner would turn sheep over to another person for care, with the owner receiving half the wool and half the increase in sheep. This system worked, with many of the prominent operations in the Wyoming sheep industry tracing their origins to this kind of arrangement (Cassity 2010, 18)

Flocks of sheep were ushered throughout the state by efforts and energies of men, such as: M.E. Post, Edward Creighton, John B. Okie, the Cosgriff Brothers (Thomas, James, and John), and Francis E. Warren. These are just some of the names associated with Wyoming’s early sheep business. Of course, the sheep industry fluctuated by seasons with numbers and profits. However, it proved to be a very lucrative business operation. “By 1908, Wyoming led the nation in wool production with over six million sheep valued at \$32 million. Wool topped beef, even in value.” (Western 2015) Lending insight to the conflict and violence on the fields that arose from Wyoming’s sheep and cattle wars.

Wyoming, rich in mineral, grazing and agricultural lands was monopolized by Anglos for profit.¹⁵ Land acquisition and resource extraction generated a steady revenue or income for the state that created a demand for labor in the fields, mines, and on the railroad. Cassity writes about the diverse communities attracted to the state.

For agriculture in Wyoming has also provided the basis of a way of life, has offered the hope of independence and freedom in a difficult and uncertain world, and has brought people of different genders, ethnicity, and classes to a place where a new start could be made for new lives. . . . For the young family settling on a homestead, for the substantial rancher, for the single woman homesteader, for the immigrant from Eastern Europe, for the workers following the harvest, for the migrant worker and tenant farmer, and for the shepherd who carved a name onto a tree using the marks of another language, the landscape of Wyoming was a land of promise for the future, sometimes a last hope. (Cassity 2010, 12)

Economic development related to the growth of agriculture, ranching and shepherding led to an increasing need for seasonal and permanent laborers. Migration provided one means for meeting labor growth demands. “In agriculture the sugar beet industry expanded into Wyoming on a large scale. At first Germans from Russia were hired. By World War I many Mexican Hispanic agricultural workers were recruited to work in sugar beets across Wyoming in places like Lovell and Torrington.” Japanese communities were also mobilized on the railroads, and Basques were known to work in sheep camps.¹⁶

Greeks, Basques, and Hispanics herding for Anglo sheep men had a common thread. They came from remote villages, left women at home, and “worked out” to provide desperately needed cash for small rural communities caught between an agricultural past and an industrializing future. A prime difference, however, was the distance of those villages. Greeks and Basques herded thousands of miles from home. As World War I shattered national boundaries and left destruction with millions dead, there seemed less reason to return. (Gulliford 2017, 406)

On the other hand, Manitos had relatively easy access to the villages of northern New Mexico and so they traveled back and forth between their homes and Wyoming. The proximity of Manitos to their homeland sustained them in ways other communities from across the waters were not afforded. For decades, there was a steady pattern of in-and-out migration from northern New Mexico, as Manitos left the state to labor and generate economic stability. Their advantage in doing this, traveling across social and geographic boundaries, was rooted in the fact that they had a home base fixed in the village landscape of northern New Mexico. In New Mexico, Manitos were established with family, property, farms, historical ties, and a strong cultural foundation that connected Manitos both in-state and afar. Migrant labor worked as a strategy that benefited

individual families and worked to sustain the villages. Suzanne Forrest, identifies the agency of this type of mobility as both an economic and cultural advantage.

The migrants brought much needed cash to the villages, while the villages preserved the migrant workers ethnic roots and protected them and their families against the exigencies of seasonal flux. This measure of independence and mobility also permitted the villagers to protest unpalatable employer demands and working conditions. With little incentive to accumulate or increase their consumption of industrial goods, and without a fear of destitution, New Mexico's Hispanos sought and left work based as much on their own limited cash needs as on labor market demands. In this way they successfully resisted Anglo efforts to make them conform to individualistic competitive behavior, and they retained a remarkable degree of control over the development of their culture. (Forrest 1989, 10-11)

The Manito homeland and communal network has always served as a place of refuge from the subversive experiences out on the open range. Accustomed to the northern New Mexico lifestyle, the strategy of seasonal out migration worked to sustain Manitos in the villages of northern New Mexico. Manitos were fortunate because they had *familia* in New Mexico to hold it down and in Wyoming, more kin were becoming established and connected, who really did have their best interest in mind. According, to Sarah Deutsch, "In a regional community, it is the people who are the bonds. They make use of the opportunities throughout the region for the benefit of a single community, their village. They tie the village, through themselves, to other economies, just as they themselves are bound to the village." (Deutsch 1987, 36) Outmigration was a working a solution to the devastating conditions of northern New Mexico. However, what works for one season or particular time frame does not always extend into the next. The economy, community, and Manitos' family situations were changing. As Deutsch explains, "They began to redefine their communities on the frontier of their region and to develop strategies less dependent on ties between these communities and the villages. They looked instead

toward winning a broader place for themselves within the Anglo community. Their aims were not necessarily Anglicization, but involved permanent residence, greater economic opportunities, and full social incorporation into the Anglo world.” (Deutsch 1987, 204)

The convenience of being close to one another, as well as the luxuries of living in a more modern community was appealing. So, entire families decided to embark onto the Manito trail. This population shift would have a long-lasting impact on the historical and socio-cultural trajectory of Manitos in both New Mexico and Wyoming.

Early Stories on the Manito Trail



Figure 6: Juan Bautista Cordova, Rawlins WY (1920s)



Figure 7: Luis Garcia and Victor Sanchez, Somewhere on the Manito Trail (1930s)

On a recent visit to Wyoming, my paternal grandfather recalled stories of his Grandfather, Antonio Valdez, who traveled to Wyoming on horseback to hunt buffalo. Wyoming has always been a state well-known for its wild game, including buffalo, elk, and deer, and continues to be a popular space for hunting and fishing. My grandfather's story serves as the basis or precedent for the Manito roots established in Wyoming. In "Wyoming's Mexican Hispanic History" Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, historian and guest editor for the special issue of the *Annals of Wyoming*, authenticates my grandfather's story. He writes, "At times Nuevo Mexico *ciboleros* (buffalo hunters) may have entered the plains area of Wyoming with Utes and Comanches to hunt buffalo and to trade with Indian peoples for furs and buffalo skins." (Ríos-Bustamante 2001, 4) To survive and provide for their families they traveled by horse to hunt and trade. Then they would return home to their villages of northern New Mexico. There is evidence of these early trade routes established by fur traders that create a direct link between Western Wyoming and Utah to New Mexico.¹⁷ (Ibid.) Over time, the trails evolved from dirt roads to highways and were more frequently traveled by Manitos who sought out-of-state opportunities for supplemental income.

To follow the Manito Trail from New Mexico to Wyoming, one commonly travels what is now the I-25 corridor, north through Colorado and into the great plains of Wyoming. From the Taos area, my family traveled along the Old State Road 3 that eventually became Highway 522. I've been able to retrieve information as such, history about the Manito trail, through conversations and interviews with family members. When asking my grandparents about the old road, they couldn't recall any names. They

explained to me they didn't travel by directions using names of roads, but rather features of the landscape. My grandma explained,

From Taos, you travel north to Arroyo Hondo, up-hill and then down into San Cristobal, a few more hills and then Questa. Between Questa and Costilla, you go pass the Spaniard and the Bear (silhouettes that are embedded into the mountain landscape). After that, you will be in San Luis. Did you know San Luis is the oldest town in Colorado? In Fort Garland, you can grab your goodies at the service station, and then turn right there. Go thru La Veta Pass into Walsenburg to get to I-25. Then go north towards Pueblo. (Sanchez-Martinez 2019)

Once in Wyoming, Manitos traveled along another main corridor, now the I-80 interstate, that extends across the state east to west. Manitos traveled this route to get to towns, such as: Laramie, Hanna, Rawlins, Green River, Rock Springs, many of the rural areas that offered early labor opportunities and are known to have Manito enclaves.

Manitos on the Trail: Recruitment for Work

For the most part, word of mouth was the common means for recruiting laborers to Wyoming. A fellow Manito would hear of an opportunity and before you knew it the *primos* were rounded up and ready to go. Recruitment efforts for Wyoming's beet fields were also advertised in the local newspaper. A more formal way of hiring laborers was when the bosses themselves or labor contractors would travel to New Mexico to hire on a crew for particular jobs. Manitos were also active agents in this process, as they themselves were involved in the recruitment and delivery of Manitos to Wyoming. Henry B. Mascareñas of Mora, labored in Wyoming as a sheepherder and "became the front man for the sheep owners when it came time to recruit sheep herders." (Martínez, Debari) He himself explained "*Habian muchos que traian de alla de Nuevo Mexico. Yo trabaje con los de Nuevo Mexico muchas veces alla. Iba de aqui a traer gente de Nuevo Mexico. Cuando "fijadero". Yo Iba en la troca a traer gente de alla de Nuevo Mexico.*" (I worked

many times with people over there from New Mexico. I went from here to bring people from New Mexico. When I was a *fijadero* [*sic*]. I would go in the truck to bring people from over there in New Mexico.) (Mascareñas 1983) My Great-Grandfather Victor, often times secured work by writing a letter to the boss of Bolton Sheep Company. Upon receiving word of employment, my grandmother recalls vividly the times of his departure. She said, “My dad would roll his bed (blanket, pillow and warm clothes), and then head to Taos to catch the Trailways bus service that would take him off to Rawlins or Hanna, Wyoming. These were sad times. . . we knew he had to go.” My cousin Joaquín Argüello of Valdez also shares travel stories of his *Abuelo* Fermín Argüello, He states, “Him and his dad used to go to Wyoming as shepherders. . . They would get on their horses and they would ride up to Grand Junction, get on the train, and then ride the horse up to Wyoming.” (Arguello 2018) Manitos would also travel to Wyoming by automobile or catch the train in Fort Garland to travel to Cheyenne.

Shepherding as a Manito Way of Life: The Transfer of Cultural Knowledge

“In New Mexico, families planted corn and melons, beans and wheat. Chiles harvested in the fall became colorful red *ristras* as they dried strung from the *vigas* or wooden beams of flat-roofed adobe houses. But farming was subsistence only. Sheep represented pesos on the hoof.” (Gulliford 2017, 399)

The growth of the shepherding industry through the mid-1900s was premised on the growing numbers of New Mexican shepherders and their transfer of knowledge about shepherding to Wyoming. “By 1850 New Mexico had the largest number of sheep in the West. Much like Texas for cattle, it became a source of the expanding sheep industry after the Civil War. Between 1850 and 1900 New Mexico became a leader in sheep, and the industry was influenced by new markets, means of transportation and other factors.” (Carlson 1969, 25). As such, sheep herding expanded within a regional

community that linked New Mexico to Wyoming. Manitos were well-positioned to participate in this regional community because they possessed generational knowledge, skills and experience in shepherding. In fact, many herds of sheep were driven out of New Mexico and into Wyoming in order to meet the growing economic needs. This occurred at the same time that Manitos were facing diminishing economic circumstances.

The socio-economic conditions of early 1900s rural New Mexico became more devastating as Anglo business excursions infiltrated the territory. “The lack of a money economy in the region made credit extension an essential part of the business, if business was to be conducted at all. . . The extension of credit brought the villagers directly into the national economy and made them vulnerable to its convulsions. They became “*partidarios*,” or sheep sharecroppers with the very herds which the Bonds had acquired from them. . . By 1900 one-quarter to one-half of all New Mexico’s sheep were under Partido contracts.” (Deutsch 1987, 22-23) This played a vital role in the reasoning for outmigration. According to Suzanne Forrest, “Villagers who did not want to become entrapped in the Partido system of New Mexico sought work as shepherders in Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Montana. Others found jobs close by on the railroads, on cattle ranches, in mines and lumber mills, and as laborers in the growing cities. Still others migrated northward to tend and harvest sugar beets.” (Forrest 1989, 29) Considering the wealth of the sheep industry, Manitos were the ideal laborers for the job. “The herders who traveled brought with them centuries of working with sheep and a custom and culture familiar with high country wilderness and weeks of being alone. They knew the exact day to turn rams in with ewes so lambs would be born under a full moon. . .” (Gulliford 2017, 416). This type of wisdom is the cultural knowledge of a trade that

has been learned, and passed on generationally. For Manitos, it was a social norm, a necessity and means of survival. So much of their world revolved around the proper care and tending to the sheep.

Shepherding was well-integrated into Wyoming's state politics and federal initiatives, and fostered exponential growth and wealth in the best interests of ranchers and homesteaders. (Western 2015) Access to land and resources through federal acts (as previously discussed) allowed for the expansion of ranching and agriculture. A prime example of an industry that provided a very humble living for some, as in the case of Manitos, while monopolized for profits and power by others. The latter, well-illustrated through the life and memorialization of Francis E. Warren. Traveling through the city of Cheyenne, especially if you grew up there, you become familiar with the name. Warren, was a Massachusetts farm boy, Wyoming business owner, and government official. He owned Warren Mercantile Company and Warren Livestock Company. He was also, "responsible for many of the buildings that still grace downtown Cheyenne. . . The plains Hotel, the Majestic Building, and the Lincoln Theater are all still standing and in business." (Drake 2014) His name is commemorated throughout the city. One of the main streets that run through downtown Cheyenne is named Warren Avenue, the main financial institution is Warren Federal Credit Union, and there is also Francis E. Warren Airforce Base. Warren, a key figure in the sheep herding business heralded and aligned many of his political interests in favor of those running and operating the sheep industry. He was a "storekeeper, rancher, territorial governor, briefly state governor and finally U.S. senator for nearly 40 years. Warren owed much of his wealth and power to sheep. A U.S senator from Iowa called Warren "the greatest shepherd since Abraham." (Western

2014) I draw upon this memorialized recognition of Warren because he also migrated to Wyoming and was able to access and achieve much wealth in his lifetime. In juxtaposition to Manitos, his Anglo status enhanced his opportunity to climb the socio-economic ladder without the adversity of racial barriers.

Racial covenants, such as segregation and the dual wage system, accompanied economic development in the U.S. and minimized profitable assets for non-whites. By distinguishing and setting apart communities of color as inferior, Anglos were afforded the upper hand in business handling and operations. In Wyoming, herds and land were owned mainly by Anglos and Manitos came to the industry as workers. This provided the racial tone or sentiment that reverberated through employment practices and social settings. Despite the lucrative earnings in the sheep industry for ranchers, my Great-Grandfather Victor earned approximately \$50 per month working in *la borrega* for ranches located in Hanna and Rawlins. Years later, Henry B. Mascareñas only earned \$75 per month shepherding, and later those wages were lowered back down to \$50 per month. In a 1983 La Cultura Oral History Interview, Henry, who worked in Casper as a shepherd and later as a construction worker, was asked if he had any problems renting or buying houses. He responded, “*No habia. No habia suficientes casas. Habia mucha gente y no habia casas, ve. Hasta que ya no empearon hacer casas. Desde empearos hacer casas, entonces se, pero no podia uno agarrar buenas casas. Vivimos en unos chantes, pero teribles en West B., you know. Y luego aqui tambien hasta que compramos aqui. Entonces cuando compramos aqui. Entonces ya fue diferente.*” (There wasn’t any. There weren’t enough houses. There were too many people and not enough homes, until they began to make homes. When we started to make houses, yes, but you couldn’t get

good homes. We lived in terrible shacks in West “B” you know. And then later we bought here, then it was different.) (Mascareñas 1983)

Although, not directly indicated in the interviews with older Manitos as “racism”, they do allude to overt experiences of discrimination, poor and segregated living conditions, low wages, and the experience of being denied opportunity and advancements despite skill, and years of experience.

En la Borrega: Experiences out on the Range

Sheepherding was a day in and day out form of labor, that only afforded the means for a modest living. In a discussion about life on the range, Michael Cassity provides a description of the labor sheepherding in Wyoming entailed.

Critical to the grazing of sheep and collecting their wool is the necessity of moving them on both a daily and a season basis. Separated into bands of 2,500-3,000 sheep under the protection and guidance of herder and dogs, the sheep would spend the summers in the high mountain country and the winters at lower elevations, often in places difficult for cattle to graze, like the Red Desert with its sage covered plains. During the days, the herder would customarily take the sheep to graze in a different area than the day before, moving outward from the camp, where the sheepherder wagon and sheep would bed down at night, in different directions like the spokes of a wheel. When one grazing area would be fully used, the wagon, herder and sheep would move on to another location where the pattern would be repeated. Then in the spring, the sheep would gather at central locations to be shorn, dipped, and docked, and lambs would be born before they moved to the high country again. (Cassity 2010, 25)

Working in *la borrega*¹⁸ was an isolating experience. Manitos were alone, with nature, the flock and God. To gain a better understanding of this reality, I draw upon testimonios that reflect upon these lived experiences. My primo Joaquín states, “We romanticize it when they were up there in ten feet of snow with no gortex, no rubber, cowboy boots and wool. It’s like . . . it’s hard, you know?” (Argüello 2018) Given the environmental conditions of northern New Mexico, with fluctuating weather conditions and seasons,

Manitos had been accustomed to laboring under these circumstances. However, Wyoming winters are much more severe and therefore present more obstacles. Such labor conditions combined with being far from home, separated from family and loved ones make for some saddened stories on the Manito Trail. Annabelle Grace Esquibel Redman of Ledoux, New Mexico, well-known in Cheyenne, Wyoming as Ann Redman, tells of the deep love her Grandfather Alfonso had for her Grandmother Perpetua, including the devastating loss he experienced while away from home working. She states, “He had been shepherding in Wyoming when he got word that my grandma had died. And by the time he got back to New Mexico, she had been buried because they didn’t have embalming. . .” (Esquibel Redman 2007) As hard as it is to experience the loss of a loved one, being so far away without modern-day forms of communication and transportation made the tragedy of death even more devastating. Ann attests to the overwhelming sense of sadness her grandfather expressed sharing that story. Another heart-rending and real-world experience working *la borrega* is told by Virginia Sánchez in the *Annals of Wyoming*. In an essay titled, “Pal Norte: The Sanchez and Espinoza Family Migrations from Mora County, New Mexico to Cheyenne, Wyoming,” she writes, “when Francisco Antonio Espinoza and his uncle, Salomón Amado Trujillo, traveled from Ledoux to Wyoming to herd and shear sheep. While working near Rawlins a rattlesnake bit Salomón in the leg. Because Salomon was so far from help and medical care, he died as a result. Sadly, Salomón’s wife and children back in Ledoux only heard that he died as a result of the bite; they never learned where he was buried.” (Sánchez, 2017, 20) The Manito Trail is marked by countless stories and personal family histories that extend

from life to death, challenged or made more difficult because of the distance between loved ones.

The Depression

Manitos pursued wage labor opportunities outside of the state to survive. By going back and forth between New Mexico and Wyoming for work they were able to sustain their livelihood. “The Depression disrupted migration patterns and strategies Hispanics had followed for ten, fifteen, and even twenty-five years. Only the skeleton of the regional migratory pattern survived. Villagers continued to visit relatives at the perimeters of the regional community. A few men still managed to find work herding sheep or working beets in Colorado or Wyoming, and their wives, like one woman near Embudo, New Mexico, were considered “fairly well off”. But it was not enough.

(Deutsch 1987, 164). As Deutsch continues to explain jobs were scarce and wages were low. (Ibid.) Alfred Arellano of Costilla, New Mexico talks about the economy of the Wyoming sheep industry in 1929. He lived through the depression and explains, “We sold the sheep before they were born see. . . The sheep that had been eighteen cents a pound dropped down to two cents. And you know that when one is used to selling a sheep for ten dollars before and then they drop down to two cents, they weren’t worth even a dollar and a half per sheep. How could I make money?” As a man in his 30s, his recollection of the Depression provides a viewpoint of the time period as one of increased poverty and deficiency. He explains, “There was no credit, no money, we couldn’t find anything with which to eat. . . I worked for a dollar a day, but I made it. Working here in Wyoming I made it.” (Arellano 1981) As a caretaker and provider, the weight of a family made these times even more troublesome.

See. This was the Depression. Many people now a days do not know what a depression is. I do. My children do not know because they were too small, but I do know. People dying of hunger I had to carry sacks of flour many times three or four miles so she could make bread for my children. I would bring a sheep home from John late at night on my back so we could have something to eat. If I hadn't had the sheep before who knows how I would have made it. (Ibid.)

Arellano identifies the Depression as the saddest time in his life. He said "I would go out into the plains and lay down by the brush to think about what to do. I didn't know what to do. . ." (Ibid.) The knowledge and skills of Manitos assisted them in living through economic hardships.

A shepherd's lifestyle required deep knowledge of the land, sheep and the economy, as well as determination and resilience. On a recent archival trip, I visited the American Heritage Center in Laramie Wyoming. As part of the Martin T. Baskett Collection, I came across a handbook on lambing ewes that was designed for the shepherders. In *Total Per Cent: Lambing Rules* (1915), Thomas Boylan writes, recognizes the man worthwhile in a lambing camp was "the man who can smile when everything goes dead wrong"—the man who sees many things and can find the time, the way, and the will, to better them." (Boylan 1915) This description highlights the tenacious qualities of a good shepherd. Someone who could face adversity, endure a very humble lifestyle and be held responsible, to protect and serve. Manitos labored as an essential part of the regional economy and were directly impacted by regional and national economic developments.

Migration not only responded to economic growth but also economic contraction. Economic patterns also influenced the migration of Manitos. The Depression put the world economy into a decline and decreased the flow of

Manito migration. The dire economic situation influenced the U.S. Federal Government to heighten its control over Mexican immigration through its repatriation campaigns from the late 1920s through the early 1930s. One aspect of stemming migration was to solidify surveillance and control of regional and international borders. In the mid 1930s, the southern Colorado Border was closed illegally. The closure of the borders had a significant impact upon Manitos' strategy for survival. Deutsch explains,

. . . In April 1936, Colorado Governor Edwin Johnson declared martial law and used the National Guard to illegally close Colorado's southern border. Of course, Anglos and those of Euro-American descent could pass through, but not "Mexicans," which was a catch-all classification for all Hispanics whether from Mexico or native New Mexicans whose families had lived in America for over 300 years. Many of those who were stopped at the border were young men seeking jobs as shepherds for Anglo sheepmen in a seasonal work pattern that had begun in the 1880s and by the 1930s had become vital to New Mexican village economies. There was simply no work at home. (Gulliford 2017, 405)

Manitos had worked to establish a regional economy and were then blockaded from the very pathway that helped provide for their families. While outrage helped to end the blockade the flow of in and out migration attributed to seasonal labor receded. (Deutsch 1987, 167) Some Manitos resorted to forms of government support and programs while others increased cash crops. (Ibid.) However, the experiences of outmigration left a trail that connected people and place with Manito history.

Legacy of Manito Shepherds in Wyoming

Migration involves more than the movement of peoples but also encompasses the transmission of material culture. Manitos left a legacy of cultural imprints along their

journeys. Remnants of Manitos who shepherded in Wyoming are left on the Manito Trail, evident in different forms of material culture such as artifacts, arborglyph carvings and place names. For as long as I can remember there has always been a sheep herder's wagon behind my Great-Grandma Tita's house, on the Southside of Cheyenne. Honestly, I never realized or paid much attention to it until the I began working on this research project. It was just there, a fixed object in my childhood memories, used as a storage, and a great place to hide behind when running around, playing with my sister and *primos*. It's still hard to conceptualize the wagon as Manito living quarters, equipped solely with a bunk, basin, and a small fold out table. This wagon is now forever engrained in my memory, symbolic of the Manito Trail and my familial roots in Wyoming. Like many other Manitos, my family has a working background as sheep herders. In the words of my Great-Grandmother Tiodorita, in reference to her father, Rafael García "*Mi padre siempre fue borregero . . .*" (Sánchez 1982)

In an essay titled, "Donde mi amor se ha quedado": Narratives of Shepherding and Querencia along the Wyoming Manito Trail" Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez conducts a literary analysis of selected literature and *poesía* written by Manitos, related to working in *la borrega*, and interweaves it with a visual study of the Manito arborglyphs located in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Wyoming. The value of *querencia* is well articulated in Manitos longing for home, made evident both literally and figuratively through artistic word expressions and tree carvings. These cultural mediums document the historical presence and experience of Manitos laboring in Wyoming. While Fonseca-Chávez essay skillfully translates the essence of Manitos' hardships laboring in Wyoming, their need for a whole lot of faith, and the expressed desire to return to New Mexico.

Manitos not only marked the area with name tags and pictorial carvings, the practice of place names also extends into the Wyoming. Henry Jensen, past president of Wyoming State Historical Society alludes to this in reference to the Alcova Dam located in Central Wyoming off of the North Platte River. “The word Alcova is Spanish, and this area was given its name by the early Spanish, or Mexican-was it Mexican shepherders? - who came in here to bed their sheep in the area, which was a perfect, a perfect shelter for bedding sheep and they called it Alcova, which means bedroom. Alcova is Spanish for bedroom.” The practice of attributing place names to the landscape, a Manito quality trait of northern New Mexico, accompanied them into Wyoming.

Sugar Beet Fields: “El Betabel”

“You can always tell the men who just returned from chopping sugar beets, from the new pair of Levis they would be wearing.”¹⁹ (Martínez 2018)

There are many family histories of Manitos who migrated to work as seasonal laborers in the sugar beet fields. One of the pioneering businesses in this industry was The Great Western Sugar Company “founded in the early 20th century by Charles Boettcher and partners.” They built their first sugar mill in Loveland, Colorado and then “expanded, built, and acquired several facilities in Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana.” In 1915, its competitor-Holly Sugar Company built a plant in Sheridan, Wyoming. The upsurge in the sugar beet industry required many workers, for intensive stoop labor. At first Germans from Russia were hired” to work the sugar beet fields.” (Ríos-Bustamante 2001, 5) It wasn’t until WWI energies broke out that Wyoming experienced an increase in Mexicano and Manito laborers. “Great Western began clamoring for workers in 1916 when it built a sugar refinery in Lovell. The company needed field hands and recruited Hispanics- not so much from Mexico, but New Mexico

and the area around Eagle Pass²⁰ Texas, known as the Valley. . .” (Western 2011) This statement reveals the distinctions drawn between Mexicano, Manito, Hispanic communities even when they labored in the same geographies and sectors. Needless to say, by World War I, there were many Mexicano and Hispanic (Manito) agricultural workers recruited to work in sugar beets across Wyoming, in places like Lovell and Torrington. (Ríos-Bustamante 2001, 5) Worland, Riverton and Sheridan were other popular locales, Manitos migrated *para tapiar betebel*. My Grandpa Mike explained that a machine would uproot the beets and the men would chop the leaves from the side of the beet. Then they would throw them to the side and another machine would come to pick them up.

At first, the men solely went to work the fields, but with the labor demand and economic need it eventually became more common to find women and children in the beet fields. My Great-Grandma Tiodorita went and worked the sugar beet fields with her (younger) Uncle Bernabe García. “After a long day of labor, Tío Bernabé was so tired, that my mom would put him on her back and carry him all the way back to the beet shacks.” (Sánchez-Martínez 2019) Antonia Apodaca²¹ of Rociada, NM also recalls memories of working in the sugar beet fields, alongside her husband Macario “Max” and his family. In a recent interview for Following the Manito Trail research project, Antonia said she would lay her baby on a blanket under a tree, as she worked in the fields nearby. There are many other Manito families with histories in Wyoming’s sugar beet fields, verified in the interviews of both the La Cultural Oral History Collection and Following the Manito Trail research project. Jeana Rodarte Romero, granddaughter of Valentín Rodarte, recalls stories of a big truck that would be pick up Manitos in Gascon to go and

labor in Wyoming. She said that her grandmother sat in the front while everyone else was in the back. In Riverton, Jeana's family experienced living conditions that were far from accommodating. Each family lived in a railroad car, made available by the sugar beet company. (Rodarte-Romero 2018) In time, houses were also made available or the migrants themselves would build them. In *Settlers, Sojourners, and Proletarians: Social Formation in the Great Plains Sugar Beet Industry, 1890-1940*, Dennis Nodin Valdes, professor of Chicano Studies, writes "American Beet Sugar and Holly Sugar constructed housing and made it available to workers, who paid rent indirectly, as they received lower wages in exchange for housing." (Valdes 1990, 114) Mexicano and Manito laborers alike, "found poor housing, low wages and prejudice. Discrimination in bars, pool halls, churches and restaurants was ignored by Great Western Sugar and persisted until after World War II." (Hewitt 1982, 21) There were some opportunities made available for *some* migrant workers to move up the socio-economic ladder. (emphasis mine) "It would sell or rent land to people who had been field laborers in previous years, offering favorable terms or loans to make it possible for recently arrived immigrants to buy land." (Kipp 2011, 25) And while Manitos did have their home base to return to, the racial politics, legal and extra-legal forms of exclusion and inclusion, impacted the social experiences and labor conditions of different migrant communities. Racial politics were integral to business handling and operations. Scholar, Dustin Kipp explains,

Racial stereotypes affected more than community interactions, however. They came to play an important role in the treatment of Mexican workers by farmers and by the Great Western Sugar Company during the 1920s. Wage rates were often lower than their German Russian counterparts. Some growers suggested that Mexican worker's wages must be kept low because their inherent laziness would lead them to quit as soon as they accumulated a little bit of money. The wage differential was also tied to the company's efforts to use different ethnic groups in competition to keep

overall wages low. The “laziness” believed to be inherent in Mexican’s nature, however, was apparently not taken into account when determining how much land they could work per year. Contracts sometimes required Mexican and Japanese laborer to work twelve to fifteen acres per person whereas German Russians were only expected to cover ten. (Kipp 2011, 34)

To fulfill the legacy of Manifest Destiny²², racialized laws and extralegal forms of discrimination limited the opportunities and advancements for communities of color. In the sugar beet industry, as well as in other labor industries, discrimination occurred through differential wage systems, unfair treatment, and harder job assignments.

Expansion of Migration and Labor Needs During World War II

United States labor demands, seem to have always permitted an underlying force or flow for im/migrant communities, particularly when willing to work for low wages. During WWII, “War-time labor shortages in Wyoming affected ranches, the Casper Air Base, coal mines, dairies, and the tie and timber industry. The war siphoned off 22 to 39 percent of agricultural workers throughout the state.” (Hewitt, 1982, 21) This created a need for laborers, which influenced the provisions of the Bracero Program, an agreement between the U.S. and Mexico that recruited Mexican workers to meet those wartime labor shortages. (Ríos-Bustamante 2001, 7) Not only were Mexicanos recruited to Wyoming during this time, but there was also a considerable number of laborer’s migrating from depressed areas in New Mexico, including the Taos, San Miguel, Mora areas, and the San Luis Valley of Colorado.” (Ibid.) After WWII, Wyoming experienced a decline in its Mexicano workforce but received an influx of Manitos and Mexican-American laborers. “In Rock Springs, a coal mining town, Many Spanish-speaking workers came from Colorado and New Mexico coal mining camps, including Walsenburg, Trinidad, and Taos, Estimates indicated that in 1946 about 40 percent of the

Hispanic population came from New Mexico, 20 percent from Mexico, and the rest from Texas, Colorado, and other states.” (Ibid., 8) While Wyoming has remained predominately White in population, the cultural and historical presence of Manitos, Mexicanos, and Mexican-Americans in the state is one that cannot be easily ignored.

Families Following the Manito Trail

Several stories of family migration from the period of the early 1920s through the 1950s illustrate how economic development coupled with political conditions offer a backdrop to the migration of Manito families. Where once Manito, New Mexican men, responded to labor recruitment and economic opportunities, the period after the 1920s show how entire families left for Wyoming. José Leonardo (Leo) Montaña of Mora, New Mexico moved to Wyoming in 1925. At the time he was only twelve years of age. Describing why his family moved, he states, “Well, my dad was employed here [in Wyoming]. He was a range foreman for the Blake Sheep CO., and he had been employed there for years and he was only spending two or three months out of the year in New Mexico with us and so finally they decided to come over here. We moved to Rawlins, Wyoming.” (Montaña 1982) Leo’s mother, Pablita Sánchez Montaña (born in Mora in 1884), further explained why they decided to move the family to Wyoming. In reference to her husband, she stated, “So he wouldn’t be going so often, so far, it was too expensive.” She goes on to say, “when he went to Mora, he would go for two, three months and then he would come and work four, five months here (in Rawlins). (Sánchez-Montaña 1982) This was the seasonal labor pattern among Manitos. Ben Sisneros worked in the sheep industry in Carbon County and every fall would return to New Mexico. “He did this for years till he brought his family with him and made Rawlins his home.” (Martínez, Debari) With more months spent away working, less time was spent in New

Mexico. Job opportunities were readily available in Wyoming and it started to make more sense for the men to relocate the entire family.

When Manitos left for work, they didn't take much with them. As mentioned above my Grandmother Alice remembers her dad only taking a very small amount of clothes, rolled up with his blanket and pillow. They were going to work, and considering their economic conditions and means of travel, many Manitos recall only taking minimal belongings. My family became more rooted in Wyoming when my Great-Grandmother Tita's dad died. It was then that her son, my Tío Gill, who was working for the city of Cheyenne, thought it was best to move the women to Wyoming to be closer to the men of the family. "Leaving everything behind we just brought our clothes maybe a suitcase or two." (Sánchez-Martínez 2007) My Grandma Alice, who at the time was only 15 recalls simply boarding up the house and leaving for Wyoming. This was common thing for Manito families to do. It wasn't until more permanent residency took place that they would go and collect more sentimental items and belongings. Cora Meza of El Oro in Mora County recalls traveling by train to Cheyenne and being limited on the items they take. "One of the special possessions I packed was an antique pair of scissors that had a cross on it. My older sister, Josefina packed an "ugly" looking golden-colored-stuffed teddy bear. I was less than ten-years old. In the *petaquia* (trunk) we packed a wash bowl and carefully wrapped enough dishes for the family in tea towels. We also packed silverware, blankets and linen; we had no more room to pack mom's other things. My mother had received that *petaquia* as part of her dowry." (Sánchez 2018, 18) The basic essentials were all Manito first families took with them to Wyoming. However, there were many cultural items, such as food, language, skill-sets, values, spirituality and

religious beliefs that also accompanied Manitos. For many years, these various practices and expressions have been used and preserved as a cultural touchstone for Manitos in Wyoming.

In Wyoming, Leo Montaña's first job was for Palace Candy a combination restaurant and candy kitchen. "I started working a \$1 a day, \$7 a week and before it was over, I was making \$50 a month." (Montaña 1982) He also worked in a railroad section, where he continued to gain seniority during time in service. "After service got a job at Addington's Pool Hall, much easier than the section at that time. Worked there until found a job at Sinclair Refinery." (Ibid.) Leo retired from the refinery in 1973, after working there for "24 years and 4 and half months." (Ibid.) The La Cultura interview with Leo, captures the memory and detail of his life of labor. From the dollar a day pay earned working at the candy kitchen to the value of seniority in the railroad section, gained while away serving his country. He recalls "24 years and 4 and a half months" of working for the refinery. Each and every day of labor engrained into his memory, echoes through the way he mentions the exact amount of time spent working there.

Querencia

Living outside of the homeland, away from village life of northern New Mexico always made the experience of Manito community welcoming. My grandma Alice recalls the great stories her dad would share of the times when he would come across a sheepherder's wagon. She said he would always stop to find out who the sheep herder was and where he was from. One time when my Great-Grandparents (Sánchez) were traveling through Snowy Range, Wyoming, they ran into our cousin Moises Trujillo who was there herding sheep. They were so thrilled to see one another that they celebrated by

butchering one of the sheep in order to enjoy a meal together. Grandma fried some papas, and made some tortillas out there in the open, over the fire. As excited as my grandparents were, I am sure Moises was equally excited, if not more. To spend quality time with a fellow Manito is a cultural practice that is even more valued outside of the homeland. Time to engage in conversation, share memories, tears or laughter are some of life's most precious moments. This was made evident in the interviews and oral histories utilized for this study. When a discussion about a particular topic brings to light a cherished memory, you can tell the value of these moments by the tone of the interviewees voice or the precise detail of the experience. For many, these memories generate *querencia* or longing for the homeland, but at the same time they also regenerate *querencia* in Wyoming, as they establish ties to place, by producing memories of lived experience in Wyoming.

Conclusion

It is telling, as I was writing this chapter, I received a text message with a picture of Bucky, the newest addition to my dad's flock of sheep born on our family land in Valdez, New Mexico. While there have been several generations of men in my family that have tended to sheep, my dad is the first I have witnessed to work in *la borrega*. As I've learned, shepherding is no easy task. One has to be present, patient, and in many ways selfless. I have a great respect for those who traveled the Manito trail to be employed in this industry, especially in a landscape that was once foreign to them. Migration stories are both painful and beautiful. One can allude to the hardships associated, such as having to leave behind one's family because of financial necessity, the uncertainty of life that accompanied these experiences, and the difficulties of navigating unfamiliar territory. Nevertheless, there is a more rewarding perspective of the

journey, one that recognizes the shivery of our ancestors, who embedded the Manito Trail with traces of survival, lessons of wisdom that serve as a guide for us to follow.

Manitos endured challenging circumstances in the state of Wyoming. In a predominately Anglo state, Manitos were marginalized and treated unfairly in all aspects of life, including: work, school, living conditions, etc. In the early twentieth century, Wyoming politics worked to minimize social mobility for communities of color, along with the range of access to economic prosperity. Based on these circumstances, it's understandable that majority of Manitos never planned on staying in Wyoming indefinitely. Establishing permanent residency in Wyoming became a logical solution, a way to keep the family together, accompanied with the intentions to overcome the socio-economic barriers, and achieve the means for a more rewarding lifestyle. With time and experience in the state, Manitos became familiar with the playing field. They too strategized and became key players in Wyoming civil and state politics, leading community as politicians, educators, organizational leaders, and professionals.

Manitos historical ties to Wyoming, established through early labor experiences, create a profound sense of belonging. Manitos have regenerated the value of *querencia*. A sense of home revived through socio-cultural practices, communal events, food, and language. For many, Wyoming is home. Through collaborative efforts, advocacy and a whole lot of persistence, Manitos in Wyoming worked towards fostering community and creating pathways for the upcoming generations to follow. The next chapter elaborates on these collaborative efforts that made significant inroads towards social equality, access to education, and sustainable living, milestones of Manito success in Wyoming.

Chapter 4: Exploring *Querencia* in Wyoming: Manito Culture and Community

By the mid-1900s, Manitos were well-aware of Wyoming's racial prejudice and oppressive social conditions. Marginalized experiences affirmed the lack of equality the state afforded people of color.²³ It was no longer just the men facing Wyoming's harsh winds in the fields, but entire families were faced with the state's hostile and discriminatory politics. Therefore, Manitos and Manitas worked collectively to ensure better living conditions and equitable opportunities. As a land-based and migratory people, Manitos extended the geographic boundaries of "home" through labor, activism, and traditional ways of assembly. Their hard work ethic, family values, cultural expressions, and communal village background were their greatest advantages in Wyoming's foreign landscape. By examining Manito's day to day experiences, we gain an understanding of their socio-cultural qualities that spanned miles and generations. Home life, social activities, community activism, and spiritual beliefs are various facets that provide context to the historical depth of Manitos living in Wyoming. I draw upon oral testimonios to contextualize these experiences, as well as archival materials and historical documents to show how they worked to sustain their culture and community in spaces outside of the homeland.

Social Experiences: La Casa de Manito to the Other Side of the Tracks

Living in Wyoming was influenced by the dynamics of social experiences. At home and in the communal spaces orchestrated by Manitos there was a sense of belonging. On the other side of the tracks, in Anglo dominant zones, Manitos were marginalized and discriminated against. These varying experiences influenced the significance of culture and community. The warm and inviting qualities of a Manito

home can be traced from New Mexico to Wyoming. The preparation of la comida,²⁴ the sound of New Mexico music, and the distinguished northern New Mexico dialect are just a few cultural characteristics that invigorate one's senses to the feeling of home. In Cheyenne, 's the walls of my grandmother's home, her shelves, and *mesitas* are adorned with family photos, relatives from *Nuevo México*, Wyoming, along with pictures of those who are off elsewhere in the Manito diaspora. Each and every photograph resonates a joy-filled memory and, for some, a sense of sadness because the loved one's life is solely captured in frame. Occasional family visits, especially from those who traveled the trail, bring about an overwhelming delight. There is active dialogue between the relatives with common questions of how so and so is back home, and sharing the latest news about the rest of the *gavilla* (gang). Call it common courtesy or a Manita social trait of always trying to feed whoever walks thru the door. *Papas con carne, frijoles* and New Mexico green *chile*, with fresh tortillas. “¿Quieres coo-ké?” was what my Great-Grandmother Tiodorita would always ask anytime we would visit her. On each end of the Manito trail the same bold spices fill the air; a welcoming experience that allows you to feel at home despite the familial distance or miles spent apart. This was a safe space, if you will, to express oneself freely—a vital place for Manitos to be nurtured by the comfort of culture.

Manitos' experiences outside of the home depended on what side of the tracks you were on. Up until the 1960s, towns in Wyoming were highly segregated. But, the reality of moving from the villages of northern New Mexico to a designated area of a small town in Wyoming did provide for a somewhat familiar setup. Leroy Varos, from Arroyo Seco, moved to Cheyenne because his dad, Anastacio Varos, was working as a laborer, scrap sorter, for the Union Pacific. When they first moved to Wyoming, they

lived on 715 West tenth Street. In a neighborhood located just a few blocks souths of the railroad tracks. Varos explained “. . . The Southside is mostly Chicano. The houses are cheaper on the Southside. White people don't go buying houses on the Southside as Chicanos do.” (Varos 1982) In Wyoming, Manitos found themselves in close proximity to their Manito neighbors in a tight-knitted community, similar to the villages of northern New Mexico. Everyone knew everyone as *primos* or *parientes* as relationships were established based upon family acquaintances. Considering that the majority of the Manitos lived on the same block or in the same neighborhood, the various families were able to better support one another. In passing, Manitos acknowledge each other by waving or giving the friendly head nod that serve as brief but genuine gestures that resonate deeply as a symbol of communal recognition. Leo Montaña explains how many people often lived on the same piece of property. “. . .there was one time five families living in the same yard and there was nothing I could do to help it. I tried to move but she (in reference to his wife) didn't want to leave there. But each one lived in their own house. But they all lived in the same yard.” My grandma speaks of similar living conditions for Manitos in Cheyenne. In 1951, there were four families living in the apartment building located on West 18th street in Cheyenne Wyoming. “Tia Santanita and her family lived upstairs, Rafaelita Muñóz and her husband lived downstairs, Julia and her family lived downstairs, and we lived upstairs. We weren't family but we were family.” (Sánchez-Martínez Jan 2019) My grandmother identifies the families who lived there by the names of the women and not the men. This is insightful of the fact that women spent more of their time at home, while men mostly were outside of house or away working. Overcrowded and segregated experiences were common living conditions

for Manitos in Wyoming. In time, desegregation and better job opportunities eventually paved the way for Mexican/Hispanic families to establish residency in other parts of town.

The significance of community is best understood when the social conditions that influence all aspects of reality are contextualized. Historian Antonio Ríos Bustamante elaborates on the heightened racial climate in Wyoming that formed everyday experiences of marginalization. He writes,

Economic and social conditions were hard for Mexican families in Wyoming. Most Wyoming communities were racially segregated, and in many places, there were few stores who accepted Mexican customers. Posted signs in many businesses openly stated that no Mexicans or Spanish were served or welcome. In some towns Mexicans could only buy food or supplies from a company or ranch store. Mexican Customers were not welcome in restaurants, barbershops, or places of entertainment and were even excluded from public facilities like swimming pools. (Rios-Bustamante, 6)

Outside of Manito enclaves, social settings were disconcerting. Wyoming institutions and businesses were Anglo dominant and English only zones, including the educational system. conflicting with Spanish as the first language of Manitos, who were used to speaking solely in the home language. Emphasis on the English language made it difficult for Nuevomexicano to succeed in school and in everyday employment experiences. Effectively handicapped by language, Manitos were left at a disadvantage, discriminated against. and ridiculed for the gifting of their cultural ways and practices. T. Joe Sandoval's thesis, titled "A Study of Some Aspects of the Spanish-Speaking Population in Selected Communities in Wyoming," communicates the popular perceptions of Manitos in regard to education during the post-WWII era. He writes, "The Spanish-speaking minority in Wyoming constitutes also an educationally-handicapped

group in the state. The schooling of the older persons was sadly neglected and unless these Spanish-speaking parents wake up to the need of educating their children, this minority group will remain culturally unassimilated for years to come. (Sandoval 1946, 37) Sandoval's study points to the economic necessity of families that required of youth to work, and often diminished the opportunity to pursue an education. He also mentions a lack of encouragement by families, and that some teachers could've been responsible because of their malignant attitudes. (Ibid., 39-40) While economic necessity required Manitos to work, Manito experience also reveals the deficiencies in the educational system as they were not designed as spaces for Manito intellectual development, nor for the support of their overall well-being. We also hear his emphasis upon the notion of cultural assimilation, a strategy to weaken Manito ways, practices, and beliefs. Therefore, Manitos were presented with the challenge of accessing education while simultaneously maintaining the sociocultural qualities that make them unique.

Kate Padilla Dupont of Taos, New Mexico was only three or four years of age when she moved to Green River in 1947. She recalls the language barriers she experienced attending school in Wyoming. "I did not speak English when I went to school. So, therefore, I had a lot of difficulty. I had teachers who became angry because I couldn't tell the difference between Tuesday and Thursday, because that was very contrary to how we spoke in Spanish. When I went to high school, it was necessary for me to become involved in Hispanic groups to find any sense of identity. . ." (Dupont 1983, 7) The reality of attending Anglo dominant institutions was a drastic change for Manito youth. Annabelle (Ann) Grace Esquibel Redman of Ledoux, New Mexico reflects upon the social predicament she experienced living in Cheyenne. "I really wasn't happy

here. I think that's the first time that I kind of noticed a separation. I guess I can say, the Gringos, we didn't have that much in New Mexico. At Saint Mary's, we had a lot of the really rich kids going to school there. . ." (Esquibel Redman 2007) While many people acknowledge the significance of receiving a Catholic education, these spaces were instrumental in fostering segregation, and making Manitos feel less than, in comparison to their Anglo counterparts. My Grandmother Alice also attended school at St. Marys. She recalls hating the experience so much, she left both her parents in Wyoming to go back to New Mexico and finish school. She lived with her Tía Maclovia in Valdez, and after graduating from Taos Highschool in 1954, she went back to Wyoming.

Common to the experiences of other communities of color, Manitos were forced to deal with legal exclusions, policing, limited citizenship opportunities, assimilation, and other daily forms of discrimination. David Romero recalls derogatory remarks, such as being called "greaser and spic." (Romero 2007) Kate Padilla Dupont also had similar experiences growing up in Wyoming. She states, "I definitely did have a lot of trouble with whites in school. I was called a, dirty Mexican. I was, teased, and even boys were not allowed to date me because I was a Mexican, if they were Anglo/American. And I think, the teachers also encouraged that. I think that they told other students don't hang around with those Mexicans" (Dupont 1983, 7). Social barriers in school combined with economic hardships made it difficult to obtain an education, Kate goes onto discuss other forms of discrimination. She explains, "During the 50s and 60s... At that time, it was very common to have the police come and beat up the Mexicans and the Spanish. Toss em' in jail, you never had a hearing, some never received interpreters." (Dupont 1983, 8)

These were common acts of discrimination and racial violence experienced by ethnic minorities nationally.

Although Manitos moved to Wyoming in order to improve their living conditions and contribute to the Wyoming economy, they nevertheless experienced racism and discrimination as did other people of color in relation to the dominant society. However, beginning in the 1950s, civil rights activities picked up organizing steam. For Manito communities, organizing activities lightened the load of racism and classism. Wyoming followed suit with other states and enacted laws that gave visibility for equity and inclusion. However, as Betty Oeland posits, the 1957 Civil Rights Act in Wyoming, originally introduced to Senate as “An Act to Provide for the Equal Treatment of all Persons in the State of Wyoming” was passed by congress as a piece of compromise legislation. Based upon, “its arduous legislative history and the lack of specificity in the final enactment” (Oeland 1958, 83). Oeland rightly notes that “the language of the statute is so broad and general, and will require so much in the way of judicial interpretation, that it will not prove to be an effective instrument for the attainment and preservation of “civil rights.” (Ibid.) Nevertheless, pieces of legislation as such, fair employment practices, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 served as solutions to solving racial inequity on the forefront, while discrimination and racialized experiences persisted. Importantly, the Civil Rights Act was one source of inspiration for continued activism by Manitos.

Grassroots organizations also opened the door for building positive relationships and networks that challenged social and economic marginalization of Manito communities in Wyoming. They provided a space for like-minded individuals with similar backgrounds and interests to collaborate and build momentum to resolve

community grievances. Clubs and organizations also provided an important site for community cohesion and cultural expression. This is important because often times circumstances of poverty and oppression negate or hinder opportunities for solidarity and community empowerment. The rural-based and mutual support networks that Manitos relied on to engage in economic and cultural activities were transmitted to Wyoming. Manito communities genuinely invested in their community-based organizations and the relationships that nurtured and sustained them. Group organizing took the forms of civic clubs, community action agencies, cultural programs, and educational advocacy groups.

Community Organizing: The Manita Movement

Beginning in the late 1960s, Manitos in Wyoming took a vigorous organizing around the needs of their community. As Sarah Deutsch illuminates the pattern was similar for Nuevomexicanos in Colorado at the same time, “Hispanics did not abandon other strategies. They continued to seek Anglo education, to form organizations, and to enter politics.” (Deutsch 1987, 40) Manitos’ had a long tradition of building local and regional governance structures in order to address their social and political interests and advocate for their cultural and community needs. Their tenacity combined with the severity of their socio-economic conditions inspired collective action in order to create equity in education, better working conditions, and to improve their overall quality of life. In towns across Wyoming, various organizations and programs were formed to support these endeavors.²⁵ One important and early example of community organizing can be found in the establishment of chapters of the Latin American Federation in Cheyenne, Laramie, and Torrington in the mid 1950s.²⁶ (Amended Articles of Incorporation of the Latin-American Club of Laramie, Inc. 1/18/96) The Latin American Club of Laramie was a non-profit fraternal organization that hosted regular meetings and

a variety of activities to support and foster community. They held charitable events, scholarship fundraisers, potluck suppers, Children's Christmas Celebrations, and regular dances that were aligned with celebrations for the holidays, including, Saint Patrick's Day, Halloween, and Easter. These were enjoyable social functions where New Mexican culture and Manito community thrived in spaces outside of the home. They brought awareness to serious issues and concerns effecting the community-at-large and served as a significant forum to mobilize on the ground advocacy. Manitos formed clubs and organizations in states that they migrated to in order to build communal structures that provided them with community and a network for advocacy and support.

Efforts were made order to facilitate communication and collaboration across clubs and organizations. For example, in 1971, the Latin American Federation convened a National Convention in Colorado. In his opening statement in the program for the Convention, LAF's President, John Ybarra Jr., brought attention to the substantial flow of migration and serious concerns affecting the community. He writes,

Each year, a migration of over one million persons takes place in the United States. It is a migration of economic necessity which forces individuals and entire families to enter into one of three major migrant labor streams and submit to deplorable living and working conditions which make up the world of the migrant laborer. This is a world apart from the mainstream life—a world where hopes and dreams are seldom, if ever, realized—a world where hopes and dreams are soon forgotten in the heat and dust of endless days. The migrant and his family are lonely wanders on the face of our land. They are the living testimonial to the poverty and neglect that is possible in this wealthy and dynamic democracy that we live in—the democracy that prides itself on protection and concern for all individuals—except one. “THE MIGRANT AND HIS FAMILY.” (Ybarra 1971)²⁷

Ybarra's statements appear focused on internal migration. However, labor migration often occurred and involved both immigrants and citizens. He does not draw a distinction

between the national status of internal and external migrants and references a larger world of migrants. He concludes the address by making a call for the people to “unite to wipe away from this earth the deplorable living and working conditions which make up the world of this forgotten American. Manitos from Wyoming attended the Convention to inform themselves and contribute to regional and national conversation. Ybarra’s message emphasized the importance of understanding the civil and human rights context of migration and the importance of solidarity. Manitos, alongside their Mexicano and Mexican American brothers and sisters strategized to implement social change for the betterment of the migrant and his family.²⁸ Here, I emphasize the significant role and influence of Manitas through the life work of women who helped facilitate community by integrating cultural programming, grassroots organizing, and educational based initiatives.

Socio-economic advancements for ethnic communities would not have been possible if not for the contributions and life accomplishments of key individuals and the constituencies they represented. Connie Coca, a member of the Latin American Club in Laramie, is an illustrative example of Manita community engagement. She moved from Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1962 to join her husband, John Coca. At the time, John Coca, was employed in Wyoming. Her struggles to adapt to a new home and community reflect those of other Manita migrants. In a 1982 La Cultura Oral History interview, she recalls the hardship of trying to find a home to rent when first moving to Laramie. Landlords would say that the home was no longer available to rent, or the price of the home was raised. (Coca 1983) Coca perceived the unjust treatment of Manito and Mexican migrants in the housing market as well as other sectors of the economy.

One of Connie Coca's first early employment opportunities was with the Snowy Range Community Action Agency (SRCA). SRCA was a War on Poverty Program that stemmed from the Economic Opportunity Act of 1960. The Economic Opportunity Act established the Office of Equal Opportunity agency that initiated and supervised government-wide antipoverty initiatives. "About half of the EOA's funding went to programs with a direct chain of command linking local organizations to Washington, such as Job Corps, Work-Study, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA); the other half went to the Community Action Program (CAP), which funded ideas put forth by local organizations that were to be customized to the needs of different communities."²⁹ Over 1,000 Community Action Agencies (CAAs) were established between 1965 and 1968. Connie Coca's position as an outreach aide, provided her with the opportunity to identify the needs of low-income families and mobilize resources. Although she identified SRCAA as a vital program for the community, she also criticized the restraints of the program that developed due to the mismanagement of funds and the lack of empathy that Anglo constituents showed for the Latino community. Coca eventually filed a discrimination lawsuit in 1976 against the agency alleging racial and gendered bias. A couple years later, Coca won a settlement, and eventually became the director. Connie worked overtime to get the agency running, but eventually decided it was best to resign and leave the organization. Connie always aspired to pursue higher education but wasn't able due to the lack of monetary means. After her children left home and she had the financial support, she returned to school. In 1990, she received her bachelor's degree in Social Work from the University of Wyoming and worked for Ivinson Memorial Hospital. Connie then applied for graduate school after being

overlooked for a position for which she lacked credentials. She was accepted at Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico and used the opportunity to return home to a culturally-based program that allowed her to be reconnected and rejuvenated by her community and *cultura*.³⁰ She achieved her Master's degree in Social Work in 1991. Being back in New Mexico revived her spirit and inspired her commitment to the Manito community in Wyoming. At the University of Wyoming, "she is the first Latina to teach in the Chicano Studies Program, introducing the concept of service learning." (Coca 2017, 95) Throughout her life, Connie has been cognizant of the needs of the Laramie community and has strived toward meeting them by bridging her cultural and community-based learning initiatives within educational curriculum. She is co-founder of *La Radio Montañesa, Voz de la Gente* KOCA 93.5 LP FM, a local radio station that has a dynamic and empowering purpose. Coca explains the station's mission:

To promote greater knowledge and understanding of different ethnic groups, particularly Mexican Americans, Chicano/as, and Hispanics/Latina/os. Our goal is to enlighten awareness of cultural diversity in our state through cultural and historical programming, education and economic development opportunities and open discussion of social and political issues. Cultural programming will include but not be limited to: education, music, literature, the arts, social issues relating to health, civil rights, the workplace, and participation in the democratic process concerning matters affecting Mexican Americans, Chicano/as, Hispanic Latina/os in the new millennium. We believe that heightened awareness of cultural diversity can lead to the decline of prejudice and discrimination in all aspects of society. (Coca 2017, 89)

With an all-encompassing mission, *La Radio* continues to operate as a broadcasting medium to help mobilize community and serves as a learning laboratory providing cultural and educational sustenance for all ages. Considering the history of Manito migration into Wyoming, it is telling that, "The first language music program was and continues to be, hosted by John Coca, "Lo Mejor de Nuevo México." The program

features *rancheras* and *corridos*, along with music from some of New Mexico's popular artists, such as Al Hurricane, the Sanchez Family, Darren Cordova, Blue Ventures, El Gringo, among many others. Throughout the years, Connie has dedicated much of her life bringing recognition to unrecognized segments of Wyoming's Latino population through community-based projects. She served as director for La Cultura Oral History Project and promoted service-learning initiatives through *Paredes Hablando: The Walls that Speak* mural, and the *Portraits of Latinas Exhibit*. Connie also has hosted events that showed appreciation for Latino Veterans, the *Oldest Latinos of Albany County* and recognition for Latino Business Owners. Connie emphasizes the importance of acknowledging the variety of individuals who make-up the community, particularly those who have been marginalized. Such acts of recognition generate a sense of belonging not only for those who are being honored, but these community events and programming serve as a history for the next generations to draw upon for their own sense of belonging. Connie Coca's activism began on the local stage with the Latin American Club of Laramie and expanded outward to encompass civic, educational and media programming for regional Latino audiences. Although unrecognized on a national scale, her activism and advocacy was part and parcel of the broader Civil Rights context.

Following the Manito Trail research team also has worked to bring recognition to Manito community in Wyoming and celebrate their accomplishments. In Riverton Wyoming, a small-town northeast of Laramie, a Manito enclave was established in the South Park Barrio (SPB), as many came from northern New Mexico to work in the sugar beet fields. This was a community "neglected by the city and lacked basic needs, like homes with running water, sewer mains, street lights, and paved roads." (Riverton Paving

Project 2017) Annie Mejorado, Susana Vigil, and their sister-in-law, Helen Vigil, among many other Manitos, contested the deplorable living conditions they were subjected to. They had to familiarize themselves with the politics and regulations of the city and state, including processes related to applying for financial grants. “In 1986, fed up with the standard of living that they had been forced to endure for decades, she (Annie) and her neighbors finally took it upon themselves to pave their own streets.” (Herrera 2017)

Annie explains how an everyday conversation with her brother launched a community project that would forever impact residents of the South Park Barrio. Using their knowledge of Manito communal ways, and traditional practices, a labor-intensive project naturally emerged. Annie explained how her brother, Emilio Vigil, agreed to the feasibility of the paving project. when she asked him if they could do it. He responded affirmatively, “Yeah, I’ll get the guys all together and we’ll do it. We can do it.” (Ibid.)

This was a form of labor Manitos were well accustomed to. As a collective effort the women also pitched in. Annie reflects on how she considered their contributions. “Okay gals, let’s see what can we do to help. We can’t be out there shoveling and doing this heavy work. We’ll do the cooking,” so that’s what they did. (Mejorado 2017) With the hands and support of many the project was underway. Emilio recalls how the larger community contributed to their labor efforts. Some businesses decided to give discounts for material, donate cement and tools, while other companies provided hot dogs, Pepsi, Coors and Budweiser at no charge. (Riverton Paving Project 2017) “After years and years of waiting, and more than a decade of community activism, it took the Manitos just two short months to complete their paving project.” (Ibid.) While some doubted it could be done, the Manito Community of Riverton proved successful in their endeavors. As Annie

exclaims, “Adios dirt road! Good-bye! I won’t miss you! Hello Paving! Welcome Home, been a long time. Almost 20 years!” (Riverton Paving Project 2017)

On July 23, 2016 residents of the South Park Community united to celebrate the 30th anniversary of their barrio accomplishment. Members of the Following the Manito Trail project organized the event and worked with the community to do so. At the celebration, Annie shared a few words, touched by how the project continues to resonate the value of community. She states, “Anything can be accomplished if everybody works together. And I realize most of the people who were the workers out here are gone, but their children are here, and they can learn by what we did. Anything is possible as long as you set your mind to it and you got a lot of people who are with you.” (Riverton Paving Project 2017)

The journey of this community struggle and accomplishment are well-documented through Annie’s home recordings and photographs. Susanna Vigil, Annie and Emilio’s sister, also contributed greatly to the archival process by compiling all of the related materials for a project assigned in her community organization class at the University of Wyoming. In a 3-ring binder, filled to capacity, are the numerous forms of correspondence, legal documents, financial grant requests, maps, etc., related to the persistent plight of the South Park Barrio residents. These materials, along with the oral histories collected by the Following the Manito Trail research team emerged as a documentary, produced and directed by Adam Herrera, who serves as the FMT producer. The video footage of the 30th anniversary celebration juxtaposed with original footage of the road pavement project has a profound effect. It shows how the struggles and labor efforts of the original Manito community translates into an impetus for *querencia*. It

underscores the significance of community collaboration that concretes a Manito legacy for future generations to follow.

Community organizing has been essential for communities of color in creating equitable opportunities and spaces for culture and community to thrive. Annabelle (Ann) Esquibel Redman (1935) is a second generation Manita de Wyoming who also transformed her marginalized experiences into momentum for community advocacy. Ann Admits that her optimum degree was in the hard knocks of life.³¹ When she first moved to Cheyenne, Wyoming at the age of fourteen, Ann had to balance going to work and attending St. Mary's Catholic school. She explains that her "family depended on what she could bring to the house. "We needed the money I was making as a waitress. (Esquibel Redman 2007) Eventually, a door of opportunity opened for her to be the secretary for the state historian. She recalls people telling her, "You can't . . . You're not going to get an education, you can't go to college, you can't work as a secretary here, because nobody wants an Esquibel name at the front desk." (Ibid.) After recognizing the lack of diversity in Wyoming's state institutions, public offices, and businesses, Ann decided that it was important for her to get involved and make a difference.

Over the years, Ann has occupied a number of spaces and participated in various civic organizations that have helped to reduce social barriers and address important community issues for Latinos in Wyoming. She is one of the original members of the Wyoming Latina/Latino Coalition, she helped start the annual Cheyenne Hispanic Festival, served on the board of the Laramie County Community College (LCCC) Foundation, and served as committee member for the Statewide Wyoming Women's Foundation, USS Wyoming, and programming for seniors and special needs. She also

continues to serve St. Mary's church and school, where she graduated from.³² Recalling the abundance of her community service, Ann said, "You get involved in one thing and then it just mushrooms." (Esquibel Redman 2007) In these various spaces, Ann has continued to be a strong advocate for minorities. She has helped forge and expand her programming by linking with associate members, sponsors, and allies in business and political settings. In 1990, Esquibel Redman joined SOMOS, a club within US West to support diversity. She became involved with their scholarship program and when the US West office in Cheyenne closed, Ann with a couple other community members got together and applied for 501c3 status. In 1994, the Hispanic Organization for Progress and Education (HOPE) was established, a not-for-profit Wyoming-based organization that seeks to make "a positive difference for a brighter future" by increasing the graduation rates, providing scholarships, celebrating the achievements of Hispanic youth and raising awareness of Hispanic Heritage.³³ HOPE was part of the larger context of Manita/o civic engagement.

Education advocacy provided a foundation for larger community benefits. HOPE set in motion a variety of initiatives to support and inspire Wyoming's Latino/a community. In recognition of the importance of education, Ann proposed a scholarship program to help offset student's educational expenses. This is now an endowed scholarship at LCCC that recognizes the scholarship awardees, by name of recipients, along with the names of their parents. For example, the announcement reads "John Romero, son of Macario and Presel Romero will continue at LCCC, majoring in sociology and political science," a common social tendency to acknowledge familial ties. Another component of HOPE used to encourage students to embrace their cultural

background is the “HOPE Heritage Essays,” where students from elementary to high school share aspects of their family background and upbringing. The HOPE Stars Program³⁴ was a unique asset to the organization as it inspired student achievement through partnerships with elementary schools and provided tutors for students academically at risk. Students were honored for excellence in education, and also recognized for overcoming challenges. Teachers also were recognized for positive leadership and influence with teacher of the year awards. The HOPE Stars Celebration was a dinner event where awardees were recognized, and a keynote speaker addressed the audience with an inspirational talk. Considering Wyoming is a predominately White state these initiatives, programs, and acts of recognition have been instrumental in student achievement and success, as well as bringing blessings of honor to the various students, teachers, and community members.

My own personal experience attests to the support HOPE provides. When I was attending Laramie Community College (LCCC), my grandmother recommended that I talk to her friend, a fellow Manita (Ann), who helped Latinas go to school. This is exactly how I verbalized my desire to receive the scholarship when interviewed by the committee. They asked if I knew what HOPE stood for and I replied an organization that gave hope to students like me by helping pay for college. For five years, I was awarded the HOPE scholarship.

HOPE has inspired the hearts and minds of many young women across the state. Perhaps the most impactful endeavor of Ann’s career has been the founding of The Wyoming Latina Youth Conference (WLYC) is an annual two-day event that educates and empowers young Latinas through mentorship awareness. The program was initiated

after Ann and seven other women from Wyoming were invited by the Health and Human Service Department in Washington DC to present on issues facing Hispanic women, such as: violence, wages, pregnancy, substance abuse. After that experience, Ann thought it would be great to integrate something similar into the Wyoming community. She says, “We decided to develop a conference for girls,” with the power of choice as the theme. (Ibid.) Over the years the conference has continued to evolve as a popular event for young girls in grades 5-12. An array of cultural performances, informational presentations, and educational workshops leave a valuable impression upon the youth and all those involved. Ada Montaña Mushati, who first attended the Latina Youth Conference as an 8th grader speaks to inspirational influence of the conference. She states, “When I went the first year, it was eye-opening for me to see a bunch of women who looked just like me in a state where there are a lot of people who don’t look like me. To go to a conference where everyone looked like me, to see a lot of people who had similar stories and backgrounds as mine, and then to see older versions of us in the future say ‘I have this degree, I did this with my life’--that is what I’m working for now.” (Montaña Mushati, 2018) The WLYC also hosts larger community events along with the program, such as: concerts, storytellers, museum exhibits, and community beautification projects. This is a significant community initiative that displays the dynamics of cultural identity in education, artistic production, and career pathways. Now, the WLYC is under the umbrella of the University of Wyoming’s Latina and Latino Studies Program, and under the guidance of Dr. Cecilia Aragón, a Manita from Santa Fe, who now serves as the chair/executive director. With the backing of the university, there is great potential for

the WYLC to continue to evolve. May its original intention never subside and its impact on the lives of Latina continue to be awe-inspiring.

Manita community organizers, such as Ann Redman, chose to focus specifically on the empowerment of Latina women. Redman challenged stereotypical and rigid gender-biases of the period. In a 2016 newspaper article in *The Wyoming Tribune Eagle*, Becky Orr quotes Redman as saying, “If you see a problem, be part of the solution,” and “Don’t let other people define who you are,” comments Ann. In 2017, Ann also received the Woman of Influence Lifetime Achievement Award, demonstrative of her “commitment to encouraging the recognition of Hispanic people and culture.” (Orr 2017) Her life philosophy, “We should leave this a better world than when we entered it,” explains Redman’s motivation for making a difference in the lives of young people (Esquibel Redman 2007). “I didn’t have role models when I was growing up. I didn’t see teachers of color. I didn’t see professionals of color. I just feel it’s important for these young people to see people in the community, it doesn’t matter what their job is, but they can see them out in the community.” (Ibid.) is well respected throughout the state and continues to be honored with awards and great thanks. When she was recognized for her professional work and community service, including her work with women and girls as a recipient of the international Athena Award³⁵. Ann addressed the audience, stating “For a girl who was born in the mountains of New Mexico who didn’t speak English until she went to school, to be honored by my community in this way is beyond words.... but I am never without words so I went on...” Her passion for culture and hope for better opportunities has grounded Manitos with historical roots in Wyoming that continue to

inspire the legacy of the Manito Trail. I am now going to transition to music and *el baile* as a form of community engagement.

Manito Music: Para ir al Baile

The old music of New Mexico accompanied the Manito laborers who traveled north. Their musical skills and talents were used as a cultural touchstone in Wyoming, vital to creating the essence of northern New Mexico community in spaces outside of the homeland. Considering their fond love for the art form, Antonia and Max Apodaca from Rociada, New Mexico continued to perform during their seasons of labor. Antonia recalls playing for a number of private and larger public events in Wyoming. Her son, José explains how these larger community performances exposed Anglos from German and country bands to his dad and mom's music. (Apodaca 2018) Never ashamed of where they came from, Antonia took great pride in performing and singing publicly in Spanish. A lack of designated venues for a *baile* never stopped Manitos from playing New Mexico music at home and making room to dance there, a long-standing tradition as confirmed by Brenda Romero. "So, it is that New Mexican households tended to have large front rooms that could be readily converted into spaces for dancing a variety of group dances, some dating from the eighteenth century *cutilo* (*cotillón*), and *cuadrilla*, quadrille traditions." (Romero 2011, 299) In Riverton, Manitos would gather at the home of a fellow Manito and dance the night away. Jeana Rodarte Romero confirms these experiences with a family photograph that captures Manito couples dancing in a kitchen/dining area in a Riverton Wyoming home.

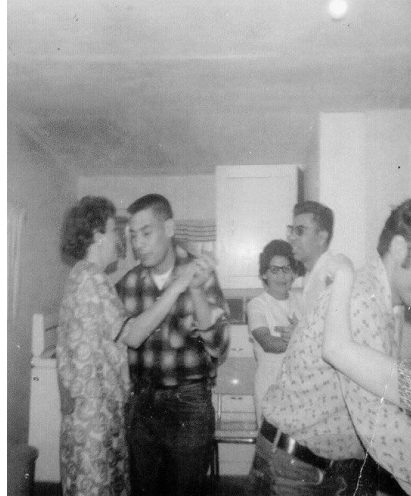


Figure 8: Manitos dancing in Riverton

Brenda Romero, Music ethnomusicologist and fellow Manita traces the ongoing musical traditions of Manitos as they stretched north into Colorado. As a long-term resident of Colorado, her cultural heritage and academic approach validates a Hispano regional identity through Manito trends in popular music. I extend Brenda's analysis to include the musical expressions of Manitos in Wyoming "Like the norteno's propensity to retain the corrido in musica nortena (unlike conjunto), a reliance on old 'Manito songs reaffirm an identity that struggles for survival." (Romero 2011, 295) The ability to trace Manito Music in Wyoming by individual artists, local Wyoming bands, radio stations, and performances by popular New Mexican artists substantiates the extension of the regional community through expressed culture. I find it telling, Brenda notes, "The first 'Manito pop song to make it big nationally, was "Lonely Letter," composed and sung by Tiny Morrie in the late 1950s. No doubt it struck the very soul of the 'Manito servicemen recently returned from the Korean conflict (roughly 1950-1955), but also all of those who traveled to laboring states to find work: "As I write this lonely letter, I wonder if you think of me." (Romero 2011, 301) The lyrical content expresses the sentiment of being

away from loved ones, an emotional filled sound that reverberates across the Manito Trail. Music continues to be an artistic form of cultural production that serves as a creative response to one's social conditions or reality. Popularly accompanied with the embodied rhythms and expressions of dance. A good ol' New Mexico ranchera, always seems to move Manitos in a 2-step rhythm around the dance floor. These were moments to live for, especially in highly segregated places. *Bailes* are the best way to spin through the weight of the world, dismissing lived experiences of oppression and daily stressors of reality, by embracing the creative flows and energy of community.



Figure 9: Jackie Montemayor

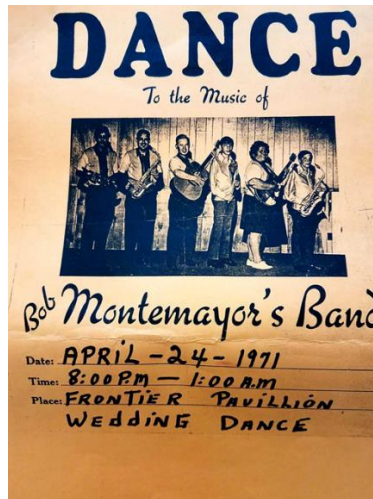


Figure 10: Poster for Cheyenne Wedding Dance

The power of music transcends space and generations. Jackie Montemayor aka Monte, son of Fabiola (Martínez) and Robert Montemayor, was born in Cheyenne, Wyoming in 1957. At a young age his dad taught him and his brother how to play the saxophone, trumpet, and drums. The band's specialty was Spanish music with a Nuevo México and Tejano flare. The group performed cumbias, rancheras, traditional Mexican music, country, and rock and roll. In a 2018 Following the Manito Trail Interview, Jackie mentioned the responsibility of playing in a band at a young age. He explained, "It was almost like the Selena Movie. We would be practicing for hours until we got it right." (Montemayor 2018) In Wyoming, Colorado, and Nebraska, they performed for weddings, *quinceañeras*, anniversaries, and even some political events. The Cheyenne Pavilion, now the Cheyenne Frontier Days Old West Museum, was the biggest dance hall Jackie performed at, easily fitting 2,000 people. During the 1970s, it was the most popular venue for concerts and wedding celebrations. Al Hurricane, Freddy Fender, and Baby Gaby are some of the New Mexican artists who performed there. "Cheyenne is not a very big town so people would come and that was a big thing for that Saturday or Friday night ...hey

there's a dance tonight let's all go and everybody would go. It was like the whole town, all the Chicanos would show up at the dance. Everybody had a good time. It was a lot of fun. I have many many good memories of a lot of different dances we would play at."

(Ibid.) The "Bob Montemayor Band" was the house band at the GI Forum, and also played for the American Legion. Dance halls for the Chicanos and music was a big deal for those who grew up in Wyoming.

The *gente* wherever we played. You know, they all looked forward to coming to the dances on the weekends. They all worked hard. Some of them two, three jobs. Very hard-working people. They looked forward to coming out on a Friday night dancing with their wives, having some drinks, conversing with all of their friends. Because a lot of them were so busy they never got to really hang out with each other, only on the weekends when the dances went on... (Montemayor 2018).

Posters and flyers were made to announce the *bailes*, and word of mouth helped to promote the event. Going to a wedding dance without an invitation was also a common occurrence, because once you got in there you always knew someone. Jackie recalls the regulars who would attend, always dressed in their finest clothes and excited to say hi to him and the rest of the band. Thinking about the good ol' days Jackie exclaims, "I miss those dances, they were pretty bad ass." (Montemayor 2019)

The dances were such popular events they stimulated movement along the Manito Trail. Luis García recalls some of his memories traveling from New Mexico to Wyoming.

In the late 80s maybe early 90s, my uncle would go from Taos to Denver, and then we'd go from Denver to Cheyenne. We'd go to some of the dances over there in which they were known there as well cause, you know cause they used to go there quite a bit. And even when I lived in Valdez before I moved to Denver, me and my Uncle Ralph would go to Denver and we'd pick up my sister Berlinda and we'd go to Cheyenne to the dances, which they were known over there. It was pretty funny

because one of the band members they said, “this one goes out to Ralph and his wife.” And my sister Berlinda was like “He’s my uncle!” It was funny (laughing). Yea that happened at one of the dances in Cheyenne. You know a lot of memories. And then we’d come back, drop off my sister in Denver, then come back to Taos. (Garcia 2019)

The Garcías family from Valdez were popular attendees at the bailes and have always been a musically inclined family. The late Rafael Herrera played the violin until he died and passed it onto his grandson Regino García, a keepsake my grandmother has held onto. In a 1982 interview, my Great Grandma Tita speaks of this history. “*Bueno, me abuelito era musico de violín por toda su vida. Y en mi familia todos corren la musica. Hay musicos en la familia y seria por herencia de el*” (García Sánchez 1982) Familial descendants of this bloodline have carried on this legacy as beautiful musicians. Titas’ nephews would get together to play and sing quite frequently. Luis García played the requinto, Ralph and Félix played the guitar, and some of their children have continued to make music as well. It is only fitting that for her funeral, *Manitos de Nuevo*, nephews from Valdez traveled up the Manito Trail to Wyoming to play the *guitarras* and sing for her funeral mass.

Manito Faith and Spiritual Ways

Religious and spiritual beliefs formed an important core of community cohesion and cultural expression for Manitos in their homelands and in their new residential sites in Wyoming. Although, New Mexicans drew on diverse spiritual practices, the predominant religious expression, was rooted in traditional Catholicism inherited from the early colonial period and transferred with Manitos to Wyoming. Other religions were observed and adopted by the community, such as Protestantism.

Faith, hope, and divine protection has guided Manitos throughout generations of hardships and celebrations in the diaspora. In Wyoming, the demographics and cultural

shift influenced some of the ways Manitos expressed their spirituality, in comparison to the religious practices of northern New Mexico. According to José Apodaca who lived in Riverton, “The church in Wyoming did not venerate the Santo Niño, the saints, and the Virgin Mary to the same extent as in New Mexico.” (Apodaca 2018) However, on the Southside of various Wyoming towns, Catholic churches often had a different feel to them because of the community that attended. For example, generations of Manitos and their descendants have attended mass at St. Joseph’s Catholic Church, located on the Southside of Cheyenne. For many families, it is a space that embodies the sacredness of life experienced through Baptism, First Holy Communion, weddings and funerals.



Figure 11: Alicia and Miguel Martinez, wedding photo at St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Cheyenne, WY, August 16, 1955

Through ceremony and celebration, these sacraments are popularly celebrated in similar ways to the rituals and traditions of northern New Mexico.³⁶ Similar sentiments are expressed through the rituals of Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve and the special novenas Manitas pray on the nights leading up to Christmas. There is also the genuine support for community exhibited through the ways Manitos collectively come together to prepare the food and serve the family of the deceased after a funeral. Embedded into the

architecture of the church are the life memories of those special events. There is a sacred cultural sentiment expressed through the music that is played at mass. From the way the Spanish choir would sing to the New Mexico melody of the *guitarras* that accompany the “Our Father” sung in Spanish by Toby Pacheco and Linda Varos, descendants of Manitos from Arroyo Seco, New Mexico. With the pews filled with *familia* and *vecinos*, there is a strong sense of community, and always the remembrances of those who once attended mass alongside us.

Through expressed religion, song, and prayer Manitos express genuine sentiments for their homeland and loved ones with provision. Divine connections that are sometimes unexplainable, but experienced. While moradas have only been documented as far north as Trinidad, Colorado, *hermanos* or *penitentes* are known to have migrated into Wyoming.³⁷ Their spiritual beliefs and effects transcend religious boundaries and geographic divides. My grandmother has shared stories related to the Penitentes and the Morada de Valdez. My great-Great-Grandfather Gabriel Sánchez, *un hermano*, was ill and sick in Cheyenne, Wyoming. When he awoke from his sleep, he was winded and stated in Spanish “*estaba muy cansado*” or that he was very tired. My great-grandmother asked him “*¿por qué estaba cansado?*” or why you so tired? He said, “*Ahorita, llegué de la morada*” or I just got back from the morada.” Around the same time that night, Enrique Archuleta, a man from Des Montes, walked by the morada in Valdez and witnessed a light on. The next day, Archuleta asked a fellow *hermano* and local store owner, Alejandro Martínez, if there was a meeting at the morada that night and was told no. (Archuleta is buried by the front entrance of the morada based upon his request.) While one can reason with the distance between the two incidences, I emphasize the

unlimited bounds of faith and the divine connection between Manitos and their homeland, a sacred tie to place.

Obituaries as Tributes to Living the Manito Trail

Obituaries are telling pieces or memorialized biographies that document life stories on the Manito Trail. Generally featured in local newspapers, and today popularly shared online, are the brief biographical sketches of everyday community members who may or may not have been known by the larger population. Through genuine accounts, a person's life is honored in the words of those usually closest to them, describing the most remembered character traits and significant life moments. A brief search for Wyoming obituaries by popular Latino last names generates a compilation of life narratives of those, who more often than not, are Manitos from northern New Mexico.

Manito migration to Wyoming was a strategy of survival, a plan to improve socio-economic conditions and to keep *familia* close. While some families had intentions to return to New Mexico and maintained their connections with the people and the land, others left with no plans to ever return. My grandmother explained that my Great-Grandfather Victor was planning to go back to Valdez after he retired but, unfortunately, heart complications after surgery kept that from happening. His body was laid to rest in Wyoming because the family could not afford to take him back to New Mexico to be buried. So, when my Great-Grandma Tiodorita died, she chose to be buried next to her husband. Even in death, Manitos have chosen to stick together. Across Wyoming, cemeteries are aligned with burial plots and headstones of Manitos who have been buried side by side with their loved ones.

Beatriz “Bea” Martínez



Beatriz “Bea” Martínez, was born in October 19, 1917 in Rociada, New Mexico the daughter of Valentin and Teodora (Durán) Rodarte. She was raised and educated in New Mexico. Bea Married Santiago “Jimmy Martinez on July 20, 1946, in Riverton, WY. The couple moved to Riverton Wyoming in 1943 where she worked for Memorial Hospital for 25 years until retirement. After the death of her spouse she moved to Gillette, WY to be near family. Bea was a member of the VFW Ladies Auxiliary and the Odd Fellows. She enjoyed spending time with her family, friends and her women’s prayer group. Beas is survived by her sons; Ben “Nati” Martínez of Murrieta, California, Tucker Martinez of Gillette, Wyoming, LeeRoy (Mary) Martínez of Laramie, Wyoming, Larry Martinez of Reno, Nevada, Tom Martínez of Gallup New Mexico, and Jerry (Madeline Martínez of Gillette, Wyoming; daughter, Donna (Walt) Elder of Gillette, Wyoming; sister, Helen Vigil of Riverton, Wyoming; 14 grandchildren and 22 great-grandchildren. She is preceded in death by her parents, husband, son, and two brothers.

Benito “Benny” García Sr.



Benito “Benny” García Sr., 82, of Riverton died on Tuesday, April 7, 2015, at Sage West Hospital-Riverton surrounded by his family. A rosary will be on Thursday April 9, 2015, 1t 7:00 pm at St. Margaret’s Catholic Church. A funeral mass will be on Friday, April 10, 2015, at 11:00 am at St. Margaret’s Catholic Church with interment will follow at Mountain View Cemetery with full military honors.

Benito García was born on October 8, 1932 in Mora, NM to Juan and Teodorita (Martínez) García. He grew up with five brothers and two sisters. He attended school in Las Vegas, NM and Rawlins, WY graduating high school from Rawlins.

He was of Catholic Faith and was a member of St. Margaret’s Catholic Church and the Knights of Columbus.

After he graduated, he married the love of his life, Dorothy Vigil, in Rawlins, WY on November 29, 1952. He and Dorothy raised their seven children, one son and six daughters in Rawlins and Riverton. He taught all of his children a strong work ethic and how to enjoy life to the fullest. Shortly after his marriage he served in the U.S. Army during the Korean Conflict. He was stationed in Germany and was an artillery gun

replacement personnel. He was honorably discharged from the U.S. Army and returned to Rawlins.

Upon returning from the U.S. Army he went back to work at the Sinclair Refinery in Rawlins until his retirement in 1975. The family then moved to Riverton where he built the family home. Not one to set still he started working Amoco then Gilpatrick Construction and when the sold he went to work at First Interstate Bank. He then officially retired again and continued to be active in the community.

His family said that he was always working in his yard or his garage and always had some project going. He loved to go camping and fishing, dancing, traveling, and above all, spending time with his family.

He is survived by his wife of 62 years, Dorothy; his son, Benito “Benny Jr” García, Jr. of Riverton; his daughters, Maxine (Tony) Walsh of Riverton, Jo García-Fullmer of Riverton, and Donna (Jim) Johnson of Riverton, Vickie (DJ) Robertson of Douglas, WY, Arlene (Owen) Sullivan of Riverton, WY, and Tish Spriggs of Pocatello, ID; his grandchildren, David (Jaime) Hendryx, Nick Hendryx, Anthony (Sheri) Apodaca, Michael (Melissa) Apodaca, Chris (Kathy) Apodaca, Karl Johnson, Krystal Johnson, Ian (Kit) Robertson, Alex Robertson, Stephen Sullivan, Jason Sullivan, Kaylee (José) Torres, And Justice Spriggs, and his 18 great grandchildren.

He was preceded in death by his parents, Juan and Teodorita García; his siblings, Felipe García, Johnny García, Damian García, Phil García, Julia García, and Carmen Gonzales; and his son-in-law, Steve Fullmer.

Memorials may be made to Knights of Columbus in care of Davis Funeral Home, 2203 West Main Street, Riverton, WY 82501

Lydia L. Abeyta



Lydia L. Abeyta, 85 of Cheyenne, died Saturday, October 18, 2014 at Cheyenne Regional Medical Center. She was born December 7, 1928 in Taos New Mexico. She came to Cheyenne as a young adult. She was married to Max A. “Tony” Abeyta on October 2, 1954 in Greeley, Colorado. Mr. Abeyta passed away August 9, 1994.

Lydia was a member of St. Joseph’s Catholic Church. She also belonged to the American Legion, AMVETS, the VFW and the GI Forum. Among her hobbies were gardening, keeping a nice house, cooking, her pets,

playing pull tab tickets and drinking an occasional Coors light.

Survivors include three sons, Anthony Abeyta of Provo, Utah, Lloyd and James Abeyta both of Cheyenne, four grandchildren and three great grandchildren. She was preceded in death by her husband, parents, three brothers, Telesfor Salazar, Felimon Salazar, and Alex Martínez, and a sister, Anita Varos.

Funeral Liturgy will be held on Saturday, October 25, 2014 at 10 a.m., at Wiederspahn-Radomsky Chapel. Interment will follow at Olivet Cemetery.

Memorial Contribution may be made in Lydia's name to the American Legion Post #6.

Jose G. Vigil



Jose G, Vigil, 81, passed away April 10, 2014 in Cheyenne.

He was born January 9, 1933 in Ledoux, New Mexico New Mexico to Frutoso and Anita Vigil. He enlisted in the United States Army where he served honorably in the Korean War. He moved to Cheyenne in the late 1950s. He enjoyed music and playing the guitar. He liked going to the movies, especially to see westerns and war films. He has an avid interest in the Wild West. He enjoyed going for walk and time with family.

He is survived by his sons, Gilbert Leroy Vigil and Phil Vigil (Yvonne), and grandchildren Amber, Desirae, and

Philip.

He was preceded in death by his parents and sister, Melania Urdiales.

Vigil services will be held Tuesday, 6:00 p.m., at Wiederspahn-Radomsky Chapel. Funeral Liturgy will occur Wednesday. 10:00 a.m., at St. Joseph's Catholic Church with Father Carl Gallinger as celebrant.

These life tributes are indicative of the Manito diaspora and the legacy of the Manito Trail as they historicize Manitos' place of birth by the village names of northern New Mexico, and place of death in Wyoming cities or towns. They also tie together the various components of this chapter that reflect how Manitos regenerated querencia in spaces outside of the homeland. He or she "was a member of ..." or "belonged to. . ." are common phrases that acknowledge the community-based organizations of which Manitos were a part. These acknowledgements affirm the significant roles these community forums served for Manitos, as for many they were spaces of belonging and telling of the

grassroots organizing required of Manitos. Family is another important element popularly noted in obituaries, vital to the life line of Manitos. They commonly reference who the deceased is survived by, and those who preceded them in death, again emphasizing the importance of familial ties and connections. Hobbies and pastimes are mentioned noting the enjoyable things the deceased liked doing. To no surprise dancing, praying, hunting, and fishing are commonly noted activities for Manitos.

Even in death, strands of Manito legacy carry on. Through the memories cherished by family and friends, to the organizations that sustain community, Manitos are remembered. I incorporate these obituaries as testimonios of lives lived, summarized by others. They tell us about migration patterns, community building and activism, and the everyday practices Manitos enjoyed. They are significant highlights of those who lived life on the Manito Trail.

Conclusion

There is great value in the preservation of our history and life narratives. The oral history collections drawn upon for this study testify to an experience understood best through the words of those who lived it. This research includes historical material and memories that have been safeguarded by Manitas, through memory, storytelling, archival work, and documentation projects. To recall and reminisce about the lived experiences of Manitos in Wyoming is significant because they reveal insight to the socio-cultural dynamics of the Manito Diaspora. I define my own dissertation and the work of the Following the Manito Trail research project to be produced in honor of those who came before us. The safekeeping of everyday experiences and events is important because, as time changes, it is imperative to have memories of the past to sustain us. Manito

communities will move on from Wyoming in time, but their mark on the state should not be forgotten. This is a reality reflected upon nicely in the words of Following the Manito Trail project team member Adam Herrera. He writes,

From Riverton to Rawlins, from Laramie to Cheyenne, it became apparent that many members of the Manito community had once again moved on. These bustling streets were no longer clambering with clans of Manito children—they were largely silent. Eerily so, in fact. You could see and even hear the stark contrast between the memories and the reality as we walked the streets. (Herrera 2017, 14)

Herrera’s observations are an accurate portrayal of the communal changes that have taken place. I find myself reflecting on how my own childhood memories in Wyoming resonate differently than the experiences of my more recent visits. Jeana Rodarte-Romero speaks to the impact of time and how she herself finds it difficult to return to Wyoming. She notes, “Aunt Helen was the woman you wanted to be, strong forceful woman who didn’t put up with shit from no one, and now it’s sad to see Aunt Helen now.” (Rodarte-Romero 2018) While there will always be cherished memories engrained in the architecture of homes and buildings, embedded in the streets, tracks, and terrains, there are obvious changes between the earlier Manito communities who worked to establish themselves in Wyoming and more recent generations who lack a unique connection to the Nuevomexicano homeland.

For many Manito descendants, assimilating into the dominant culture was a means of more easily navigating social and economic terrain. Assimilation encouraged marginalized communities to think that downplaying or denying cultural assets inherently qualified them for positions and opportunities without the biases and limits of race. While there are certain privileges for being able to walk the walk or talk the talk, a weighty compromise is made when one negates their cultural identity. Generational differences

are apparent. Without experiential ties to New Mexico, some Manito descendants lack an understanding to the village ways and values that have been an instrumental guiding force for the first Manito families to come to Wyoming. While some Manito descendants remained in Wyoming and made their homes there, others have moved on because of school opportunities, careers, or simply to fulfill the desire of living elsewhere. I conclude this project by documenting the experience of those who decided to return to New Mexico, traveling back down the Manito Trail to reconnect with the homeland of their ancestors.

Conclusion: Mi Tierra Querida

Recently, my dad ran into Mano Herman Torres at the post office in Arroyo Seco, NM. In a passing conversation, they dialogued in a familiar *dicho* or saying, that strongly correlates with the Manito migration experience.

Herman Torres: *Como está?* (How are you?)

Victor Martínez: *Ay la llevo.* (I'm going with it)

Herman Torres: *Pero no muy lejos en caso que tienes que traila pa 'tras.* (Don't take it too far in case you got to bring it back.)

The migration of Manitos from the homeland left a trail that has served as a pathway for many families and/or their descendants to return. While some families were fond of their lives in Wyoming and chose not to come back. For many, there has always been a sacred tie or attachment to New Mexico. This *querencia* or love for the homeland has been nurtured through ongoing patterns of in-and-out migration, as Manitos have continued to travel the trail to partake in village rituals, family celebrations, and communal events. These experiences, despite the brevity of time spent in New Mexico deepen one's connection to the landscape and village community. A love for the villages has also generated from the Manito stories, cultural practices, and social tendencies that are popularly expressed in spaces outside of the homeland. In this chapter, I examine the exchange that takes place between Manitos of the diaspora and the villages of northern New Mexico. I explore their attachments to land as part of their *querencia* that influences many to return to establish residency, and work towards sustaining their village community. Building upon the scholarship of Sarah Horton, I explore the dynamics of failed returns by noting some of the changes that have taken place. However, I disrupt this notion or trajectory of change by exploring the reasons for return and its effects. By acknowledging familial roots, cultural strains and sentiments that have surpassed time, I

stress the importance of Manito's reintegrating into the village communities and I demonstrate the various ways the Manito legacy continues.

Failed Returns and Change

Familial and communal obligations have served as a reasoning for many Nuevomexicanos whom reside outside their village community to return home. Village feast days, harvests, blessings of the river, fiestas, wedding celebrations, and burial practices are common examples of events that influence a return of Manitos who live outside of the homeland. Sarah Horton engages with the Hispano diaspora particularly in terms of those who come back to New Mexico to participate in the happenings of the Santa Fe Fiesta.³⁸ She accounts for many who enthusiastically reaffirm their sense of belonging through the Fiesta's long-standing traditions, genealogical ties to place, and personal connections. However, Horton also alludes to these homecomings as failed returns. She states, "Although the gathering of Hispanos on the plaza symbolically reconstitutes a dispersed Hispano community, the fiesta cannot make returnees feel that it is just like yesterday all over again." Instead, "the city's material transformation disrupts the illusion of temporal suspension, and the ritual's promise of a homecoming remains unfulfilled." (Horton 2003, 205) Horton's work alludes to the physical and sociocultural changes that have taken place as the result to time, tourists, and economic development. Drawing upon the nostalgic accounts of older Manito migrants, Horton explains the traditionalist/modernist dichotomy, that exposes the efforts and energy of keeping things the same in an ever-changing economy. In the words of Antonio Martinez, a native of Santa Cruz, New Mexico who ventured onto the Manito Trail for East Coast military work, "It was being in a completely different environment with people that really don't understand . . . that made me realize the importance of the Fiesta and our culture

altogether,” he said. “I used to really look forward to my homecomings during Fiesta Time and Holy Week. And I realized that if I didn’t help to keep the Fiesta going, and educate a new generation of young people as to its meaning it could disappear.” (Horton 2003, 232)

The Manito Diaspora is filled with narratives of marginalized experiences embodied in the very essence of the struggle, and the need to forge spaces of belonging. These experiences and processes naturally magnify the embedded cultural and communal values genuine to the villages of northern New Mexico that many Manitos long to return to. In the *Annals of Wyoming*, a special edition of Latinos in Wyoming, various stories document the journey of Manitos to Wyoming. One in particular documents an account of return. Virginia Sánchez writes,

Like many Manitos, Joe and Viola saved their money so they could travel from Wyoming south to New Mexico to celebrate the fiestas, or to attend family weddings and funerals. They became very, very familiar with all the towns along Interstate 25, a route that could have been called the Manito Camino Real. Once Joe and Viola arrived, they stopped to see their former homes, then visited family members. With each trip, they were more saddened to see how time, moisture, and lack of maintenance had changed their adobe homes. (Sanchez 2017, 20)

Traces of what Horton constitutes as a disappearing homeland is confirmed by Manitos of the Diaspora who return and find things different from how they remember. After being away and coming back to New Mexico, Manitos and their descendants’ reference subtle and more drastic experiences of change. Relationships are different because people are no long congregating together like the old days. My grandmother explains, “People are gone, property has been abandoned, buildings knocked down. The village communities are no longer alive like they used to be.” (Sánchez Martínez 2007) Over the years, my Grandma Alice has frequently returned to the village of Valdez due to her

familial ties, community connections, and to tend to business related to the property she owns. She recalls during her visits, how upsetting it is to see the lack of upkeep for sacred spaces. It seemed as if no one was working to maintain the weeds around the church and community hall; something her own mother, my Great-Grandma Tiodorita, was always so attentive to. My dad concurs with these sentiments. He states, “The *viejitos* are gone so with that a lot of the houses have been abandoned. The way the *viejitos* use to take care of the villages, as far as the flowers, fruit trees, the acequias, everything was clean. . .” (Martínez 2019) The social dynamics of the village towns are also influenced by the influx of tourists. In regards to the newcomers, my dad goes on to explain, “They try to change our culture. They try to change our traditions to make it more easier. They come and they love it here, but they don’t have the heart and the roots because they are not from here. So next thing you know they say why do we need the acequia, that’s a little stream, that’d be cute going this way or we don’t need it there so we can make it run that way.” But as my dad explains, “The acequias are sacred, they’re a protected here. They’re our way of life.” (Ibid.) The Manitos have always been one with the land, working with it and tending to it in order to survive. People who move in and do not have the same respect, create challenges and in many ways influence the social dynamics of the villages. My dad explains, “Now you see big ol’ houses scattered through the mountain, you see people that you don’t even know ...they don’t even want to wave at you. They don’t even want to look at you. They like it here. Maybe because of the ski valley. They like it here, because it’s a nice place to have a nice second home. But they don’t want nothing to do with the people here.” (Martínez 2019) Unless, you are a part of the authentic village spectacle. My dad told of a time when him and some of the local

guys from the village, were butchering one of Uncle Ralph's cows. They had it hanging by the backhoe and were skinning it from there. Some local tourists pulled over to take pictures and watch what they were doing. While, one of the *primos* went over to satisfy their inquiries, the rest of the guys just laughed, and kept on working. This is a common experience for the Manitos in northern New Mexico. As everyday practices and rituals are consumed by tourists for entertainment.

Northern New Mexico continues to be a prime destination for tourism, known for its pristine landscapes, natural springs, and breath-taking mountain sceneries. The tranquility and therapeutic offerings of the area, continues to generate an influx of newcomers into northern New Mexico's towns and villages. Many have taken advantage of property for sale, purchasing the land to build vacation homes or business ventures. This not only influences aspects of the social scene, but impacts the natural ways of the landscape. For example, nestled in the mountains of Valdez are high end condominiums and homes. Year after year, the Taos Ski Valley keeps a constant flow of people and contamination running through the waters. My dad remembers how back in the day he would drink from the river. But more recently, he exclaimed, "I wouldn't want to drink that water now." (Martínez 2019) While some of these changes are inevitable, and can have long lasting effects. The historical ties and relations Manitos have to northern New Mexico facilitate an ongoing pattern of return that challenges the trajectory for a disappearing homeland.

The Return

My dad's desire to move to the land of his ancestors has been a lifelong dream. His cultural upbringing and childhood memories of spending the summers in Valdez with

his Grandma Tiodorita impressed upon him a way of life, a feeling of peace, and an understanding of what it means to belong to something sacred. When me and my younger sister Candice were living in Michigan, my dad would always tell us that one day we would have a house in Valdez, with horses, pigs, and chickens. That dream was imprinted upon my heart. My dad was so attuned with making sure we always stayed plugged into the cultural scene, so that we would remain connected to our roots. He would send us gifts from New Mexico that carried cultural sentiment and meaning. For example, I still have a dream pillow filled with sage he sent to me that I continue to keep near my bed. He also used to send us cassette tapes of New Mexico Spanish music, and on the case cover he would draw something cool that connected us to local scene. On one of the cassettes he sketched a brick wall, at the top it read “Las Galz” with the Sparx names, and then Trisha and Candice graffitied onto the wall. Fast forward 15 years, my dad and I were both living in Wyoming when I applied to several graduate school programs. It was around then my dad prayed to the Lord and said “if Trisha chooses the University of New Mexico, let it be a sign for me to move to the land, that is if it’s your will.” Needless to say, I became a UNM LOBO in 2011 and my dad moved to the land of our ancestors that same year.

It is interesting how Manitos living throughout the diaspora have held onto cultural touchstones of the homeland, influential remnants that inspired their desire to one day return. Dr. David Argüello de Valdez and his family embarked on the Manito Trail as part of an educational journey. Where ever they moved, they took with them a (framed, black and white) photograph of the valley of Valdez. David Argüello would continuously remind his family, “That’s where we are going to go back to.” (Argüello 2018) Their

family moved back to the village of Valdez in 1994. They renovated David's childhood home, intentionally preserving special spaces, such as the room where his mother gave birth. The Argüellos tend to a large garden, host annual events, and are adamant about serving the village and local community.

Jackie Montemayor who was born and raised in Cheyenne, Wyoming (mentioned in the previous chapter) has always been inspired by the musical traditions of northern New Mexico. As an adult, Jackie used his experience and connection to the art form as a means of integrating himself into the Nuevomexicano community. His ability to sing and play the rancheras and *corridos* has influenced his *querencia* in New Mexico and has been an essential component to his integration into the community. Despite the fact he was born and raised in Wyoming, Jackie is Manito in culture, spirit, and life.

The Challenges of Return

Those who returned to the villages of their ancestors have often encountered situations that have been less than welcoming. Despite historic facts and family reasonings for being gone, their absence detached them and their descendants from the local village happenings and day to day operations. This is a big deal when we consider the vital input and contributions of each family needed to sustain the village and keep it going. Being gone or absent from this equation had a significant impact. In some cases, families that stayed in the villages and did not migrate, were able to sustain their own livelihood, based upon looking after the land or businesses of relatives. For example, my grandmother's nephew paid the property taxes for my grandmother and in return she allowed for him to graze his animals and use the alfalfa from the land to feed them. When my dad decided to move to Valdez, this changed the flow of things as my dad and his

animals were now going to be living off the land. Natural human sentiments are exposed when dealing with valuable assets, such as property, especially when it has to do with one's personal revenue or means of support. The reality of migration separated familial ties and kin, in ways that they no longer had to depend upon one another to the same extent the ancestors did. Systems of *confianza* are not as strong, due to distance and lack of personal connection. Similar experiences have happened to other Manitos. Joaquín explains how the Manito return is not always celebrated, but how time avails itself to proving one's character and intentions.

Over time you realize, and you hear, and you learn that ...well, sometimes other members of the family wanted that land or wanted to do certain things. And so, there's also been hardship, you know? There's also been some rejection, some ostracizing, some not being included in family events. Because you know straight up some of our family didn't think that my dad deserved to get property or land or he was gone so long, why the hell should he come back and get this or that? And its hard cause it's also an economic thing, because where we live is probably the most valuable land that our family ever earned. In terms of monetary value, because of the gentrification in the ski valley and right now that land is worth like a million dollars an acre.

On the other hand, it took some time, but some of our family approached us one by one and they kind of said that of everybody in the family that could've got the land they were happy that my dad did, because they knew that he would be the only one that wanted to keep it as a working farm and a ranch, and welcome everybody. And my dads' been very clear that any of our family or any of our *pariente*, distant relatives that grew up there, helping farm and harvest, they're always welcome to come back. No questions asked, no invitations. He's always just wanted that to be some place that everybody could return back to and feel good about how they grew up, and that happens. Every year, ya know, and every summer, a lot of the families that come back and they visit and they talk and they share stories and they're real open and friendly about it, sharing their memories and what they did back in the days, ya know. (Argüello 2018)

I have been blessed by the hospitality of the Argüello's since I was a young girl. During my summer visits to New Mexico, their home has always been a welcoming place for me and my kids to celebrate holidays and to escape from the summer heat. In fact, it was

David Argüello, who planted a seed that summer for me to one day pursue a doctorate, as his wife Trinidad, was in the process of completing her doctoral program of study at the time. I recall sitting on the hammock, pacified by the beauty of the land and inspired by their family journey. I thoroughly noted how they established the means to make it back to Valdez, with the hopes that one day my family would do the same. More recent visits to the Argüello's entail enjoying the view from their wrap around porch, *platicando con mis parientes*, receiving sound advice about life and the journey through grad school, contemplating on how to change the world.

I find it important to document this experience because it normalizes the journey of Manitos who migrated for economic sustenance, achieved through the realms of education. Many Manitos have embarked on this journey, and have been fortunate enough to return back to the homeland for their own well-being and personal fulfillment. And many of those who return often have a genuine interest to invest and give back to their communities. This is demonstrated through participation in community-based organizations, such as land grant committees, acequia associations, cultural programming and services. The Manito Trail has also created pathways through academia in support of community-based knowledge and curriculum, that affords me this blessed opportunity to document my family history. To be cognizant of the Manito community, while pursuing our various paths of life is a calling that influences change in a positive direction. It has a direct impact on our local communities by validating our history, presence, and cultural knowledge. This is by no means an easy endeavor. Especially, when we have to stay invested in the maintenance and politics of the land that still requires the same amount of

physical labor as back in the day, plus new demands for advocating and preserving spaces for belonging.

The Labor of the Land Continues: Building Spaces for Community



Figure 12: Buckin' Bales Fall 2016

Time has by no means lessened the workload required living on the land. The rural landscapes for the most part have remained the same-with acequias, gardens, and fields to tend to, including the responsibilities of looking after any animals. The housing situations differ for Manitos of the diaspora influencing their living situations upon return. David Romero explains how his dad's love remained with his place in New Mexico. So, "when he died and willed his property to us, he was pretty clear he didn't want anyone to sell it. So, grandkids and all that could have access to it and use it as they grew up and that's' exactly what happened all these years." (Romero 2007) David and his siblings have all invested into the home, and many of them go and stay there during their vacations. Some living situations are much more complex because family homes were sold, and now require for Manitos and their descendants to either purchase a new place to live or build, as in the case of my dad. He was blessed to inherit my Great-Grandma

Tiodorita's land, but because no house was ever built there, he is having to build from the ground up. Others who have been blessed to inherit their family homes often have to fix up the house or renovate it, as in the case with Argüellos. All of these efforts require time, money, and a lot of manual labor.

Jeana Rodarte Romero of Riverton, Wyoming, wife of Following the Manito Trail project director-Levi, did not return to her family hometown of Gascon, but tells fragments of her love story as it is tied to place, raising a family, and living a Manito dream. She states, "From the minute I met Levi he had me working that land, (laughs) literally working the land." (Rodarte Romero 2016). Levi inherited the property in Dixon from his Grandmother, Ane Valdez Durán. Jeana tells how fixing up the place has always been one of her husband's passionate pursuits, and something she proved more than supportive of. Reminiscing on when they first started dating, Jeana said, "He had me walk all the way from his grandmas to his moms along the river . . ." (Ibid.) Considering Jeana's rural background growing up in Wyoming, she comments "I grew up in the Sinks. We knew how to navigate water, rivers . . ." (Ibid.) After that experience, Levi knew she was the one. The rest is history. Together Levi and Jeana have raised two daughters, Primavera and Mercedes, who they nicknamed the Dixon Chics, considering the significant amount of time they spent in Dixon. Jeana tells of the frequent visits they made during the weekends, summers, and holiday breaks, to upkeep the property, trim the trees, and clean. A lot of hard labor has gone into renovating the ancestral home. At one point, there was no electricity, no running water, they even had to bathe in the river like they did back in the day. But they kept going up there and kept working. Eventually, Levi put an outhouse, and a shower outside, and with time, they went from a Coleman to

a bigger grill, then eventually to a stove inside. A lot of special memories were made transitioning Levi's grandmother's abandoned house into a special and more comfortable place to be.

Like the Argüellos, the Romero home has provided a place of belonging rooted by family history and special memories. The investment Manitos put into their land and homes prove beneficial to the larger community, as they create spaces for the people to get together and celebrate life's special moments. Family and friends who visit the land are also blessed by the natural qualities of northern New Mexico, invigorated with a new sense of energy and focus. During the spring of 2017, The University of New Mexico's Chicana and Chicano Studies Retreat was hosted by the Romero's at their family home in Dixon. It was a community event that brought together respected Manitos, community members, youth and elders. A wide array of food was prepared, and music was performed by Cipirano Vigil, a fellow Manito and well-known musician. As the kids ventured off onto the property to play, the adults enjoyed conversing with one another catching up after another eventful semester. I remember my daughter stayed captivated by the water flowing through the acequia, the same thing that captures her attention when visiting my dad. It was my first time visiting the Romero home, and I vividly recall when I walked into the Casita: wood framed beds with hand-made quilts, linoleum floor, old style windows, and floral print wallpaper. I sensed the warmth of my Great-Grandma Tiodorita's house or the feeling I get when I am at my Grandma Alice's' home in Wyoming. As I have articulated, there is a special vibe and cultural sentiment in Manito homes that extend beyond time and space. Jeana states, "You go up there and you don't want to come back. It's just peaceful. It just has a good feel." (Ibid.) In recognition of her

husbands' lifelong work and their family contributions she acknowledges how happy Levi's Grandma Ane would be. (Rodarte Romero 2018) I concur, the ancestors would be well-pleased with the love, effort, and energy descendants continue to invest into the land and community.

My dad recently asked what I thought about naming the property "Tiodorita's Ranchito." Of course, I told him I thought it was a perfect name. Not only did the land once belong to her, but so much of who we are, our strengths and perseverance derive from the very qualities she exhibited. Grandma Tita had a whole lot of faith, sacrificed for her *familia*, and worked hard to ensure that they had everything they needed. In the words of my dad "She was *buena gente*". She loved being in New Mexico. After moving to Wyoming, she would continue to return to the village of Valdez every summer. She would travel down the Manito Trail by bus or catch a ride with a relative or friend. When my dad got out of the service, he spent a lot of quality time with her working, praying, and making memories. Similar to the special time my Grandma Alice spent with her in Valdez, when her dad, my Great-Grandpa Victor, and the rest of the guys would be away working in Wyoming. These memories are embedded in the valley. My dad explained to me how it's important for him to live back in the village to keep our family legacy alive. "I came back so the stories don't die. *¿Quién eres? El es hijo de Miguel and Alicia (Oh), Mi Grandma era Magdalena Valdez... Tiodorita García, (Oh) Mi Grandpa era Victor Sánchez, (Oh) They know your family and they say es de buena gente. (He comes from good blood).*"

My Grandma Alice blessed my dad with property, that she inherited from my Great Grandma Tiodorita; passed on by her father the late Rafael Herrera. The land

includes pasture, river, and part of the mountain. In this area, similar to the Romero's family property in Dixon, there was no running water, nor electricity when my dad moved to Valdez. He had to pay to put an electrical post, and only recently did he get a well for running water. Over the past few years, he has fixed up all the old fences and put up new fence lines. We have a horse named Chakas and a flock of sheep, including recently born lambs, named Ruby and Freddy. From scratch he has built a horse shelter and a sheep pen, made out of *postas* and tin. He now has the blessing of watching his dream casita go up, constructed from adobe brick and *vigas*. Throughout the year my dad participates in a variety of village traditions and is fostering relations throughout the community. He regularly participates in cleaning the acequias, and land grant working days, and is happy to lend a helping hand to any of the fellow Manitos. On this end, I am following the trail through academia, conducting community-based research, making connections, and learning more about land grants. I truly believe that all of this is a God given dream.

Cultivating a New Generation: The Youth, Rural Versus Urban

There's a drastic difference between living in Wyoming, or any other city versus the village experiences of northern New Mexico. While urban towns are often fast paced with no set or defined limits, time is experienced differently in the rural villages. The luxuries or easy way of doing things due to technological advancement negates or diminishes the work ethic one builds when working the land. Moving back to the valley has been a way for the people to not get lost in the urban lifestyle. It's funny because anytime I go to my dad's, no matter who is with me, he always puts us to work. "Grab a shovel, grab a rake, and if those are all taken-use a stick." Joaquin explains that moving back to the valley is a good way to find balance and be healthy. He said, "My dad lost

like 60 pounds in the first year, my mom lost like 40 pounds. Cause we had to like work, fix things up, tear down walls, build things, plant, ya know? Your free time is all outside you're not inside just watching the tv all the time, even in the winter.” (Argüello 2018) A lot of hard work is associated with the lifestyles of northern New Mexico, strong values and cultural experiences that are passed on generationally. As the children accompany the elders, they too learn the ways of the land by hands on experience and through the stories that are shared in accompaniment to a good day of work.

On a recent drive back to Albuquerque from visiting my dad in Valdez, my boys shared how much they enjoyed spending time at Grand-dad's over the weekend, a sentiment I was assured my daughter also shared simply from falling fast asleep in her car seat, as soon as we hit the paved road. Giovontá my eldest son, explained how down in Valdez there are no societal pressures that you feel you have to attend to. “You just get to be you, with no extra demands.” (Martinez, Giovontá 2019) He also expressed how much he valued just flowing with the rhythms of nature. “When the sun and animals rise you get up and do your thing and then as the sun sets it's time to start doing what's needed to settle in for the night.” (Ibid.) When I asked Orlando, my youngest son, what he feels like being in Valdez, he stated, “free.” (Pino 2019) The exact same feeling my Grandma Alice used when I spoke with her later that evening. She said, “every time I'm in Valdez, I feel so free.” (Sánchez Martínez 2019) Now let me explain, besides the money spent on gas to get to Valdez, as well as on food and snacks, I paid nothing else to entertain my children. Which seems as a rarity this day and age. My boys were merely reflecting on their time spent with their grand-dad feeding and cleaning up after the animals, helping shovel some gravel, playing by the river, and venturing out on the land

grant. Not only did they enjoy their time, but these are quality experiences that help shape their own outlook on the world, while influencing their identity and sense of belonging. Plus, there is a great pride in doing what our ancestors did, following in their footsteps, and then teaching the youth based upon lived experience and gained wisdom.

In a recent Following the Manito Trail interview my dad tells how our younger *primos*, Mo and Michael, helped clean the acequia. Mo was working down in the ditch. Reflecting upon the experience, my dad said “It was cool watching her running in front of the water when we let the water go, moving the leaves back and forth. Her brother Rafaelito was always doing that. Now, he’s graduated and went into the army. He’ll be back. Everybody says he’ll be back. After he does his army trip . . . See the acequia running... (Martínez 2019) Like the water that flows through the acequia the generational evolution of life continues to move forward. Similar to the ways my dad helped out on the land when he was younger, he now tells how the upcoming generation is tending to the village waterways. The contributions and labor of Rafaelito, Mo and Michael’s older brother, are embedded in the village, along with their father, Lloyd Garcia, and their grandfather, the late Rafael. My dad also references, Rafaelito embarking on his own Manito Trail journey. Recognizing the sacred ties Rafaelito has to the village community, my dad is confident he will return back to Valdez. “Over here you belong. You belong to the mountains. You belong to the trees. You belong to the birds. You belong to everything you’re a part of.” (Martínez 2019) This sense of belonging is a blessing we are fortunate enough to pass on to our children. With familial roots embedded, that extend down, back, and around generations, Manitos remain connected by stories, family, and experience. Our Manito roots connect beyond geographic borders and ascribed

boundaries. They intersect cross-culturally, spiritually, and in ways we can't fully comprehend. And when one trail ends another always begins.

The Manito Trail Continues . . .

A couple of years ago Joaquín and I both were in attendance at a land grant meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where we are both currently residing. At the meeting, I gifted Joaquín with a framed picture of the valley of Valdez, a blessing beyond words. This more recent image was similar to the photograph his father had and that accompanied their family throughout their journey on the Manito Trail. In recognition of how his dad was able to fulfill the goal of returning the *familia* to northern New Mexico, Joaquín responded, “My dad did it, He brought us back.” With similar sentiments I recognize the labor, blood, sweat, and tears, it has taken for my dad to be where he in his journey; and the significant contributions of each of the elders and ancestors. And now, while both of our *jefitos* enjoy the shade of the valley, Joaquín and I are both here in Albuquerque with our pictures of Valdez, symbolic for hopes and the dream for us to one day return to live in the village. We are very fortunate and blessed to have family established there, to be able to go and visit, lend a helping a hand, and just escape the everyday realities of city life. But one has to have the means to survive and provide for one family. Hence the reasoning behind the Manito Trail and why many Manitos have left the villages to gain economic sufficiency. Cognizant of the struggles and this life long journey, we, Manito descendants move with purpose, intentional to hold onto the values, our culture and what we've been taught, and do our best to serve our families and community. We trust God and pray for whatever needs to be done or undone. The Manito Trail is a journey of life, experiences, and the memories of a people who sacrificed and labored for their *familia*. If it wasn't for my ancestors, I wouldn't be sharing with you this

research that only exists because of who they were, their story of survival, and what they worked to hold onto. With the conclusion of this dissertation, once more there will be movement along the Manito Trail, as family and friends throughout the Manito Diaspora travel to New Mexico to celebrate the legacy of Los Manitos.

Endnotes

¹ Levi Romero is the originator of the Following the Manito Trail research concept and co-director of the project.

² I use “Greater Mexico,” a term frequently associated with the work of Américo Paredes and José Limón because it affords me the opportunity to contextualize interrelations that extend beyond the limitations of borders.

³ The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave the United States possession of land, known today as California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming.

⁴ Also known as *Venta de La Mesilla*, that permitted the United States’ purchase of southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico.

⁵ “The Maxwell (formerly Beaubian/Miranda) Land Grant, a parcel of 1.7 million acres that straddled the Colorado/New Mexico state boundaries.” (Montoya 2002, 22)

⁶ Correia discusses the land grant activism and resistance enacted by the Night Riders of the 1920s, La Corporación from the 1930s-1960s, the Alianza Federal de Mercedes in the 1960s, and El Consejo and Raza Unida in the 1970s.

⁷ Gómez refers to the “first Mexican Americans” as those who joined American society involuntarily, not as immigrants, but as a people conquered in war. (Gómez 2018, 2)

⁸ Monumental display of New Mexico’s Spanish colonial legacy remains an issue of debate and contention. Española’s statue of Juan de Oñate has been the source of much controversy. In 2016, the University of New Mexico’s seal, which depicted an image of a conquistador and frontiersman was abolished due to its racist connotation. And most recently, the 2018 Santa Fe Fiesta decided not to perform the Entrada, a traditional reenactment of the Spanish Conquistadors who reclaimed Santa Fe from the Natives in 1692 because it served as a symbol of colonialism.

⁹ The counter culture (hippies) had a tremendous effect on the local villages. Towns like Arroyo Seco, Arroyo Hondo, Dixon, and others experienced a great influx of counter culture new settlers moving in. Their presence transformed the village social, cultural, and physical landscape.

¹⁰ An update of the Tewa Basin study would be valuable in order to assess specific changes among the people, landscape, and economic conditions.

¹¹ Don Usner’s “Sabino’s Map” is a great resource for this information.

¹² Examples of *remedios*, include: osha for pain/infections, potatoes and vinegar to reduce fever, *yerbabuena* for upset stomach, and chamiso for cold like symptoms.

¹³ Jorge Iber. *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999*. College Station: Texas A&M 2000. Linda Eleshuk Roybal. *Exploration, Disruption, Diaspora: Movement of Nuevomexicanos to Utah*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2018.

¹⁴ There were several massacres and raids that displaced and removed Wyoming’s Native American communities. For an award-winning text examining the history of the San Creek Massacre see Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre, Struggling Over the Memory of the San Creek Massacre*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2013.

¹⁵ In 1932, a “Statement Showing Approximate Acreage, Rental, and Royalty Involving State-Owned Mineral and Grazing Lands” shows that state-owned mineral lands leased under prospecting permits totaled approximately 127,000 acres, and produced a rental revenue of \$26,000 during the year 1932. (Martin T. Baskett Papers)

¹⁶ References to the diverse and multicultural workforce in the state of Wyoming can be found in “Wyoming’s Mexican Hispanic History”, written by Antonio Rios-Bustamante and in “Settlers, Sojourners, and Proletarians: Social Formation in the Great Plains Sugar Beet Industry” by Dennis Nodín Valdés, and Andrew Gulliford’s article, “Aldo Leopold, Estella Bergere, Mia Casita and Sheepherding in New Mexico and Colorado.”

¹⁷ Rios-Bustamante references a trade route established by Entienne Prevost who “opened a trade route from Western Wyoming and Utah to New Mexico. The Preveost route probably followed existing Shoshone, Ute and New Mexican trade routes.” (Rios-Bustamatne 2001, 4)

¹⁸ La cuacha is another name that people used when referring to sheepherding work.

¹⁹ This was shared with me by Grandpa Mike, who traveled from Valdez to Colorado to tend to the harvests of the fields. In Fountain, Colorado he chopped beets, and he harvested other crops as well. He picked

melón in Sanford, and in Centro he helped harvest papas. He did this until one day he received a letter from his mother, Magdalena Martinez stating he had been drafted into the United States Army.

²⁰ Eagle Pass is a U.S. border town community with a predominate Mexican/Mexican American population.

²¹ Antonia Apodaca (11/1/1923) is a renowned American musician known for her upbeat energy, accordion playing and traditional New Mexican songs. Today at 96 years of age, she continues to carry a tune.

²² Manifest destiny is the ideal that it was the inherent destiny of American settlers to move westward and settle the land.

²³ The state of Wyoming is known as the equality state. In 1869, it was the first state to grant women the right to vote, primarily to qualify for statehood.

²⁴ La comida Nuevo Mexicana. Que rico! Enchiladas, huevos y papas, con green chile o rojo, but better with both. Christmas style! Empanadas, muñelos, frijoles con chicos, posole, menudo, y arroz dulce. Bisaabuelas making tortillas y panocha, feeding and teaching the upcoming generations. Don't forget the biscochitos. Manitos and their traditions, sustenance for the body and memory making. The nutrients of life. For the holidays, weddings, celebrations, and funerals, grandma's best recipes are always prepared.

²⁵ There are various clubs and organizations Manitos participated in such as, VFW, GI Forums, Hispano American Woman's Club, Knights of Columbus, LULAC . . .

²⁶ There was also a chapter of the Latin American Federation established in Ft. Morgan, Colorado which afforded interstate networking and communique.

²⁷ "Program," National Latin American Federation 6th Annual Convention, Fort Morgan, Colorado, September 25, 1971.

²⁸ "The influence of the Chicano movement reached into Wyoming from Colorado. In the 1970s Chicano movement was active in Cheyenne, Laramie, Casper, Rawlins, Lovell, and Rock Springs. . . Students at the University of Wyoming in 1972 formed a student group, the Chicano Coalition. The group, eventually called MECHA, held a Chicano conference. In 1998 a Chicano Studies Program was formed in the College of Arts and Sciences. (Currently directed under the guidance of Dr. Cecilia Aragon, Manita from Santa Fe.) In 2000, a citizens group formed a committee to establish a Spanish language radio station for the Laramie community." (Rios-Bustamante, 8)

²⁹ Martha J. Bailey and Nicolas J. Duquette. "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economics and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity." *Journal of Economic History* (June 2014) Vol. 74: 351-388

³⁰ Interesting to consider how Manitos and other students of color meet the cultural expectations of family and educational demands of program of study. In a recent telephone conversation with Connie, she mentioned the difficulty of meeting the cultural expectations of family. For example, every Friday she was required to meet with her academic advisor. It just so happened that it would be around the same time her parents would come into town from the ranch in Gallina Canyon. She explained to advisor, who recognized the cultural value and accommodated.

³¹ Ann did attend Denver Business school, because her boss Mr. Yatter paid for her. However, she recalls experiences of discrimination that she had to confront and resist.

³² There were only 15 Hispanics in Ann's 9th grade class at St. Mary's School and only 6 who graduated. (Esquibel Redman 2007)

³³ "Hope Brochure." Retrieved from:

https://www.hopecheyenne.org/_pdf/Hope%20Brochure%20040908.pdf

³⁴ It is unfortunate that the HOPE Stars program is temporarily suspended, due to the lack of community support.

³⁵ "Athena is the Goddess of Wisdom" Ann was nominated for this award by the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce. One of Ann's most cherished awards.

³⁶ La Cultura Oral History Collection documents many of these practices in regards to food, social practices and spiritual beliefs related to baptismal, wedding practices, funeral and death.

Father Clark was from New Mexico /50s and 60s strong Manito community

³⁷ Jeana Rodarte's grandfather, Valentín Rodarte, had also been a *hermano* in New Mexico. Gilbert Ortiz of Cheyenne, was also an *hermano* and kept an altar in his Cheyenne home. Many of these *hermanos* may have returned to their New Mexico village and moradas during *Semana Santa*.

³⁸ Horton's dissertation was written under the guidance of anthropologist Sylvia Rodriguez who wrote *The Taos Fiesta: Invented Tradition and the Infrapolitics of Symbolic Reclamation* (1994) and demonstrates

how Hispanos re-appropriated an Anglo invented tradition by assuming control during the 60s and 70s. I build upon Horton and Rodriguez's work particular in term of Manito Returns to the Homeland and how the very act of the return is symbolic for the familial and cultural continuity of these northern New Mexican communities.

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