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Trauma, Memory, Imagination, and Survivance: Uncovering Haunting Stories within the Southwest Borderlands

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by

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DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

For my parents who love to learn and from whom I learned how to love.

And for those who came before us and those who will come after us.

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I would like to extend a deep appreciation for my former American Studies dissertation committee chair, Dr. Rebecca Schreiber, for her guidance along my journey. Although she had to step down as my committee chair, throughout my graduate career in American Studies at the University of New Mexico, she continued to provide a steady and compassionate space for the writing process while offering supportive encouragement. Dr. Schreiber is a knowledgeable and respected faculty member in American Studies at UNM and beyond as well as an advisor, and mentor. Always creating a positive environment for talking me through this often arduous and intense project, Dr. Schreiber's professional nurturing of my graduate career path continues to offer an excellent model for guiding students through their own unique process while asking thoughtful questions regarding the significance of such an endeavor.

In addition, I would like to acknowledge my dissertation committee members, including UNM American Studies professor Dr. Kathleen Holscher, who graciously stepped in as chair of my dissertation committee. I greatly appreciate her coming on board to support my project and guide me to completion of my dissertation. Dr. Holscher challenged my understanding of American Studies in her graduate seminar "Secularism and U.S. Empire," and continues to inspire me with her complex and engaging work on religion in New Mexico. Dr. Holscher's thoughtful feedback, suggestions, and overall encouragement on my chapter drafts was immensely helpful. UNM American Studies professor, Dr. Francisco Galarte, also graciously stepped in to join my dissertation committee at a late stage in my dissertation process. I appreciate his knowledge of Southwest Studies, and his willingness to read my work, provide feedback, and support me in this endeavor.

My other dissertation committee members include: UNM Political Science professor Dr. Kathy Powers, and Syracuse University English professor, Dr. Antonio Tiongson. Each professor offered informed guidance, mentorship, and academic prowess. When I was a Master's degree student in American Studies at UNM in Dr. Tiongson's courses, he always challenged his graduate students by encouraging us to ask meaningful questions as he continually responded with positive criticism on papers that set the tone for supportive improvement, which greatly assisted in developing my quality of writing, and more importantly, he asked probing questions about why this academic work matters. Dr. Tiongson's graduate seminar entitled "Politics of Archives," introduced me to theoretical concepts of haunting and self-reflexivity through Avery F. Gordon's *Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* and Grace M. Cho's *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*, creating a vital space for understanding trauma in new and fascinating ways. My Critical Trauma Studies work, including my MA Thesis on Jewish women and children's experiences of the Holocaust, greatly expanded my depth of thinking, and inspired me to access these traumatic histories through a different lens and sensibility.

Dr. Kathy Powers led a UNM Political Science graduate seminar I attended entitled, "Architecture of Justice," in Berlin, Germany, on the Holocaust, memorials, museums, human rights, and reparations, that deeply excited my intellect and inspired further work on trauma, memory, and resilience. Through this course I was encouraged to capture on-site visits of memorials and museums via photography and blog writing. Experiencing sites where trauma occurred during World War II, including the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Oranienberg and Track 17 in Germany, drastically altered my way of thinking while I considered new methodologies for advanced research, writing, and presentation. My experience at

Sachsenhausen shook my understandings of the Holocaust and its far-reaching impact, ultimately allowing me to consider how haunting can affect not only survivors of trauma, but also those who study trauma. Visiting the remains of the Berlin Wall also sparked a sense of urgency in documenting historical sites and memorials constructed to educate the public and prevent future atrocities.

My first graduate professor in American Studies, Dr. Gerald Vizenor, had a profound influence on my graduate career as I had never experienced his teaching style that merged research, scholarship, academic questioning, and engaged enthusiasm with a sense of compassion, curiosity, gratitude, and humor. Dr. Vizenor ignited my interest in the Holocaust and emphasized the need to tell stories that are hidden, untold, and unrecognized. Dr. Vizenor also introduced me to the concept of "survivance" through his scholarship and creative writing within the field of Critical Indigenous Studies. I also want to acknowledge N. Scott Momaday, Kiowa literary giant, whose English course entitled "Native Oral Tradition," I participated in at UNM. His course was unique, deeply inspiring, and informational. Momaday was also a colleague of my mother's and a close family friend.

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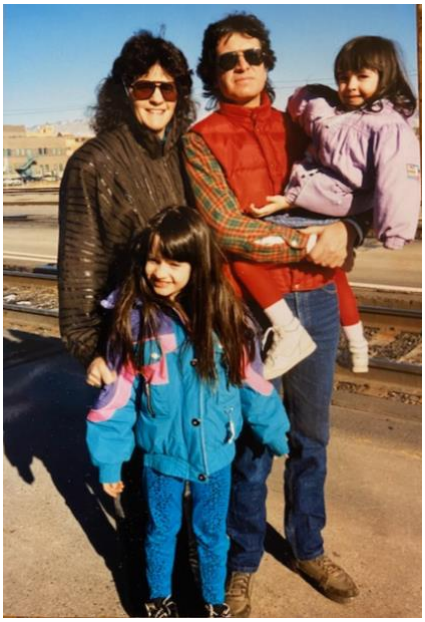
his significant contribution to Southwest Studies in his dissertation "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity: Narratives of American Indian Slavery Colorado and New Mexico, 1776-1934," which has enormously influenced this project.

My parents Dr. Reyes Roberto García and Dr. Susan Scarberry-García inspired this dissertation project and encouraged me to pursue higher education for as long as I can remember. Their respective careers as college and university professors teaching Southwest Studies, Indigenous Studies, World Religions, and Philosophy at The Colorado College, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of New Mexico, the University of Colorado Boulder, Fort Lewis College, Arizona State University, Adams State University, and the Institute of American Indian Arts, has led me to grow up in an environment that deeply values learning and higher education. My parents encouraged me to pursue a doctorate and a dissertation project based on García family history in Colorado and New Mexico, but also as an outgrowth of Critical Trauma Studies, hauntology, and "survivance." My Dada's love of the land, water, as well as his writings on the García family lake in Cumbres, and family ranches, in addition to his explorations of philosophy, experiences as a Chicano scholar, and stories of the ancestors keeps me inspired and challenges me to keep writing.



My parents, Susan & Reyes, older sister, Lana, & me as Amtrak Southwest Chief train arrives at the station in Albuquerque, NM (circa 1992)
Photograph Source: Scarberry-García family collection

Both of my parents encourage and inspire me more than anyone because of their deep love for knowledge, storytelling, and academic work. My whole life I have been surrounded by books, art, intellectual discussion, curiosity about language, and an emphasis on education as means to unlock a richer and more dynamic world. My parents taught me to continue pursuing academic dreams throughout all obstacles, of which there were many. My sister Lana Kiana García is pursuing her own Ph.D. at the University of Colorado Boulder in Environmental Studies. She has consistently offered me emotional support, good humor, and steadfast encouragement as I spent time on this journey that has been a challenging endurance test in terms of writing, maintaining a sense of ongoing persistence including mental, and emotional fortitude, as well as motivation. Our love and friendship mean everything as she has been one of my closest supporters.

Lana & me at her University of Colorado at Denver Master's Degree in Humanities Graduation
May 2018
Photograph Source: taken by the author

I also wish to acknowledge my brother-in-law Michael Robert Thomas for his ability to offer consistent understanding, rational thought, and heartfelt support. His reminder as a professional and personal advocate for mental health and well-being has not gone unnoticed. I also wish to acknowledge Theodora Zobel for her lifelong love, friendship, and support. Her mother Amy Ulmer also deserves recognition since she has always been supportive of our family and this academic endeavor. She should also be acknowledged as a bright and caring former college dean, avid reader, and longtime family friend.

I also wish to acknowledge my maternal grandparents Phyllis S. Scarberry and William Fox Scarberry. Phyllis "Kiki" always nurtured a loving, fun, adventurous and supportive atmosphere since my childhood. My grandmother graduated from Ohio State University in 1942, with a degree in Education, was a member of the Tri-Delta sorority, excelled at academics and thus, held the special honor of being head of the Women's Self Government Association at OSU. Due to her prominent position as a female academic, she was invited to the White House where

she met First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. My grandmother, Kiki, is deeply missed and remains very much part of this life journey. I wish I could have met my maternal grandfather William, who graduated from Ohio State University in 1941, with a degree in Mechanical Engineering, and played college football as a Buckeye. I know he would be supportive of this work. My paternal grandparents Margaret Sargent García and José Amarante García, are also greatly missed and their story lives on throughout this project. My *nana* especially lives in our hearts and mind and throughout these pages. I wish I could have met my paternal grandfather, José Amarante; his life and image echo throughout this project. I wish all the *antepesados* could still be present in my life, but I know they are all around in spirit.

My great-grandfather Wilbur Galveston Scarberry held a doctoral degree in Education, and held a position as superintendent of the Ohio State School for the Blind for decades, therefore leaving an inspiring educational legacy. I additionally wish to acknowledge my maternal aunt Janet "Nura" Stone and uncle Neal Stone for their continued support, encouragement, music, and love. My late paternal uncle José "Joe" Eduardo García provided a source for inspiration as he became a nontraditional graduate student at UNM in Latin American Studies. He began the journey to study our García lineage and genealogy. His deep interest in the family tree and patterns of migration as well as irrigating, ranching, and land management, in many ways, was a catalyst for this project. My paternal aunt, Victoria Graham Naclerio, graciously provided family photographs for my dissertation defense.

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Loa at the ranch
September 2018
Photograph Source: taken by the author

Last but certainly not least, I wish to acknowledge Dr. Alexander Jenks, my partner who feels like home in my mind, heart, and being. When we met and became friends many years ago our relationship showed me the value in creating a foundation needed for unconditional love and

support. The journey of life would not be half as enjoyable without his presence. Through the difficult times, self-doubt, and an unknown future, his loving companionship led the way. I appreciate how Alex's consistent hard work in medicine encourages me to continue my own work in the humanities. I also admire his love of learning, pursuit of his intellectual passions, and his own curiosity for discovering family roots, lineages, and genealogy. The promise of more adventures together walking through the fields at the ranch, hiking in the high mountains of Cumbres, traversing landscapes in enchanted New Mexico, and in yet to be discovered places, has led me to complete this project. Alex, Lachlan, and I cannot wait to behold the future that awaits us. This dissertation is a collective heartfelt endeavor that never would have come to fruition without all of you.

Tania, Alex, & Lachlan at the Great Sand Dunes National Monument, San Luis Valley, Colorado
August 2022
Photograph Source: taken by the author

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B.A. in English Literature
M.A. in American Studies
Doctor of Philosophy in American Studies

ABSTRACT

This dissertation project explores hidden histories of the García/Espinosa/Sargent/Burns family in northern New Mexico/southern Colorado during the middle-to-late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries, and continuing into the present. The project, in part, focuses on prominent rancher, lawyer, landowner, and territorial representative of New Mexico and Colorado, José Victór García. García's life and legacy is examined regarding the lesser-known story of his "ownership" of several enslaved Indigenous youths on his property in Conejos County, Colorado. The methodology of haunting is employed to expose complex histories of Indigenous peoples in the Southwest borderlands, and within a broader context of colonialism. Indigenous enslavement is considered a haunting after-effect of trauma. Indigenous land dispossession perpetrated by *Hispano* and Euro-American land speculators is also considered. Ultimately, haunting is countered via the *Indo-Hispano* concept of *querencía* (a sense of homeland) and the Indigenous concept of *survivance* (resistance to colonialism), thus providing a healing antidote to trauma.

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Introduction

Theories of Haunting

Many years ago, on a cold, windy fall evening, as leaves of golden yellow were clinging to the giant cottonwoods on our family ranch in southern Colorado's San Luis Valley, my *nana* told the story of *La Llorona* to my older sister, Lana, and me when we were small children. I vividly remember our *nana* telling us that she heard a woman mournfully calling for her drowned children down near the Conejos River that bordered her ranch to the north. As the north wind blew, our *nana*, silver-haired, soft-spoken and gentle in demeanor, was sitting in an overstuffed burnt orange reclining chair in her red brick ranch home adorned with carved dark wood. She gazed down at her dark-haired granddaughters sitting on the wooden floor beneath her chair, our eyes ablaze with wonder, as she told us about how a woman drowned her children in a fitful rage after she learned that her husband was unfaithful to her. Our *nana* said that the low-pitched, mournful, ghostly cries of the haunted woman could be heard during the darkness of night, near the water, as the wind howls. Born out of a sense of sorrow for dead children and vengefulness for a husband's betrayal, the haunted woman cries linger long into the night and deep into the surrounding wilderness. Our *nana*'s ghost story warned us that if we heard the cries of *La Llorona*, her ghost could harm us. As children, we were frightened, but the story also riveted our senses and left us enthralled.

My *nana*'s story marks one of my first experiences, as a young child, with a haunting occurrence, and it sparked my sense of curiosity about ghostly stories, folklore, and mysterious happenings as they stem from traumatic experiences within our *Hispano* culture. Years later, I

learned about how the story of *La Llorona* derives from Mexican folklore. During my years as a graduate student at UNM, I began to wonder about hauntings tied to historical events, about how and why these hauntings happen, and about positive responses to trauma that are possible. Thus, this dissertation project dives into describing the concept of haunting as a methodology; here I utilize haunting as methodology to uncover stories in the Southwest borderlands of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, the region where my García family originates from. I ask the reader to be curious, to keep an open mind, and to dare to use your imagination to animate the haunting and mysterious stories told here.

Haunting as Methodology

The theory of haunting, a concept brought forth by sociologist Avery F. Gordon, provocatively applies across the American Studies-adjacent academic fields of Critical Trauma Studies and Southwest Studies. Gordon builds her theory from that of French philosopher and post-structural theorist Jacques Derrida. Derrida invented the term "hauntology"—fusing haunting and ontology in a *portmanteau*—to invoke "the figure of the ghost that which is neither present, nor absent, neither dead nor alive."[1] The ghost as a "social figure" is key to understanding how the violence of past traumas figures into the present, and also has the potential to warn us of future events. Derrida's term hauntology in turn refers back to German philosopher Karl Marx's assertion that "a spectre is haunting Europe-the spectre of communism."[2] Across this work, ghosts or specters reveal the existence of past occurrences, lingering or returning to haunt the present reality. Although philosophers Marx and Derrida apply haunting to communism, the concept of haunting can apply in a variety of socio-historical contexts. The theory of haunting is similar to spectral analysis, which is applied in the field of

psychology as an analytic lens.[3] Haunting is a kinetic occurrence that performs "memory work," which brings forth a need to confront vestiges of the past.[4]

Haunting denotes an active presence, one that urges us toward a critical engagement with overlooked narratives, memories, images, histories, and lived experiences. Derrida's formulation of hauntology has had implications for various fields of academic knowledge, including literature, psychoanalysis, music, political theory, architecture, and afro-futurism. And well before Derrida, gothic literature, known as a genre of British literature but also of American literature, incorporated haunting as a theme in classic novels such as Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein; Or, The Modern Prometheus* and Henry James's novella *The Turn of The Screw*.[5] In *Tales of the Troubled Dead: Ghost Stories in Cultural History,* British cultural critic and literary theorist Catherine Belsey engages with hauntings located in cultural history and literature dating from thirteenth century Icelandic sagas and extending to William Shakespeare's late sixteenth century play, *Hamlet*. More recently, themes of haunting and intergenerational trauma appear in contemporary experimental American literature such as George Saunders's *Lincoln in the Bardo,* Ta-Nehesi Coates's surrealist pre-Civil War era novel entitled *The Water Dancer*, and Tommy Orange's novels, *There There* and *Wandering Stars*. In this dissertation, I demonstrate how themes and theories of haunting can extend beyond literature, into interdisciplinary work in the discipline of American Studies, and are especially helpful in confronting overlapping cultural-historical contexts in the American Southwest.

Specifically, this project employs the theory of haunting to uncover how the past vividly remains in the present, pressing into our moment via historical records, family history, oral history, and photography. Through this dissertation, I am ultimately seeking to discover the

insights haunting offers into shared historical trauma, which holds deep consequences for people in the present. These interlocking themes of haunting and trauma arise in family photography, the images of which communicate living histories and an intergenerational ancestral legacy intimately linking the past, present, and future. Oral histories, as well as hidden written histories, often account for gaps in the historical archival record. Ghosts live in these unconventional archives and when they speak from those archives, they push us beyond conventional approaches to knowledge production and recordings of history.

This dissertation project interrogates how ghosts become agents in the present. When hauntings happen in this way, it asks us to contend with colonial histories via undervalued ancestral stories that have the potential to help us actively contend with traumas of the past. Stated differently, this study responds to a need for understanding the complexities of New Mexico's and Colorado's colonial past, and it challenges neat and settled narratives about this past through asserting complicated, nuanced familial stories. These stories shed light on and also challenge ongoing issues of colonial suppression regarding the region's complex racial histories, while highlighting *Hispanos*' and Indigenous peoples' experiences with subjugation. By confronting history in this way, this study underscores how ancestral legacies call current and future generations to reckon with traumas of the past, while also pointing to the global significance of confronting colonialism by centering ghosts as active agents who demand recognition.

In this project, hauntings within my own family illuminate the haunted character of the U.S. Southwest. In this study, I share previously hidden stories of my ancestors and insert their stories into a broader archive of Southwest Studies. I reimagine the historical background, personal experiences, and worldviews of my Colorado and New Mexico

(García/Gonzales/Espinosa/Sargent/Burns) *antepasados* through rediscovering their photographic portraits, listening to family oral histories, and examining biographical sketches in historical archives, as well as through contextualizing the experiences of family members via a critical Southwest cultural-historical lens. Present in formal historic family photographs, ghosts and specters actively and imaginatively appear to remind the photographic viewer—whether the viewer is a family member or a stranger observing the photograph located in a historical archive—of people who have been lost to land dispossession and cultural displacement, as well as death, within a Southwestern historical context. Similarly, family memories passed through generations haunt the present as specters and ghosts, or "something that haunts or perturbs the mind," provoking me to attend to the past, and demonstrating more broadly the need for scholars to grapple substantively with hidden histories.[6]

Consequently, this dissertation's goal is to trace how haunting happens via personal narratives and photographic images, how it shapes my own *Hispano* family history, and how it reveals the haunted character of the broader *Hispano* community. In this way, it offers haunting as a dynamic site of critical analysis centered in the American Southwest. To accomplish this goal, I undertake a visual analysis of historic photographs, in order to discern how images evoke haunting absences and presences of long perished *antepasados*.[7] I also revisit haunting events that my García ancestors experienced. Working in this way allows me to show that living histories, animated by ghosts, reside in the Southwest borderlands of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Here I use the term "living histories" to refer to hidden stories and histories that maintain their relevance, and exert an impact on present-day life in the cultural region of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado where many *Hispano* families still reside.

To study living histories of the Southwest, as they come to us through sources that are public and private, oral, visual, and written, it is necessary to perform in-depth analyses that allow stories embedded in these sources to surface, and open themselves to evaluation within a critical, Southwest Studies context. To employ haunting as an analytic in this process in turn requires moving across disciplines, in a way that bridges history, literature, and psychoanalysis. And to do this, one must turn to scholars who have found ways to inventively blend and blur academic boundaries, in order to access intangible hauntings. Psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Mária Török, for example, engage Freudian theories and methods while performing a study of "phantom presences," "transgenerational communications," and unspoken traumas that often disturb familial descendants in the current day.[8] They engage hauntology as a methodology to understand how phantoms play a part in family secrets that haunt intergenerationally, across time as well as space. Their psychoanalytic scholarship highlights the concept of "phantom presences," which serves as a vital foundation for this work.[9] In their text *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*, an analysis of the effects of trauma is at the crux of their psychoanalytic work; this is their starting point for examining the role of ghostly figures occupying hidden family histories. Here the theory of haunting acts as a conceptual and methodological framework for understanding unspoken intergenerational transmissions of trauma, regarding both individual and collective histories, while also gesturing toward wider cultural-historical contexts.

Avery F. Gordon's theory of haunting applies to the social imagination, and offers a method for regarding absences and haunted murmurings in social, historical, and literary works such as the late African American novelist and public intellectual Toni Morrison's canonical novel *Beloved*.[10] Morrison's *Beloved* can be categorized as a modern Southern gothic novel since

it concerns an enslaved individual's ghost actively haunting the main character Sethe after the U.S. Civil War's end in 1865, and during Reconstruction in the American South. In *Beloved*, a haunting occurs as the physical, psychological, and spiritual traumas and memories of chattel slavery, and its brutal aftermath, endure into the present temporal and spatial moment in America. As Gordon demonstrates in her work, the narrative of *Beloved* centers on the once-forgotten stories of slavery's ghosts, related haunting traumas, and the failed attempt at Reconstruction. *Beloved*'s narrative ultimately moves toward healing from horrific past traumas stemming from the cruelty of slavery.[11] In Gordon's reading of the novel, haunting marks a creative analytic approach to accessing the intricacies and complexities of social life and history relating to American enslavement. And importantly, for Gordon, haunting is also applicable methodologically to other cultural-historical events, including Argentina's Dirty War disappearances (1976-1983).[12] Engaging with, and also pushing beyond, Gordon, I argue that another literary work is integral to a critical conversation on haunting, particularly as it relates to the U.S. Southwest: Laguna Pueblo member Leslie Marmon Silko's seminal novel *Ceremony*.[13] Silko's narrative centers on the importance of oral history within a community, as the protagonist Tayo contends with the traumatic, haunting after-effects of World War II. Tayo confronts a deep psychological chasm while living between his Indigenous culture and dominant Euro-American society. Embarking on a hero's journey, Tayo heals his haunting wounds through ritual ceremony, traditional medicine, and revitalizing once-lost cultural ties to his Pueblo community.

In *Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, Gordon challenges academic boundaries in the way she employs the theory of haunting. For Gordon, as well as for this project, the theory of haunting allows for the recovery of previously repressed histories and memories, enabling us to account for fissures, shadows, and silences in historical archives, as well as in public memory,

and to confront ghosts that live there. As British film scholar Annette Kuhn notes: "secrets haunt."[14] Thus, taking haunting seriously encourages scholars to pay closer attention to hidden memories and buried records when they engage archival sources, and in some cases, it compels us to leave behind traditional academic archives altogether. And ultimately, hauntings also urge scholars, as well as writers, educators, and community members, to chart a course for meaningful action in the present, to repair damage incurred by concealing and underrepresenting traumatic events of the past.[15]

Haunting and Southwest Studies

This section situates my dissertation in relation to significant scholarship within the field of Southwest Studies, and demonstrates its interventions into Southwest Studies academic scholarship within the field of American Studies. First, *The Book of Archives and Other Stories from The Mora Valley, New Mexico*, by A. Gabriel Meléndez is an important inspiration for this project, particularly in the way it employs fragmented narrative storytelling—reminiscent of oral tradition—to weave together the haunting *antepasado* memories, cultural traditions, and folktales that are the mediums for intergenerational transmission of *Hispano/a* cultural and familial knowledge.[16] In addition, Karen R. Roybal's *Archives of Dispossession: Recovering the Testimonios of Mexican American Herederas, 1848-1960* provides inspiration for my work here, especially in the way it gives precedence to voices within *Chicana* counternarratives that are traditionally unspoken within historical records. This silence was a product of the gendered economic and political landscape of New Mexico and southern Colorado from the middle of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, and the fact that men, rather than women, occupied the role of primary landowners in the borderlands.[17] In her book, Roybal focuses on how

Mexicana landowners were actively dispossessed of their land along the U.S.-Mexico border during the American colonial period commencing with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848.

In Roybal's work, the ghostly—yet ultimately recovered—ancestral voices, memories, and stories of Mexican American *herederas* resonate with Meléndez's aforementioned Southwest Studies narrative. Meléndez's study of Mora creatively blends not only memory and imagination, but also a distinctive sense of self-reflexivity, in the way *The Book of Archives* focuses on stories of the author's own *antepesados* in Mora, New Mexico.[18] *Cuentos,* or stories, of Mexican American *herederas* and *antepesados* in both Meléndez's and Roybal's texts reverberate with my own family history along the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado cultural borderlands. Moving beyond their work, I contend that a *Hispano* landholding legacy and *querencía*, or a sense of closeness to homeland, remains a distinct means of cultural preservation, and an ongoing familial theme of community ties to cultural identity.[19]

Scholarship regarding the Spanish colonial conquest in the Southwest borderlands further elucidates this project and its interventions. For example, the seminal anthology entitled *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado*, edited by Vincent C. De Baca, provides a comprehensive context of Colorado history with a focus on *Hispano* regional oral histories.[20] The narrative of *La Gente* spans centuries, beginning during the Spanish colonial period, and includes focused narratives of *Hispano* ranching and *curanderismo* as traditional practices that preserve *Hispano* cultural identities and legacies of the San Luis Valley. Colorado's San Luis Valley is located under the shadows of the Sangre de Cristo Mountain Range, which borders the valley to the east.

Furthermore, contextualizing this project in relation to Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial histories of the Southwest—and yet ultimately challenging these narratives—is necessary to frame conversations on haunting to better understand how to reconcile past traumas with current awareness of complex colonial legacies. Folklorist and linguist Enrique R. Lamadrid's and *genízaro* scholar Moisés Gonzáles's anthology examining *genízaro* experiences entitled *Nación Genízara: Ethnogenesis, Place, and Identity in New Mexico (Querencias Series*), and related anthology *Querencia: Reflections on the New Mexico Homeland*, are also relevant sources for this Southwest Studies-oriented project. These anthologies actively center *genízaro/a* histories, and life stories, while also acknowledging the importance of current-day cultural preservation.[21] In *Nacíon Genízara*, *genízaro* is traditionally defined according to Fray Angelico Chávez as an "ethnic term given to indigenous people of mixed tribal origins living among the *Hispano* population in Spanish fashion."[22] Since Chávez's definition, the term *genízaro* has undergone a series of revisions, and therefore the term continues to be fluid, evolving over time. In addition, until recent years, Southwest scholarship has not reflected an adequate representation of *genízaro*-centered scholarship. Yet, journalistic sources, such as recent articles published in *The New York Times*, reveal that journalists such as Simon Romero, and their interview subjects, are grappling with the once-obscure, regional subject matter.[23]

In addition to researching hidden stories of *genízaro/as* embedded in Southwest family histories, this project acknowledges influential New Mexico and U.S.-Mexico borderlands authors who contribute to the canon of Southwest literature. Borderlands literary giants include renowned late novelist Rudolfo Anaya, best known for writing the coming-of-age novel *Bless Me, Ultima*.[24] In the novel, Anaya's writing inspires this work because of the Southwest context in which his narrative includes complex characters such as Narciso, who possesses a deep and

magical knowledge of plants, yet he is haunted and scarred by the events of war. Anaya's young protagonist, Antonio, develops a relationship with Narciso and must also contend with his own traumas and loss that he experiences in his *Hispano* community in rural New Mexico during the 1940s. Antonio learns to counter haunting events and develop resilience under Ultima's guidance as his mentor and *curandera*, or healer, who uses traditional folkways and herbs as medicine to restore a sense of equilibrium.

Further into the dissertation, T.D. Burns's story is discussed in relation to scholarship such as former New Mexico state historian Robert Torrez's article entitled "El Bornes:' La Tierra Amarilla and T.D. Burns," and American Studies activist scholar David Correia's text, *Properties of Violence: Law and Land Grant Struggle in Northern New Mexico*.[25]
Burns was my second great-grand uncle, and thus, I utilize a self-reflexive approach in my analysis since Burns was a relative on my father's side of the family. Torrez and Correia's scholarship examine Burns's life and legacy, yet this dissertation ventures beyond their scholarship in that it frames his land speculator exploits through the lens of a haunting methodology.

Primary Sources

Primary sources that inform this dissertation, and thereby provide a means to engage in a critical discussion on trauma, memory, and haunting, include a historic text entitled *History of Colorado*. Published in 1919, Wilbur Fiske Stone's *History of* Colorado consists of photographic portraits and biographical sketches of prominent citizens. I also use documents and photographs from the Denver Public Library and Auraria Public Library archives, Colorado Society of Hispanic Genealogy, U.S. Hispanic Literary Project, *The Alamosa Independent Journal*

newspaper, and the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, the Colorado History Center's Hart Research Library archives, located in Denver, Colorado, includes family records of José Amarante García (1858-1918), who was a prominent *Hispano* sheriff and judge in Conejos, Colorado, and also my great-grandfather.

In addition, this dissertation employs primary source material from our García family archives. Our family archives hold historic photographs, personal notes that transcribe oral histories, handwritten genealogical documents, and hand-drawn family trees. By engaging with my own family archives, I take an innovative approach to studying lesser-known histories of the northern New Mexico and southern Colorado region. In bringing these family documents to the forefront of my project, my aim is to present content that would otherwise only be known within our García family, and share it with a wider audience who would potentially find the historical and personal information it contains both interesting and illuminating of themes critical to the history of the region where my family has lived. My project is an original contribution to scholarship on the U.S. Southwest within American Studies, in part because my positionality as an academic allows me to tell the story of my ancestors, via family archives, from a critical vantage point. In other words, this is a story that no one else is in the exact same position to tell.

In Chapter Three, I used an oversize scrapbook created by my paternal grandmother, Margaret Sargent (1905-1992). The scrapbook documents Margaret's young adult life in the Southwest region, and particularly the culturally congruent area of northern New Mexico/southern Colorado. The early twentieth century scrapbook references my *nana*'s coming-of-age experiences through the textual media of letters, postcards, and photographs of El Rito, a village located in northern New Mexico. The scrapbook also documents García's

nationwide travels during the 1910s and 1920s. My grandmother's remembrances of her life as a young *Hispana* involves oral recollections about a *genízara* living in the family household, which also included John Sargent and Ludgarda Gonzales Sargent, my great grandparents, as well as my grandmother, her two sisters, and my paternal great-great-grandfather, Reyes Gonzales. When I engage the scrapbook and my grandmother's stories, I also consider whether and how U.S. census records illuminate this episode of family history further. For example, a 1920 U.S. census record includes the name of a "domestic servant" named Agapita living in the household in El Rito.

This exploration in Chapter Three is particularly illuminating of the dissertation's overall purpose. Here oral family history points to a *genízara* living with the Gonzales family in El Rito, New Mexico, during the early 1900s. The chapter ultimately argues for centering ghosts that emerge from family stories. Once silent stories of a *genízara*—an enslaved detribalized servant of Indigenous lineage—living in the household of our Sargent/Gonzales family suggests a haunting that complicates not only the stories my own family tells about itself, but also established histories and metanarratives in and of the Southwest. Stories regarding this *genízara* woman, whose life was bound up intimately with the lives of my family members, were largely unspoken, at one point in time. They were only discussed within our family in passing, mostly in secret. They were never openly shared. This familial silence surrounding *genízaro* history is deeply entangled with the lack of attention paid to *genízaros*, and their descendants, in Southwest Studies scholarship until fairly recently as discussed in Chapter Three.

In sum, my dissertation project employs analysis of public and private historical sources, and visual analysis of family photographs. These analyses are informed by my application of the

theory of haunting; I ask how haunting illuminates the stories within them, and carries those stories across time. In this way, I build an account of haunting's significance within my own *Hispano*/Scots-Irish family, as well as within the broader southern Colorado/northern New Mexico *Hispano* community. The historical scope of this study is middle-to-late nineteenth century through the twentieth century. Though that said, haunting by its nature escapes historiographical periodization, and so my project also contends with its current impacts.

Broadly speaking, the project also considers the ongoing importance of land, culture, and tradition for *Hispanos* of southern Colorado's San Luis Valley, and how haunting interpolates those categories. Interspersing scholarly analysis with a personal perspective—including reflecting on my own family's ranching history, practice, heritage, and legacy—inserts a self-reflexive framework for the project. My father, Reyes García, employs a self-reflexive methodology in his essay entitled "*Meditacíon en Dos Ojos*: García Lake at Cumbres Pass," that centers on the concept of *querencía* regarding our family land within the text entitled, *Sights of Sacred Insight: A Guide to Colorado's Sacred Places*.[26] I argue that my own self-reflexive framework productively challenges the boundaries of "academic scholarship," by encouraging community members to partake in the production of cultural knowledge as well as participate in cultural awareness and preservation.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One, entitled "Themes of Haunting, Memory, Trauma, and *Survivance*," introduces and unpacks haunting as the chief theoretical framework for my study, by engaging contemporary scholarship that relies initially upon relevant works of philosophers Karl Marx and Jacques Derrida.[27] This scholarship demonstrates how "the ghost is an actuality,

metaphor, and concept."[28] Chapter One additionally addresses how the theme of haunting applies in subsequent chapters, in relation to Southwest Studies, and also how it can apply, more broadly, beyond this dissertation. Here I emphasize the role of place-based stories in a Southwest context, to underscore how the past actively remains in the present. Furthermore, the chapter references how the notion of haunting involves a nonchronological timeframe, since it moves fluidly across time as well as space, and lingers in places of past, present, and future.

Chapter Two, entitled "Centering Haunting, Recovery, and Healing in the García Family's Conejos County Story," explores the effects of haunting in relation to Indigenous enslavement in the Territory of Colorado's San Luis Valley during the middle-to-late 1800s. The chapter specifically explores the hidden and complex practice of Indigenous enslavement by using the case study of prominent lawyer, rancher, and Colorado territorial legislator José Victór García (1832-1900), my paternal great-great-grandfather. I tell the García family history via analysis of historical records, secondary scholarly sources, and oral and written narratives, also engaging relevant scholarship from Southwest Studies. Despite a plethora of documented information about African enslavement in the southern United States, until recently, knowledge and recognition of Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest has largely remained obscure and overlooked. Andrés Reséndez's *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Enslavement in America*, and Estevan Rael-Gálvez's dissertation, entitled "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity: Narratives of American Indian Slavery Colorado and New Mexico, 1776-1934," insert the inadequately known story of Indigenous enslavement into both Southwest Studies and wider American consciousness, and thus provide crucial sources for Chapter Two.[29] Chapter Two also interrogates the unstable markers of visibility and invisibility, as well as absence and presence, as

they orient conversations about land ownership, cultural identity, Indigenous enslavement, and the political lives of my own García *antepesados*.

Chapter Three, entitled "Recognizing Ghosts of Land Dispossession: Reevaluating the Land Exploits & Legacies of Reyes Gonzales, T.D. Burns, & Ed Sargent," aims to complicate dominant Southwest colonial metanarratives, such as the myth of a harmonious tricultural New Mexico, through critically exploring the northern New Mexico village of Abiquiú as a dynamic site of power struggles between *Hispanos*, Indigenous peoples, and Euro-American settlers. I analyze these struggles through the life of Reyes Gonzales (1827-1922), a prominent *Hispano* landowner and sheep man in the Abiquiú region. Abiquiú is located in the Chama River Valley; it is, in important ways, a cultural crossroad in the American Southwest, and thus is a focal point of the chapter. Chapter Three also continues the dissertation's focus on ghosts as metaphorical, yet active subjects who, in this chapter, raise awareness of Indigenous land dispossession, and the haunting after-effects of trauma. Reyes Gonzales acquired land via the Abiquiú Land Grant, and in doing so my family displaced *genízaro* Indigenous peoples that long inhabited the area and probably also the area claimed by the *Hispano* heirs of the huge Tierra Amarilla Land grant outside of Chama to the north. As cases in point, my grandmother Margaret and her sisters inherited 20,000 acres west of Chama from their mother, Ludgarda Gallegos Gonzales. The next ranch was 30,000 acres owned by Gonzalo Gonzales, grandson of Reyes, which was in turn adjacent to 10,000 acres inherited by Consuelo Baca Gonzalez, daughter-in-law to Reyes, for a total of 60,000 acres of family land holdings.

In addition, Chapter Three explores the life story and complicated legacy of merchant, land speculator, and public official Thomas Daniel "T.D." Burns (1844-1916), my paternal second great-grand uncle. Burns traversed geographical and cultural boundaries, stemming from

his birth in County Waterford, Ireland, to his subsequent immigration to Wisconsin, and eventual settlement in the rural northern New Mexico community of Tierra Amarilla.[24] The chapter reassesses Burns's life and legacy by examining his complex and fascinating life as an ascendant figure in New Mexico, as an Irish immigrant who married Josefa Gallegos (1848-1917), a wealthy Mexicana *heredera*. Thomas D. Burns Jr.'s papers, archived at the New Mexico State University Library Archives and Special Collections, in part illuminates Burns's perspective as an Irish immigrant aiming to make a better life for himself, and his family. However, in this chapter I also confront Burns's engagement in the exploitation of local Indigenous and *Hispano* peoples for his own monetary profit and land acquisition. Burns, as well as Ed Sargent (1877-1958), my great-grand uncle, became entangled in a complex and vexed northern New Mexican politics, within which violent power and land struggles between local *Hispanos*, Indigenous peoples, and ambitious Euro-American land prospectors often took place.[30]

Chapter Four, entitled "Accounting for Ghosts in the Archive," focuses on visual analyses of historic family photographs, and critical engagement with accompanying biographical sketches in *History of Colorado*. In this chapter, I also provide analysis of two haunting experiences within the García family. One story is that of the drowning of Alejandro García, son of José Amarante García, in southern Colorado in 1905. The chapter includes the story of Alejandro's drowning and his father's reaction to the tragic event, via a contemporaneous historical newspaper account in the *Alamosa Independent Journal*. A second story that haunts here is that of Alejandro's father, José Amarante himself. The story recounts his experience presiding over an 1888 public execution, during his time as sheriff and judge in Conejos County, Colorado. I discuss García's emotional reaction to the violence of such public executions. In line with the dissertation's approach, Chapter Four contends that ancestors do not

remain only in the past, but instead linger as ghosts in the present alongside their descendants. Within Chapter Four, I employ a methodology that engages with historic archival sources, alongside photographs and oral family histories, personal notes, and my own informed reflections, in order to uncover deeper understandings of life, loss, and haunting that my ancestors experienced in the Southwest borderlands.

The dissertation's conclusion, entitled "Countering Hauntings by Centering *Querencía*," summarizes the aims, significance, and findings of the overall project. The conclusion situates this study's contribution to Southwest Studies scholarship, within the interdisciplinary field of American Studies. Furthermore, I hint here at the potential for discovering other hidden haunting counternarratives within a Southwest context. I suggest that the invaluable concept of *querencía*, a sense of homeland and belonging for *Hispanos*, as well as the practice of irrigating by hand using *acequias* (i.e., the lifeblood of the land), provides compelling antidotes to haunting, thereby creating a generative, redemptive response to trauma.[31] I discuss how *querencía* can cultivate healing for Indigenous peoples as well. A future research project could include more emphasis on Indigenous-centered understandings of place, homeland, and healing. Finally, I end by pointing to another avenue for my research, including the possibility of uncovering stories of the García/Gonzales family women.

Chapter One

Themes of Haunting, Memory, Trauma, and *Survivance*

Critical Trauma Studies and Southwest Studies appear to be divergent subfields of American Studies, yet they merge in unusual and important ways. Together they inform this dissertation project. In addition to Southwest Studies and Trauma Studies, I also reference other scholarly conversations within American Studies in this chapter. This travel across academic conversations is necessary in order to lay out a comprehensive perspective of how haunting effects individuals and communities across time, space, and varying cultures, in the United States and beyond. At the intersection of these academic subfields, haunting—a key theoretical concept for understanding the ongoing effects of history—emerges as a central theme across this project. Avery F. Gordon's sociological and psychoanalytic application of the term "haunting" relates to trauma associated with genocide, war, sexual violence, and systematic cultural and linguistic oppression experienced by people of color and other marginalized peoples.[1] Ultimately, its Avery's articulation and application of haunting that comes to this project's forefront.

American cultural and literary studies scholar Janice Radway argues that haunting provides an invisible connection between the past and present. Radway describes Gordon's book title: *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, in this way: "Because the past *always* haunts the present, sociology must imaginatively engage those apparitions, those ghosts that tie the present subjects to past histories."[2] Stated differently, the notion of haunting denotes the key idea that the historical past constantly informs the present, and thus we must acknowledge the ghosts of history to understand current-day societal

issues. Yet as Jacques Derrida originally noted, and as I make clear in the chapters that follow, haunting also points toward the future, and it reminds us to take action as we move toward it. Haunting therefore urges us not only to recognize and remember, but also to remedy, what has been lost and forgotten in familial stories.[3]

Critical Trauma Studies

As a subfield of American Studies, Critical Trauma Studies critically examines linkages between physical and psychological trauma within and across differing historical and political contexts. Comparative Literature scholar Cathy Caruth, as well as psychoanalytic scholars Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, understand trauma from literary and Freudian psychoanalytic perspectives while analyzing significant cultural and historical events. According to literary and cultural studies scholar Janice Radway, the term "haunting" is associated with Freudian and Jungian psychoanalysis.[4] Affect theory, as related to trauma and emotional experiences, can also be associated with photography and Michel Foucault's concept of counter-memory, which refers to resisting official historical narratives. Affect theory additionally relates to Algerian-French philosopher Jacques Derrida's notion of "the ghost" as a social figure.[5] For example, Avery F. Gordon frames Argentine military dictatorship within a psychoanalytic and Marxist context as a method to understand political trauma related to forced disappearances during Argentina's Dirty War (1976-1983), which serves as an example of haunting.[6] Disappearances of Argentinean "political dissidents" who vanished offer "unstable binaries" of visibility and invisibility, as well as absence and presence, which are key terms that surface and are threaded throughout this project.[7]

By focusing on the novel *Invisible Man*, by well-known writer and literary critic Ralph Ellison, and major literary figure Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved*, Avery F. Gordon relies on African American literature to uncover the significance behind the presence of ghostly figures within the context of late capitalism and postmodernism in North America, as well as the experience of enslaved persons in the American South during the nineteenth century.[8] In *Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, Gordon thereby creatively harnesses sociological and literary approaches to access archives of history, memory, and trauma, especially in relation to Morrison's *Beloved* as the ghost of Beloved makes her haunting known as she speaks beyond the grave to her mother, Sethe.

My own engagement with Critical Trauma Studies is focused especially on psychoanalytic and literary scholarship that examines the intricate interplay of trauma, memory, and history within the context of major events and processes such as the Holocaust, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Indigenous displacement, enslavement, and genocide. Foremost Critical Trauma Studies texts—intersecting within the disciplines of Asian American Studies, Literary Studies, Memory Studies, and Holocaust Studies—additionally shape my critical understanding by exploring interwoven themes of trauma, memory, resistance, recovery, healing, and most significantly, *survivance*.

Therefore, this dissertation project intimately engages the aforementioned themes, ultimately grappling with the generative possibilities of trauma and haunting to educate current and future generations. Avery F. Gordon argues that the phrase "life is complicated" "is a profound theoretical statement," which incorporates "two dimensions."[9] According to Gordon, "[t]he first [dimension] is that the power relations that characterize any historically embedded society are never as transparently clear as the names we give them imply."[10] It is

these oftentimes uneven and invisible power relations, in relation to haunting, that I hope to uncover as part of a complex historical period of the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

According to Gordon, the second dimension of "life is complicated," at least as a theoretical statement, involves the notion of complex personhood. Complex personhood can be described in terms of "those who haunt our dominant institutions and their systems of value are haunted too."[11] Stated differently, Gordon contends that haunting implies the societal erasure of the "other," subalterns, or marginalized people in terms of race, class, and gender, yet she aims to make visible their invisible status through sociological and literary case studies.[12] Arguing that power within society is often invisible, Gordon sets forth her project's foundational groundwork, claiming: "That life is complicated is a theoretical statement that guides efforts to treat race, class, and gender dynamics and consciousness as more dense and delicate than those categories often imply."[13] My objective in this dissertation is to focus on uncovering *Hispano/a*, Indigenous "othered," and relatively unknown examples of late nineteenth century enslavement, and related ghostly absences, in established historical archives in order to complicate familiar and dominant colonial Southwest narratives.

Gordon and Cho as Interlocutors

By centering marginalized voices in the dominant historical archive, Avery F. Gordon encourages scholars to reach outside the bounds of conventional knowledge production. Articulating narratives of power and domination by way of focusing on hauntings and ghosts of the past, present, and perhaps the future, Gordon states: "Of course, the tricky thing is that

scholars too are subject to these same dynamics of hauntings: ghosts get in our matters just as well. This means that we will have to learn to talk to and listen to ghosts, rather than banish them, as the precondition for establishing scientific or humanist knowledge."[14] Through providing "more questions than answers" Gordon complicates meanings of the historical archive, thus encouraging us to delve deeply into searching for new methods and theories to better enhance our understandings of archival discourse.[15]

Gordon further works to aid in our understanding of current debates within this field of knowledge production. In terms of my own research, Gordon assists in my contemplation and ultimate utilization of the "link between imagination and critique" since I endeavor to use a self-reflexive academic critique as well as an imaginative means of piecing together familial life narratives and experiences as part of an unusual methodological approach.[16] Gordon's *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* recognizes the "marginal voices, narrative densities, and eccentric traces of power's presence" in hopes of centering absent voices of the historical, literary, and cultural record.[17]

Another source directly informing this project, particularly because it also engages an interdisciplinary and self-reflexive methodology is Grace M. Cho's *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy and the Forgotten War.*[18] Within Asian American Studies, Grace M. Cho's scholarship centers on sexual violence, haunting, memory, and the intergenerational transmission of trauma related to the Korean War (1950-1953). Cho draws from Critical Trauma Studies, as well as Sociology, Psychology, Asian American Studies, and Women's Studies, in order to uncover traumatic, ghostly stories of Korean women who acted as sex workers for American military men during the war. Cho's scholarship also examines the hidden stories of Korean wives of American military men while revealing her

own experience as a child of a Korean mother and American father. Silence, absence, and invisible traumas mark Cho's experience and analysis as she exposes "the repressed history of emotional and physical violence between the United States and Korea and the unexamined reverberations of sexual relationships between Korean women and American soldiers."[19] By means of simultaneously situating her project within an academic and personal frame-of-reference, Cho provides a salient model for my own work. Cho thereupon reflects a provocative methodological approach to studying ghosts and haunting regarding Korean women's narratives of trauma.

For this project, too, it is necessary to position my study within the context of echoing marginalized voices, narratives, and cultural happenings. I also aim to map an understanding of *Hispano/a* and Indigenous familial experiences of trauma, and explore the potential for healing, and ultimately recovery. Through a combined sociological and literary analytic, Cho utilizes a multi-angled, self-reflexive lens to focus on issues regarding "one of the subjects produced by the traumas of twentieth century Korean history, the *yanggongju* [which refers to Korean women sex workers who had relations with American military men] has been a central figure in the Korean diasporic unconscious yet virtually nonexistent in official discourses about U.S.—Korea relations and Korean Americans."[20] The figure of the *yanggongju* becomes Cho's focal point as she performs a "psychoanalytic study of trauma" through implementing "the theory of *transgenerational* haunting [to] demonstrate how a silenced trauma can become a dynamic force—one that produces '*countermemory*,' disruptions, articulations, visibilities, assemblages, and new configurations of kinship."[21] The theory of "transgenerational haunting" informs Cho's analysis as she examines her own position as a descendent of a *yanggongju* whose story is marked by silence, absence, and

erasure.[22] Transgenerational haunting indicates a "dynamic" or moving force that reveals a fluid rather than static quality, one that may change in the way it affects people intergenerationally and across time.

Inspired by Cho's methodological approach, my self-reflexive methodological approach includes my own perspective and imagination in relation to analyzing Southwest narratives of identity and place to glean insight into aspects of my García ancestors' lives. Cho describes her methodological approach, stating: "I put a psychoanalytic study of trauma at the center of this work because it can infuse intelligibility into that which is normally unspoken or unspeakable and, in so doing, open up the creative possibilities of trauma."[23] Cho's scholarship on Korean women's stories of trauma within the context of United States imperialism and the Korean diaspora lies in direct critical conversation with Avery F. Gordon. Thus, Cho declares: "This study of the Korean diaspora is, in part, a response to Gordon's call that sociologists take seriously our haunted social legacies, as well as an elaboration of Abraham and Torok's theory of transgenerational haunting."[24] Acknowledging that "haunting is a phenomenon that reveals how the past is in the present," Cho speaks to Gordon's concept of the ghost as a figure that must be studied and understood by scholars.[25] Cho makes her archival content clear, asserting: "Rather than writing a sociological narrative of military prostitution, I am making a shift away from traditional sources of data and forms of writing my interpretations."[26] Tracing specific silences through including sources such as oral histories, interviews, popular media accounts, factual accounts, fiction, and film, Cho creates an archive which uses "autoethnography" and "self-reflexivity as a form of critique" that ultimately blends "fantasy and fiction."[27]

Haunting the Korean Diaspora encompasses a non-linear chronology since "the story [Cho] want[s] to tell is about the ways in which the figure of the *yanggongju* gets its very life from the effects of trauma, and temporality of trauma is never faithful to linear lines."[28] By establishing a nonlinear narrative framework, Grace M. Cho challenges the reader to assemble fragments of her story to understand and "engage the repetition of trauma."[29] Cho builds a narrative that participates in "a performance of traumatic effects—temporal or spatial dislocation, projection, hallucination—in order to unravel the haunting silence that generates ghosts."[30] Through merging Critical Trauma Studies with Performance Studies, Cho innovatively works to make ghostly absences present through animating their stories, which are told through multiple voices.[31] Therefore, Cho makes use of an experimental form of writing that propels scholars to rethink ways of engaging with the relationship between ghosts, haunting, and trauma. By tracing hidden histories of marginalized peoples such as the *yanggongju*, Cho proves that we "can learn from listening to silence."[32] Cho's *Haunting the Korean Diaspora* argues for centering stories of exclusion within sociological imaginaries to bear witness to past, present, and perhaps future historical events.

Scholars who have situated Critical Trauma Studies in relation to other areas of study have drawn attention to the different cultural and historical contexts in which haunting, memory, and trauma play out. Katherine McKittrick's scholarly work, entitled *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, traverses Geography, Social Theory, and African American Studies while delving into sites of struggle (i.e., violence) to understand Black American identity across a time/space continuum. African American Studies, British African Studies, and Critical Trauma Studies converge in Tina M. Campt's *Image Matters: Archive, Photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe*, which serves as

a compelling and perhaps unlikely model for this particular project.[33] Campt critically invokes Gordon's term "haunting" as it captures the photographic after-effects within Black European families of their personal and collective traumas associated with the transatlantic slave trade and racial oppression in post-World War II Britain and Germany.[34] Positioning haunting in a contemporary context, Campt's self-reflexive methodological approach extends to current-day experiences of exploring her own British African and African American identity. As observed here, individual and collective hauntings are an ever-lurking presence that occur in varying situations and across cultures, especially if we pay close attention to "othered" or marginalized voices.

Critical Trauma Studies & Indigenous Studies

Critical Trauma Studies texts that explore trauma while discussing Indigenous displacement, dispossession, extermination, cultural genocide—and ultimately recovery and healing—include these respective works: Dian Million's *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in the Age of Indigenous Human Rights*, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*, and Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*.[35]

Critical Indigenous Studies scholar Dian Million's critical examination of trauma, entitled *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in the Age of Indigenous Human Rights*, is a study of gendered violence, Indigenous self-determination, sovereignty, and therapeutic healing in the context of First Nations Indigenous communities. Million's scholarship is a key model regarding trauma, healing, and a self-reflexive approach for this project.[36] As a further matter, Million explores linkages between local and global Indigenous traumas, specifically engaging in critique from an Indigenous perspective that explores power relations, trauma,

and human rights within an Indigenous-centered historical context.[37] Utilizing a feminist Indigenous methodology as well as affect theory, Million "addresses this Aboriginal 'wounded 'subjectivity as an agonistic site in the affective and moral power relations wherein Indigenous peoples articulate their self-determination within a neoliberal Canada."[38] By means of a self-reflexive methodological approach to Indigenous traumas, Million exposes Indigenous Canadian women's experiences of gendered violence in relation to colonialism and neoliberalism. Her approach inspires my own approach.

In *Therapeutic Nations*, Million implements an analysis of Indigenous trauma that draws on French philosopher and literary critic Michel Foucault's notions of "biopower" and "biopolitics."[39] To understand why haunting occurs and why it matters, it is essential to recognize the often-invisible dynamics of shifting power relations, especially as they relate to a settler colonial context. Addressing Critical Indigenous Studies scholars Lisa Kahaleole, Sarah Deer, Audra Simpson, and Jennifer Denetdale, Million delves into an informed analysis of gendered violence that ultimately "attempt[s to] articulat[e] and understand the position that [Million] is holding as an Indigenous feminist, in order to perform a critique that [she] again claim[s] as suggestive rather than definitive."[40] Through including individual Indigenous women's personal narratives relating to racial, sexual, and gendered violence within a colonial frame of reference, Million contextualizes strategies for survival in connection with dismantling unequal power relations and a broader struggle for Indigenous self-determination.

Million's interdisciplinary scholarship poses critical questions in order to provoke scholars within and also outside of Critical Indigenous Studies, as well as Indigenous Feminist and Gender Studies, to interrogate how "normative violence" in respect to

Indigenous women "is integral to the regulatory force of the Indian Act."[41] As a further matter, Million's critique delineates how violence against Indigenous women deprives women of power within their own Indigenous nations.[42] Shedding light on complex matters of Indigenous human rights while being cautious "of the deployment of the language of trauma," since it usually involves notions of victimhood rather than notions of *survivance*, Million challenges her audience to understand how subjects of trauma possess and utilize agency, as well as express cultural sovereignty.[43]

In this dissertation, I demonstrate that an acute emphasis on agency and *survivance* is key to unpacking how experiences of trauma, through its haunting effects, hold the potential to be generative, healing, and transformative. In this sense, I argue that it is not enough to become aware of individual and collective traumas without also considering the possibilities for healing by countering the negative effects of wounding traumas. In critical conversation with Cho, Million also incorporates the intergenerational experiences of subjects who experience trauma, especially focusing on Indigenous women in Canada. For this particular study, it is crucial to understand that trauma is prone to travel between generations since individuals often repress experiences in order to cope in their daily lives, and therefore trauma is often not addressed adequately for generations.

While Cho's concept of '"transgenerational haunting'"—via Critical Trauma Studies scholars Abraham and Török— references Korean women's experiences of the Korean War regarding sex work. Whereas Million references Canadian Aboriginal experiences of being forced to attend boarding schools and assimilate into mainstream culture, their respective cross-cultural concepts ultimately speak to the intergenerational transmission of trauma within the context of colonialism, oppression, and displacement.[44]

The term *survivance*, originally derives from seventeenth century France, and more recently is employed within Critical Indigenous Studies. *Survivance* is a bold and active idea that involves resistance, resilience, and survival against cultural, racial, linguistic discrimination, oppression, and genocide of Indigenous peoples.[45] Moreover, *survivance* is a unique term that embodies a sense of agency, self-determination, and cultural sovereignty for Indigenous peoples, and other marginalized groups. Anishinaabe/Chippewa/White Earth Indigenous Studies scholar and creative writer Gerald Vizenor employs the term *survivance* to invoke an emphasis on resistance and survival rather than on a dominant or colonial master narrative of "victimry" relating to Indigenous peoples.

Critical Trauma Studies & Southwest Studies

As an unusual yet crucial theoretical concept, haunting also joins Critical Trauma Studies and Southwest Studies. Afterall, both haunting and trauma happen within specific historical and cultural contexts. And it is within these specific contexts that the productive possibilities of haunting collectively work to create awareness of unspoken and under-spoken histories, and ways they bear upon complex social issues. Within the historical and cultural context of the U.S. Southwest, haunting happens in relation to layered histories of colonialism, and likewise it carries potential for active resistance to colonialism and other marginalizing forces, with the ultimate goal of achieving social justice.

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is my intention to make invisible truths — particularly around Indigenous enslavement in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado— visible, and present, while accounting for oversights and invisibilities in the broader historical narrative. Through making visible the gaps, absences, invisibilities, shadows, and

erasures of histories and experiences of racial oppression, Gordon attempts to complicate renderings of the archive by reimagining the sociological landscape.

This project builds upon Gordon's scholarship and utilizes both a critical cultural-historical perspective and self-reflexive methodological approach to illuminate hidden histories that shed light on past and present hauntings and related injustices. The project's goal is to engage in critical conversations, and thereby provide a pathway to create more awareness regarding repressed narratives such as Indigenous enslavement in Colorado's San Luis Valley during the middle to late nineteenth century. As discussed in subsequent chapters, historians Andrés Reséndez and Estevan Rael-Gálvez seek to explore and center critiques of Indigenous enslavement in the American Southwest. Additionally, I aim to venture beyond their findings by revealing my own García family history and its ties to Indigenous enslavement, therefore adding new narratives to the established historical archive.

Theories of cultural *survivance* and resistance also apply to well-known *Chicano/a* Studies literature, including such as Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert's place-based and specifically regional *Nuevo Méxicano* memoir entitled *We Fed Them Cactus.* Cabeza de Baca utilizes a powerful sense of *Hispana* identity and cultural resistance to counter Euro-American dominance and discrimination as she ultimately places an emphasis on the importance of a strong sense of cultural pride, resilience, and I argue, *survivance*.[46] Therefore, the concept of *survivance* manifests through creative literary expressions across Critical Trauma Studies and Southwest Studies. And thus, the intertwining of individual and collective life narratives—including storytelling and oral tradition—illuminate the importance of centering counter-narratives within the broader historical archive, especially regarding the American Southwest.

Southwest Studies

With particular reference to Southwest Studies, if one gazes beneath the surface and beyond familiar tropes that orient scholarship on the U.S. Southwest, haunting can evoke downplayed or hidden stories of the region's past, and in doing so can create relevant and vital links to its present. The following texts directly inform this project in terms of their focuses, methodologies, and interventions into a "haunted" Southwest Studies. John Phillip Santos's memoir *Places Left Unfinished at the Time of Creation* literarily implements the concept of haunting with regard to familial photographs, oral tradition, stories, and memories of *antepasados*.[47] Furthermore, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca's and Denise Chávez's memoirs offer female-centered oral histories focusing on *Hispano/a* family ranching, folkways, traditional recipes, speaking Spanish, and observing the sweeping landscapes of New Mexico along the United States-Mexico borderlands.[48] Cabeza de Baca's *We Fed Them Cactus* engages implicitly with haunting in that she explores the unsettling, haunting disintegration of *Hispano* lifeways due to the dominance of Euro-American culture. Through her memoir, she urges the continuance of her *Hispano* culture and heritage.

In connection, this dissertation project marks a concerted effort to reveal the interwoven threads of historical recovery as *antepesado*, or ancestral, voices open a pathway toward a deeper understanding of *Hispano* identity, culture, lifeways, and ongoing resistance to Euro-American culture within a complex, and often rootless contemporary world. Southwest Studies, a major field within American Studies, focuses on the complex study of U.S.-Mexico borderland identities, culture, traditions, folklores, languages, landscapes, histories, literatures, photography, and arts of *Hispanos* and Indigenous peoples of the American Southwest. More specifically, a vital area of this Southwest Studies-oriented

project entails studying personal stories of people in *Nuevo México*, and Colorado. Southwest Studies represents a richly complex site of cultural, linguistic, and landscape-based knowledge, and strikes a personal interest since it connects to my own *Hispana* genealogical, geographical, and cultural heritage of the northern New Mexico and southern Colorado region.

Prominent Southwest Studies scholars and intellectuals that must be acknowledged include *Hispano* and *Chicano* ethnographers, folklorists, and renowned literary figures such as Rudolfo Anaya, Jimmy Santiago Baca, Aurelio M. Espinosa (a distant cousin of mine), Genaro M. Padilla, Américo Paredes, and Juan Bautista Rael. Well-known literary Southwest borderlands *Chicana* and *Hispana* literary figures include: Gloria E. Anzuldúa, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, Denise Chávez, Sandra Cisneros, Cleofas M. Jaramillo (another distant cousin), and Karen Roybal. These women's respective works provide examples of personal narratives, autobiographies, and memoirs that speak to *Chicana* and *Hispana* identity formations that have the potential to awaken ancestral hauntings.

Conclusion

Current influential *Nuevo Méxicano* scholars who also negotiate complex issues of identity, cultural knowledge, and ancestral memory include Estevan Rael-Gálvez, Moises Gonzales, Enrique R. Lamadrid, A. Gabriel Meléndez, and Michael L. Trujillo, among others. Notable Indigenous scholars and writers to acknowledge include N. Scott Momaday, Simon J. Ortiz, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Gerald Vizenor, whom I was a graduate assistant for in American Studies at UNM. I also took Vizenor's influential course entitled, "Narratives of Atrocity and Genocide." Each of these *Chicano, Hispano*, and Indigenous authors utilize imaginative literary methods to explore themes of racial, genealogical, and

cultural identities, oral tradition, a sense of place, cultural-historical memory, haunting, and resistance to dominant Euro-American tradition and culture. Southwest Studies life narratives, as well as critical Southwest scholarship, directly influence this project, which includes a variety of writing styles, thereby speaking to the authors' creative approaches to writing. The aforementioned authors substantively write about life experiences, identity formation processes, *querencía*, or an intimate sense of place, and familial ancestral hauntings with the potential to generate impactful connections between the past, present, and perhaps the future.

Chapter Two

Haunting, Recovery, & Healing in the García Family's Conejos County Story

Chapter Two examines the effects of haunting in relation to Indigenous enslavement in southern Colorado's San Luis Valley. Here I use academic research, as well as written and oral family recollections pertaining to patrilineal García family history, to investigate how Indigenous enslavement haunts. This chapter analyzes family history within a Southwest Studies-centered context, with support from scholarly references and documentation, and thus, focuses on a complex familial story. *Cuentos*—stories, or folktales, that illuminate cultural patterns and histories—are being uncovered, told, and retold during present times in the Southwest borderlands of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.

Specifically, this chapter explores the once-hidden and complex practice of Indigenous enslavement as it was carried out by prominent rancher, lawyer, and Colorado territorial legislator José Victór García (1832-1900), during the late 1800s.[1] García is my paternal great-great-grandfather. Although an abundance of information is known about chattel slavery of Africans in the American South—and about the transatlantic slave trade—until recently, knowledge of Indigenous enslavement in the American Southwest has largely remained obscure within academic scholarship and American consciousness. Thus, Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest is my primary interest in this chapter. More broadly, this chapter demonstrates how public records, read alongside family stories, illuminate ghostly absences and gaps in the historical archive that are often conspicuous, yet unexamined. This project situates historical records, such as U.S. census records, within a haunting methodology in an effort to reveal the hidden story of haunting injustices, especially related to Indigenous enslavement.

Historiography in New Mexico and Colorado

In order to orient this Southwest study, it is necessary to understand the context of slavery in America in a broader context than is traditionally acknowledged and studied. According to the National Archives, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. "The proclamation declar[ed] 'that all persons held as slaves' within the rebellious states 'are, and henceforward shall be free.'"[2] Although the Emancipation Proclamation appears to be all-encompassing in its wording, the actual pronouncement was limited in its effects, since the U.S. did not recognize Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest in the same way African enslavement was recognized. Thus, this legal declaration narrowly applied to African slavery and thus, Indigenous enslavement was still in effect in the Southwestern territories of Colorado and New Mexico. Similarly, the Thirteenth Amendment officially abolished slavery in the southern United States on December 6, 1865, but it did not pertain to Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest, which was largely untraceable.[3] In the New Mexico and Colorado territories, Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest continued and, in some senses, flourished during the middle to late 1880s. Thus, the consequential haunting after-effects of slavery during this period will be presented in this chapter.

In *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*, historian Andrés Reséndez offers the first comprehensive study of Indigenous enslavement and bondage in the Americas as he creates an extensive mapping of its origins and practices.[4] Reséndez explains that although African enslavement was declared illegal, there was no protection under The Emancipation Proclamation for Indigenous peoples in the American Southwest; thus, tens of thousands of Indigenous subjects were enslaved by early Spanish conquistadors. The ongoing "open secret" of Indigenous enslavement inevitably led to extensive abuse and long-lasting

damage to Indigenous peoples in the Southwest that both predated and postdated African enslavement and bondage. A great lack of acknowledgment of Indigenous enslavement by the U.S. government and its citizenry extends until the present day, and must be further considered.

This chapter answers Reséndez's call for more awareness of "the other slavery," also known as Indigenous enslavement, contending that individual histories, as well as collective experiences, must pointedly be tended to within a distinct Southwest Studies context, as part of the process of building this historical awareness. Here, I argue that increased awareness of Indigenous enslavement in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado—through the consideration of a specific *Hispano* family history—is key to acknowledging this fraught historical past.

I also argue that identifying effects of haunting, regarding holding Indigenous enslaved persons, provides a method for understanding complex histories and gleaning deeper meanings from stories within an expansive historical narrative that is often difficult to grasp. Haunting is active and perceptive; it happens in an ongoing and present sense. In addition, I argue that invoking theories of haunting must also include acknowledging echoes of unsettling reverberations from the ghostly past of Indigenous peoples who were stolen from their tribes, traded, "purchased," forced to perform domestic labor, and/or tend to livestock for landed *Hispano* and Euro-American "owners." Ghosts of the past command attention, and thus, discovering the depths of submerged *Hispano* family histories, memories, and stories creates an active presence that challenges us to contemplate repercussions of injustices relating to Indigenous enslavement in the bordering territories of New Mexico and Colorado.

Former New Mexico state historian and Southwest Studies scholar Estevan Rael-Gálvez exposes the often-concealed history in Colorado's San Luis Valley of Indigenous enslavement

practiced by reputed *Hispano* and Euro-American landowners in positions of power in his landmark dissertation, entitled "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity: Narratives of American Indian Slavery Colorado and New Mexico, 1776-1934."[5] By unearthing the topic of Indigenous enslavement in Colorado's San Luis Valley, from where his family derives, Rael-Gálvez makes a critical intervention and consequently unsettles the foundations of previous Southwest Studies scholarship. Rael-Gálvez's dissertation directly inspires this Southwest Studies project. I build upon his work by also addressing the predominantly overlooked subject matter, and yet I add more stories to the narrative.

Rael-Gálvez's cutting-edge research and scholarship reevaluates an overarching Southwest narrative that tends to overlook the breadth of Indigenous enslavement, and its lasting after-effects. For example, Rael-Gálvez's assemblage of a digital database, entitled *Native Bound-Unbound: Archive of Indigenous Americans Enslaved*, aims to reveal in-depth information on Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest including information pertaining to enslaved individuals and their enslavers.[6] Rael-Gálvez's digital database of Indigenous enslaved peoples is unprecedented; few scholars have attempted such a feat of documenting and centering largely unknown narratives of Indigenous enslavement in the American Southwest, specifically in New Mexico and Colorado.

Learning about Indigenous enslavement within a historiography of New Mexico and Colorado is vitally important for scholars, as well as citizens of each state. Here, I begin to unravel this complex story of Indigenous enslavement through focusing my study on two key figures in the territory of Colorado during the nineteenth century: Lafayette Head and my great-great-grandfather, José Victór García. Lafayette Head was first Lieutenant Governor of Colorado from 1876 to 1879, under Colorado Governor John Long Routt, as well as an Indian agent for

Utes and Jicarilla Apaches, and he kept an 1865 ledger of Indigenous captives in Conejos County, Colorado. According to records kept by Head, José Victór García held three young Indigenous captives on his ranching property in Conejos.[7] In 1864, García was an attorney in El Brazo, Conejos County. On January 18, 1864 García, and several other *Hispano* territorial and county officials, had petitioned Colorado's attorney general Samuel E. Brown to remove Indian Agent Head from office. Head's ledger fails to account for his own enslavement of Indigenous people.

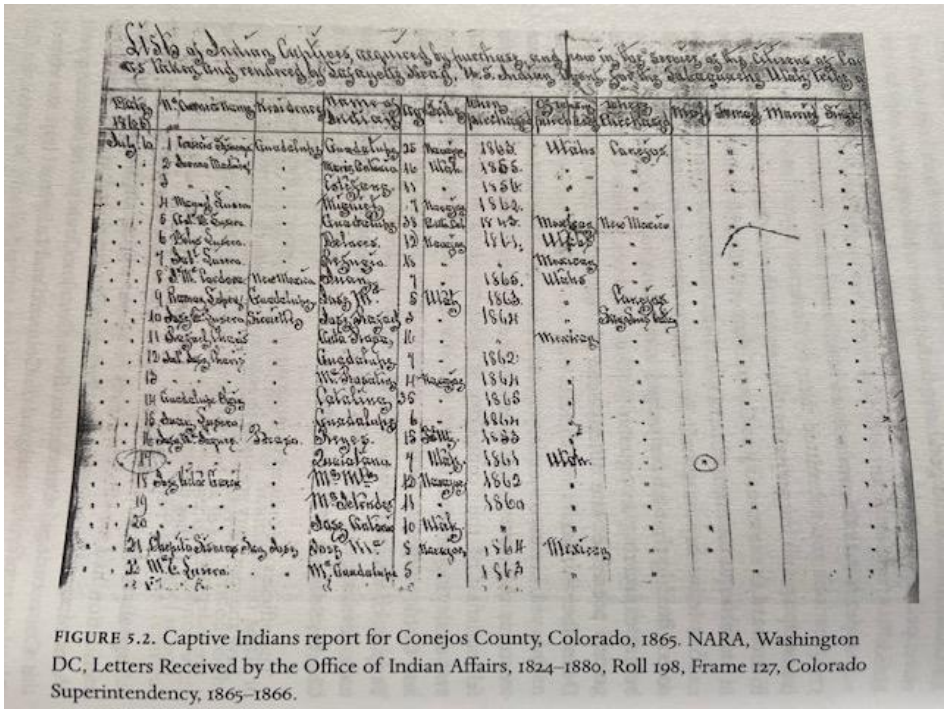


FIGURE 5.2. Captive Indians report for Conejos County, Colorado, 1865. NARA, Washington DC, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880, Roll 198, Frame 127, Colorado Superintendency, 1865–1866.

Figure 1: Captive Indians Report for Conejos County, Colorado, 1865
Image Source: Sánchez, Virginia. *Pleas and Petitions: Hispano Culture and Legislative Conflict in Territorial Colorado* (p. 152)

García held officials, including Agent Head, accountable for their actions, practices, and policies in Conejos, as well as related communities in territorial Colorado. Head contributed to two years of challenges and difficulties, including raids by Indigenous bands in Head's jurisdiction that were left hungry because either they did not receive government distributions or

received mold-laden rations.[8] The petition to remove Head failed and thus, the upshot was that he remained in his position as Indian Agent for several more years.[9] In other words, although actions were taken against Head when fellow officials became aware of his misconduct in not providing rations to Indigenous people that he was responsible for, he was still able to retain his post. Accordingly, Head created a lasting legacy that was simultaneously influential, politically powerful, and markedly cruel toward Indigenous peoples who were captured and enslaved for many years in the Colorado Territory.

Lafayette Head effectively retaliated against the petition to remove him as Indian Agent by drafting the Captive Indians Report of 1865, and his report brought to light his fellow citizens' practice of Indigenous enslavement. This particular report publicly exposed ubiquitous Indigenous slaveholding practices in the San Luis Valley, and also created a document that continues to have consequences to this day. In 1865, the New Mexican Chief Justice Kirby Benedict claimed that the majority, or nearly so, of landed New Mexicans who were either *Hispanos* or Euro-Americans possessed Indigenous enslaved persons.[10] The practice of landowners holding Indigenous enslaved persons was pervasive from northern New Mexico into southern Colorado's San Luis Valley.

Southwest Studies historian Virginia Sánchez underscores slaveowners' concerted oversights when it came to self-reporting slaveholding. Sánchez notes Lafayette Head's refusal to report himself or his wife as owners of enslaved Indigenous peoples reveals that Head purposefully retaliated against fellow owners he exposed on his report in an effort to denigrate them.[11] In other words, Head's overt omission of his own entry as an "owner" of enslaved Indigenous persons—despite having held at least two enslaved persons during the Captive Indian Report of 1865's submission—reflects his all-powerful and corrupt political role in the Colorado

Territory. Head's omission that he himself owned enslaved Indigenous people additionally reflects his own awareness that enslavement practices in the United States were illegal, and possibly that they were ethically wrong as well. Head masterminded how to cover his tracks in exposing his fellow landholding citizens as slaveholders, while he bore no direct responsibility for his own actions. Despite Head's omission of his own Indigenous enslavement practices, documentation proves that he owned and sold multiple enslaved Indigenous persons.[12] His legacy will be forever tainted by this disturbing fact. As will soon be discussed, it is likely that there was a special building on his former property in the village of Conejos, which was undoubtedly used to house the enslaved in his possession.

Haunting as a Method for Approaching Effects of Enslavement

Ghosts are not only absent or dead beings, but also social figures. With this in mind, we need to think about haunting as a complex site where subjectivity and history meet and create social life.[13] As in the cases of Lafayette Head and José Victór García begin to show us, studying historical themes in relation to individual histories can create ghost stories that must be dealt with in the present. According to Avery F. Gordon in *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, haunting represents an unresolved danger associated with a harmful event or a specific loss, involving "a social violence" that occurred either in the past or present.[14] Gordon contends that a main distinction between haunting and trauma is that haunting necessitates a "something-to-be-done"—a required action, or response resulting from a harmful event—whereas trauma often lives in a repressive state.[15]

To recognize haunting, then, is to understand that after a harm occurs, a positive or generative response is possible, which I will explore later in this project. Examples of generative responses to haunting can include writing about such hauntings, creating artwork, music,

photography, and film to grapple with the experience and associated disruptive effects of trauma. In this vein, this project of mine is meant as a generative response, an answer to haunting remnants of Indigenous enslavement, as well as something that speaks to the effects of slaveholding for descendants of the enslavers. To this end, the chapter also considers my own reflections, and the overall impact of my experience being a slaveholder's descendant. I argue that studying the hauntings of Indigenous enslavement provokes psychological reverberations, which must in turn be remedied through awareness and education in local communities, as well as in colleges and universities, specifically in Southwest Studies courses, especially in New Mexico and Colorado.

To further the critical conversation on haunting as theory, as stated in the introduction, hauntology is a *portmanteau* combining haunting and ontology—i.e., the philosophical study of being—and thus refers to elements of the sociological past that haunt the present.[16] Originally conceived by French philosopher Jacques Derrida in his influential text on communism entitled *Spectres of Marx*, haunting describes how the present is marked by metaphorical ghosts of the past that also potentially warn of what the future entails.[17] I argue that ghosts hold us accountable for historical traumas and inherently elicit a reaction because they make us *feel.*

Seeking to center affective ways of knowing relating to the consequences of feeling subjective emotion, this project invokes both a haunting and self-reflexive methodology, henceforth arguing that conventional disciplinary approaches, including historical, literary, and sociological analyses, implemented alone are inadequate to deeply access a site between knowledge and generating creative responses to unresolved experiences of trauma. Haunting indicates "lingering trouble," and therefore provokes us to search for creative solutions to counter troubling experiences of the past, often relating to possibilities of reflection, recovery,

and healing.[18] An awareness of hauntings can expose absences in historical records and master narratives within a settler colonial context, and as Gordon states: "Being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling or a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformation recognition."[19] In other words, haunting allows us to *feel* and exercise compassion, which marks an acute difference from other humanities disciplines of knowledge that are narrowly restricted to "objective," purely evidence-based, and unemotive methods of knowing. Haunting awakens an emotional, subjective response regardless of whether we want to feel and experience emotions or not, ultimately allowing us to tap into places in our psyche that arouses a potential for healing and transformation.

Haunting Presences Demand an Active Response to Expel Trauma

The potential to move beyond haunting suggests a magical and wondrous path for constructively changing our perceptions of the world, allowing us to reimagine what is possible, revealing new modes of representation, methods of thinking, and ways of being. Understanding that hauntings stem from traumatic occurrences, whether they are individual or collective, provides access to deep ravines within the human psyche that allow for subjective reckoning with disturbances while working to transform them as recovery and healing occurs. Avery F. Gordon contends that "ghostly matters are part of social life" and in order to study social life, we must learn to identify hauntings and engage with ghosts while coming into contact with matters that invoke pain, suffering: and that which impacts us at a psychological, emotional, and potentially spiritual level.[20] In essence, Gordon argues that we have to transform the ways by which we study trauma and its potentially generative after-effects. Thus, this project aims to

subvert conventional modes of knowing, understanding, and ways of being in the world in order to open new avenues for viewing the historical past.

Ghosts exist as reminders that living histories are essential to unlocking the potential of what lies before us, and they also allow us to make space for an emotive, generative response to trauma. For example, in Alfredo Véa, Jr.'s classic work *La Maravilla*, the narrator Beto remarks on a ghost not being a threat, but instead refers to the generative possibility of how a ghost can be regarded as a comforting and accepted figure that soothes the protagonist's unsettled emotions.[21] Véa's narrator states: "The thought of seeing a ghost was not very frightening to him; he had long since come to accept the existence of ghosts as a reality. His *abuelita* [who is a *curandera* or healer] saw at least one almost every day (italics mine)."[22] The existence of ghosts as familiar, frequent, and reassuring presences is common in some cultures, including *Hispano/a* culture as reflected in *La Maravilla*. In some cases, such as those of our ghostly *antepasados*, ghosts are not figures to be feared or apprehensive of, but instead these ghosts awaken a need to see past our own conventional perceptions of reality. Thus, ghosts can offer a consoling presence, in turn, communicating that our loved ones still exist in our minds and hearts.

Making Invisible Truths of "Othering," Marginalization, and Cultural Erasure Visible

This chapter responds to Gordon's call to see beyond conventional modes of knowledge in order to embrace hauntings, and thus mark the potential for transformation. Hence, Chapter Two, and the overall dissertation project, progresses even further since it demands that we must change approaches to how we study, write, and educate ourselves in an effort to expose and make visible disturbing, often invisible, and violent truths from the historical past. In this sense, as I have previously indicated, the project invokes the branch of philosophy and metaphysics

called ontology, which involves theories and epistemologies regarding the nature and relationships of being, existence, and perceived notions of reality.[23]Moreover, this critical discussion works purposefully to "link imagination and critique" by identifying hauntings while eventually moving toward recovery and healing from cultural erasure and a sense of loss that ghosts expose if we become conscious of their presence.[24] Gordon underscores the generative possibility for hauntings that also points to my objective, stating: "And so we are left to insist on our need to reckon with haunting as a prerequisite for sensuous knowledge and to ponder the paradox of providing a hospitable memory for ghosts *out of a concern for justice*."[25] Haunting involves evoking the imagination as we learn to listen to unheard murmurs, echoes, and voices as well as it also encourages us to encompass emotion as a valid source of learning. Thus, it is our responsibility as scholars to tussle with the effects of haunting by creating adequate room for making invisibilities visible while venturing towards resistance to systems of power, oppression, and ongoing injustices.

Gordon contends that a negative effect of haunting can imply the societal erasure of the "other," or marginalized people in terms of race, class, and gender.[26] At the same time, Gordon works to make visible "other's" invisible statuses through sociological and literary case studies. Arguing that power within society is often invisible, Gordon sets forth her book *Haunting and the Sociological Imagination'*s groundwork, claiming "that life is complicated is a theoretical statement" that encourages us to understand race, class, gender dynamics, and consciousness as more complex than such categories belie.[27] Citing primary sources of haunting in scholarship and literary pieces of women of color scholars Kimberlé Crenshaw, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Toni Morrison, Gordon engages in a critical discussion on ghostly absence and presence within the "sociological imagination."[28] Through making visible the gaps, invisibilities, shadows, and

erasures of histories and experiences of racial oppression, Gordon complicates renderings of the historical archive by reimagining the sociological landscape to include often-silenced voices of women, especially women of color.

To center marginalized voices in the historical archive, scholars must be conscientious members of society, and also reach outside the bounds of traditional knowledge production. Consequently, this chapter additionally seeks to answer Gordon's call to introduce lesser-known stories of *Hispano* landowners in connection with enslaved Indigenous peoples, and bring them to the center of the broader historical archive. At the same time, this study particularly focuses on landowners' Indigenous enslaved "others," while including examples of enslaved people's existences within the San Luis Valley's historical narrative. Rearticulating narratives of power and oppression by focusing on hauntings and ghosts of the past, present, and even ghosts existing into the future, Gordon claims that ghosts insert themselves into matters we are concerned with, and therefore we must confront ghosts and talk to them. Instead of vanquishing ghosts to the past, we must listen to their present-day voices in order to gain insight into "humanist knowledge."[29] Ghosts become present in stories whenever we focus on marginalized presences, and create alternative modes of knowing that lie outside current conventional, "objective," and therefore narrow modes of knowledge production.

José Victór García's Life: **A Deeper Investigation into an Illustrious Ancestor**

Indigenous enslavement practices in the Southwest—specifically in southern Colorado's San Luis Valley—by *Hispano* and Euro-American landholders during the middle to late nineteenth centuries were abhorrent. Nevertheless, an investigation into complicated familial legacies of slaveholders, while focusing on enslaved persons' once-hidden existences, is necessary in order to understand the practice's pervasiveness. Studying such collective historical

occurrences, while also taking into account individual stories, creates ghost stories. *Hispano* landowner José Victór García is a prime example of an individual who yielded power and influence in southern Colorado, and whose legacy will be considered and ultimately reassessed.

Figure 2: José Victór García (1832-1900)
Image Source: digital.denverlibrary.org
Original Photograph: Courtesy of Frank Gallegos, my second cousin

José Victór García, my paternal great-great-grandfather, was born on March 6, 1832 to José Serafin García and María de la Luz Aragón, in San Juan de Los Caballeros in the Taos Territory of New Mexico.[30] The village of San Juan de Los Caballeros where García was born is located across the Rio Grande River from what was formerly known as San Juan Pueblo.[31] In 1598, San Juan de Los Caballeros was established by Spanish conquistador Juan de Oñate as the first Spanish capital city of the New Mexico Territory. According to Catholic Church records, García was christened on March 11, 1832 at San Juan Pueblo in the Territory of New Mexico.[32] What was then San Juan Pueblo is located north of Española, New Mexico, at the confluence of the Rio Grande and Chama Rivers. The pueblo has since reverted back to its original name, Ohkay Owingeh.[33]

According to historian Virginia Sánchez, García travelled away from home at fifteen years of age, and learned to hunt buffalo on the eastern plains of the New Mexico Territory.[34] García could have learned the skilled activity of buffalo hunting through an observation of Pueblo lifeways, but more research needs to be performed to verify this possibility. At a young age, Garcia was recognized as an expert buffalo hunter, and one of the best in the New Mexico Territory.[35] Being a superior buffalo hunter reveals García's close relationship to the land and *Hispano* traditions during the late nineteenth century. García also became involved in the agricultural-pastoral traditions of farming and ranching.

The life and legacy of José Victór García is narrated within various historical archives, through documents detailing Colorado's early history. As recorded in the Denver Public Library Colorado Latinos and Hispanics in Colorado Collection, García is known to have traded with several Indigenous tribes including Apaches, Navajos, and Utes over a period of seven years.[36] In 1855, García traveled from the northern New Mexico Territory and he eventually settled in Conejos County, Colorado, in the southern San Luis Valley. García was also one of the first *Hispano pobladores*, Spanish for early settlers, of the Territory of Colorado along with other prominent people such as Casimiro Barela (1847-1920), who authored the Colorado constitution upon serving in the Colorado territorial legislature and Colorado state legislature.[37] García himself was elected Conejos County Justice of the Peace in 1857.[38] At this point in time, García's political career commenced and he subsequently became a powerful figure in his surrounding southern Colorado Territory community. During various life stages, García encountered Indigenous peoples whether it involved buffalo hunting as a youth or engaging in trade with various aforementioned tribes, and eventually he "purchased" Indigenous captives.

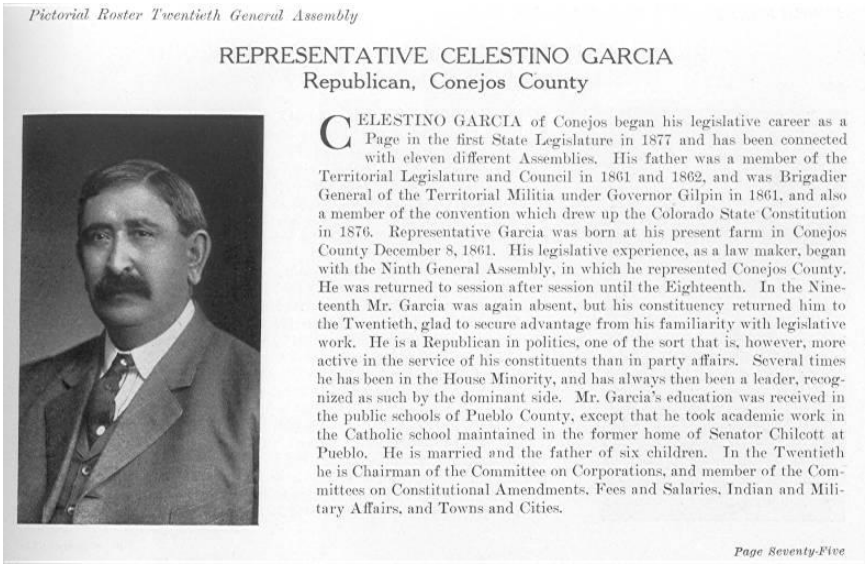
Before delving into García's troubled legacy relating to his participation in Indigenous enslavement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, his illustrious career and its evolution must be addressed in more detail. A prominent and influential member of the local *Hispano* community and broader Colorado territorial society, García occupied the position of territorial representative in Conejos County, Colorado, from 1861 to 1865.[39] Additionally, García served on the Territorial Council in both Conejos and Costilla Counties in Colorado from 1872 to 1876.[40] According to the 1870 and 1885 United States Censuses, García worked as a farmer and rancher while owning 2,000 head of sheep and thirty-eight head of cattle.[41] On García's working cattle ranch, he also raised wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and peas.[42] The number of livestock and agricultural crops García oversaw was significant and highly profitable.

During his life, García was regarded within the regional *Hispano* community as an upstanding citizen who had a vigorous political life as well as a successful ranching career. The National Historic Register report states that by the 1885 Colorado Census, José Victór García owned 960 acres, 200 of which were tilled, and 760 were permanent meadows.[43] García was afforded a prominent place in his community since owning nearly 1,000 acres of private property denotes significant landholdings and revealed a powerful position. Moreover, García would have almost certainly been understood as an honorable, salient, and active member of society in southern Colorado's San Luis Valley, especially as he was one of the first *Hispano* public servants to serve in the territorial legislature during the nineteenth century.

Colorado State Representative Celestino José García

Any reassessment of the García family legacy must also address a prominent son of José Victór García, Celestino José García (December 8, 1861-1925), who served as a Republican

legislator in the Colorado State House of Representatives from 1893 to 1911.[44] On December 8, 1861, Celestino José García was born at the García family ranch in Conejos County. Son of José Victór García and Maria Candelaria Jacques, and brother of José Amarante García, Celestino started his legislative career in 1877, as a page in the first Colorado State Legislature, and he has been connected with eleven different assemblies.[45] Celestino García was educated at the Jesuit College in Pueblo, Colorado. During the middle to late nineteenth centuries, it was commonplace for privileged young men, and sometimes women, to become educated in regions different from their hometown. These young people would attend schools in larger northern cities such as Trinidad, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, and Denver, Colorado.



Pictorial Roster Twentieth General Assembly

REPRESENTATIVE CELESTINO GARCIA
Republican, Conejos County

CELESTINO GARCIA of Conejos began his legislative career as a Page in the first State Legislature in 1877 and has been connected with eleven different Assemblies. His father was a member of the Territorial Legislature and Council in 1861 and 1862, and was Brigadier General of the Territorial Militia under Governor Gilpin in 1861, and also a member of the convention which drew up the Colorado State Constitution in 1876. Representative Garcia was born at his present farm in Conejos County December 8, 1861. His legislative experience, as a law maker, began with the Ninth General Assembly, in which he represented Conejos County. He was returned to session after session until the Eighteenth. In the Nineteenth Mr. Garcia was again absent, but his constituency returned him to the Twentieth, glad to secure advantage from his familiarity with legislative work. He is a Republican in politics, one of the sort that is, however, more active in the service of his constituents than in party affairs. Several times he has been in the House Minority, and has always then been a leader, recognized as such by the dominant side. Mr. Garcia's education was received in the public schools of Pueblo County, except that he took academic work in the Catholic school maintained in the former home of Senator Chilcott at Pueblo. He is married and the father of six children. In the Twentieth he is Chairman of the Committee on Corporations, and member of the Committees on Constitutional Amendments, Fees and Salaries, Indian and Military Affairs, and Towns and Cities.

Page Seventy-Five

Figure 3: Celestino José García (1861-1925)
Image Source: genealogybug.net

Like his father, Celestino was bilingual in Spanish and English. While his English language skills granted him admission to territorial politics, Celestino's Spanish language skills were an added advantage, since few appointed or elected political members were bilingual. In this way, Celestino's language skills indicate the strength of his personal political agency, and his ability to reach beyond his peers' scope of influence into local communities. Celestino's

bilingual skills also allowed him to become an interpreter for the Conejos County Commissions (1886-1892) and for the Colorado Senate (1885 and 1887).[46] The official history states that in 1861, Celestino's father, José Victór García, was a Colorado territorial legislature and council member and a Brigadier General of the Territorial Militia under Governor Gilpin.[47] For his part, Celestino García was also a member of the convention that formulated the Colorado State Constitution in 1876.[48]

According to the "Pictorial Roster of the Twentieth General Assembly," Celestino's legislative experience involved being a lawmaker which began during the Ninth General Assembly in which he was a representative of Conejos County.[49] Although he was a Republican, Celestino was notably active in engaging with his constituents rather than with affairs regarding his own political party. García served on several occasions for the House Minority and was regarded as a leader by the "dominant side."[50] The narrative about Celestino's service as a local legislator underscores his formal occupation of an elevated political position, reflected in his prominent standing in Colorado territorial politics.

Creating Space for *Hispanos* in Colorado Territorial and State Politics

During the late nineteenth century in the United States, Euro-Americans dominated New Mexico and Colorado territorial politics, as well as national politics, and therefore it was difficult for Spanish-speaking *Hispanos* in Colorado and New Mexico to affirm a political space in society due to pervasive discrimination and racism. *Hispanos* holding territorial appointments during this historical period is significant and suggests a certain haunting "absent presence," in relation to the dominance of a Euro-American majority, one that asks us to reflect on the difficulty for *Hispano* society members to gain and also maintain powerful roles.

In 1859, José Victór García served in New Mexico's Territorial House of Representatives and additionally served in Colorado's First Territorial Assembly for Conejos County, beginning in 1861.[51] Virginia Sánchez's historical study entitled *Pleas and Petitions: Hispano Culture and Legislative Conflict in Territorial Colorado*, includes a critical conversation about Colorado's early settlement on how being in such close proximity to the northern New Mexico Territory, the southern Colorado region became deeply entwined with *Hispano/a* cultural practices, religion, language, and tradition."[52] When studying this specific Southwest locale, it is acutely evident that northern New Mexico and southern Colorado are regionally interconnected, and thus overlap to a great extent in terms of a shared regional, cultural, and linguistic identity.

The elder García learned Spanish as a first language, and he worked with dedication to address the needs of his Spanish-speaking constituents. Despite García's strong sense of *Hispano* cultural pride and significant presence as a *Hispano* legislator in territorial politics, his name was anglicized in official records. According to the "Council Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Colorado," the sixth session of the assembly, which convened on December 3, 1866 at Golden City, Colorado, recorded García as "Joseph V. García."[53] That the official record of the Territorial Council listed García as "Joseph V. García" brings to light the overt anglicization of his given Spanish name.

The act of anglicizing José Victór García's Spanish name signals a concerted erasure of regional as well as linguistic identity, and cultural heritage.[54] In later Colorado Territorial Council Journals, García's full name is accurately written in Spanish, which leads an observer to wonder when, why, and by whom the anglicization of García's name occurred. Since the majority of the Colorado Territory's constituents would have spoken English as a primary language rather than Spanish during this time period, especially in the northern portion of the

territory, a general, territorial-level language bias may suffice as the central reason for the linguistic and cultural erasure. However, the majority of García's constituents in Conejos County were either Spanish speaking only, or bilingual. With this demographic in mind, the overt anglicization of his name clearly does not provide a sense of fairness, respect, and integrity related to the *Hispano* cultural heritage of García and the community he was elected to represent.

García emerged as a leading member of the Conejos and Costilla County communities in southern Colorado's San Luis Valley through securing a prestigious place in the Colorado territorial political realm. His political ascendancy denoted a shift in established power relations among his Euro-American colleagues. Virginia Sánchez asserts that José Victór García and Jesús María Barela of Costilla County were the only two *Hispanos* to serve in Colorado's first Territorial Assembly in 1861.[55] The opportunity for *Hispano* representation offered a unique place for *Hispano/a* constituents to have their voices heard in important matters that affected their everyday lives. The fact that García and Barela were the only two *Hispanos* existing in the Colorado Territorial legislature is of great consequence since Euro-Americans commanded the political scene and left scant room for members of the *Hispano* minority to contribute their voices.

Furthermore, Sánchez states that José Victór García worked diligently to accommodate *Hispano/a* constituents by requesting Spanish translations of territorial laws, since many territorial citizens spoke Spanish as their primary language. Notably as well, Colorado Territorial Legislator Casimiro Barela worked to have bilingual education as an accessible opportunity for citizens of southern Colorado, showcasing a distinct upholding of cultural and linguistic heritage.[56] As evident in the Colorado territorial legislature historical record, García exercised a

significant amount of authority and influence over his governmental superiors, colleagues, and constituents. According to Sánchez, as well as García family oral history, in 1861, García made a request to William Gilpin, the first governor of the Territory of Colorado, to have the boundary between the southern Colorado and northern New Mexico territories surveyed.[57] García intended for the land to be surveyed because he was intent on having both of his private properties in the new state of Colorado while New Mexico remained only a territory.

García's request for the land survey reveals self-confidence as well as a formidable power play directed at Governor William Gilpin. His request is even more remarkable because he eventually succeeded in having the New Mexico/Colorado territorial boundary not only surveyed but redrawn, in order to incorporate his private property into the soon-to-be state of Colorado. According to oral family history, García strategically planned to have his aforementioned private properties—located below Cumbres Pass, elevation of 10,022 feet, in the San Juan Mountains—included legally together in the same territory and upon Colorado's official entrance into statehood in 1876.[58] When the Colorado state line was established, García also led fellow *Hispano* legislators in demanding the San Luis Valley be incorporated into New Mexico rather than Colorado. He made this request before having his Cumbres property included in the Colorado survey. I want to emphasize that both José Victór García and Jesús Barela wanted the southern portion of Colorado, especially the San Luis Valley, in New Mexico. Although their effort ultimately failed, García did manage to have the state line drawn so as to include his Cumbres property in Colorado, along with his other properties.

García's urgent governmental request regarding surveying the land, and the fact that he had a direct hand in moving the Colorado state line, is astounding since Euro-American

legislators located further north in Colorado often did not give due credence to local *Hispanos*, sometimes rejecting their demands. Over time, García's power and influence grew and he eventually entered history books as a key figure in early Colorado history. As further testament to his status, he was eventually included in the 1919 text entitled *History of Colorado*. In her book *Pleas and Petitions*, Virginia Sánchez indicates that García's working sheep and cattle ranch became one of the most valuable in Conejos County, stating that García could have obtained land by taking a "squatter's claim" to a parcel of government property where he farmed and raised livestock.[59] However, my father's assertion complicates Sánchez's assertion. According to my father, in 1883, Victór García bought our current family ranch outside Antonito from the state of Colorado. The land was part of an approximately two-million-acre Conejos Land Grant. He was the first citizen of the new state to do so. In total, García's land spanned 940 acres, 640 acres of which ran parallel to the Conejos River.[60] The more private property García acquired, the more power and recognition he gained in the Colorado territorial legislature, as well as in his own San Luis Valley community.

García further enhanced his property wealth by marrying María Candelaria Jáquez.[61] José Victór García married María Candelaria Jáquez on November 24, 1851 in Abiquiú in the New Mexico Territory. García's elevated societal position further benefited from this martial union, but it was not directly from inheriting her monetary wealth.[62] During the middle to late 1800s, it was common practice for men to acquire land by marrying women who themselves owned land, and thus their husbands were given land as a dowry. According to one historical record, José Victór García settled on his wife María Candelaria Jáquez's land, since her father was a Conejos Land Grant grantee, but this claim, according to my father, is not completely accurate since García had already bought land from the state of Colorado (via the Conejos Land Grant) [63] As

stated by Sánchez, García could have acquired additional vast land holdings through *partido* or "share contracts, land grabs or preemption, political favors, or by means of his patron status in Conejos County."[64] Sánchez contends that further research is needed in order to establish whether the aforementioned statement is valid.[65]

In Sánchez's *Pleas and Petitions,* as stated by a contemporaneous *San Luis Historian* newspaper article published during the land grant hearings held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, García "'opposed . . . the Mexican land grants and helped the government obtain title to several thousand acres of land.'"[66] García family oral history, via a new book, reveals a potential answer regarding García's purported opposition to Mexican land grants in Colorado. Michael R. García, a paternal *primo*, or cousin, asserts a hypothesis relating to this debate on the rationale behind García's opposition to Mexican (but not U.S.) land grants. García's book, entitled *Memorias De Mi Familia*, argues that José Victór García was opposed to giving land grants to individuals because he instead advocated for shared rather than individual property.[67] Further clarifying his position, García relies on oral family history to affirm: "My dad also informed me that his grandfather [José Victór García was] opposed to the large land grants that had been given to one individual; he felt that the large land should be shared by many instead of just one."[68] If Michael R. García's statement can be verified, then García's opposition to individual land grants underscores how he placed emphasis on communal properties rather than singular ownership properties. Therefore, in line with this argument, it follows that García was invested in strengthening and preserving local *Hispano* culture and heritage by way of shared property. In terms of the opposing argument, Sánchez's contends that García was intent on enveloping all of his private land within the state of Colorado, demonstrating how he placed value on individual property when communal ownership was not legal.[69]

As a further matter of recorded oral family history, Michael R. García confirms that José Victór García held title to land beyond the parcels in Conejos County and near Cumbres Pass in what is now southern Colorado. Family history also tells of conflicts with Indigenous people on that land. García states: "[José Víctor] acquired a section of land in an area known as Brazos [in territorial New Mexico] and began ranching after having served in the Colorado Legislature. I've heard stories on how he had to fight off Native Americans. In 1858 the Utes destroyed his crops and killed his cows, and in 1861 the Arapahoe killed his cows and destroyed valued property."[70] This claim that García had conflict with Indigenous peoples on his land is corroborated in Sánchez's text, *Pleas and Petitions* and *Colorado History*.

Violent conflict with Indigenous peoples over land was common during this time period as *Hispanos* encroached on and eventually settled on land where southern Utes and other tribes camped in the San Luis Valley while hunting during the summer months. Michael R. García's reference to "fight[ing] off Native Americans," marks an aggressive interaction with Utes and Arapahoes.[71] García's relationship with local Indigenous tribes would only become more complex and troubling in the years to come as he became a slaveowner of Indigenous youths.

Michael R. García's statement in *Memorias De Mi Familia* regarding García's violent clashes with Indigenous peoples also corroborates my own immediate family oral history, which suggests that José Victór García may have killed several Indigenous peoples on his ranch.[72] In fact, my mother shared a story with me told by my Uncle Joe. According to this story, the fight with Indians possibly occurred on the family ranch outside Antonito, east of Conejos, yet many details are still unknown. García's contentious relationship with Indigenous peoples, such as his engagement in a physical clash on the ranch, reveals his ongoing and violent conflict with tribal communities in the southern San Luis Valley. His relationship with Indigenous peoples became

even more fraught in later years due to García's active participation in the inhumane practice of Indigenous enslavement.

José Victór García's Political Legacy

I argue that José Victór García's legacy is vexed, troubling, and indeed haunted due to his involvement in probable violence against Indigenous peoples, and his direct engagement in the practice of Indigenous captivity and enslavement. At first glance, García's legacy could be considered a straightforward history of a politically powerful *Hispano* from the region, one illuminated by his elite political position as both a New Mexico and Colorado territorial legislator in the late nineteenth century. However, the revelation that he was publicly listed as a slaveowner of Indigenous people on Indian Agent Lafayette Head's Captive Indian Report of 1865, reflects a discernable haunting that disturbs his illustrious legacy, and must be acknowledged and explored.[73]

This Colorado territorial Indigenous slaveholding practice is best confronted via hauntology. As stated earlier, haunting allows us to *feel*, which marks an acute difference with other disciplines of knowledge that are typically restricted to "objective," or purely evidence-based ways of knowing. Therefore, it is imperative to gaze through a lens of hauntology to understand this complex history in a way that embraces an emotional response rather than utilizing a sterile method of observing the historical scene.[74] Hauntology helps make sense of how this historical information about slaveholding has affected my family and myself. For example, my father Reyes Roberto García—Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, Environmental Studies, Native American and Indigenous Studies, Southwest Studies, and Religious Studies at Fort Lewis College—and I were unexpectedly faced with the stark, emotion-evoking reality of

learning from Estevan Rael-Gálvez that our respective great, and great-great-grandfather, José Victór García, kept enslaved Indigenous peoples in his household in Conejos, Colorado.[75]

Both my father and I were profoundly struck, on an emotional and psychological level, when Rael-Gálvez visited our family ranch and informed my father of this once-hidden and disturbing historical truth. As a father and daughter who care deeply about issues of social justice, morality, and ethics (especially since I have studied philosophy and my father has taught philosophy courses on these subjects), our once-favorable understanding of the illustrious García family history, including regarding José Víctor as an upright figure, had been effectively shattered by this revelation. Due in part to Rael-Gálvez's divulgence, this project's impetus was set forth since it provoked a profound interest in what I realize is a haunted family history.

Our family has long been aware of José Victór García's active political life in the Colorado territorial legislature, both from family oral history and Colorado history book entries. Our family history has taught us many things about ancestors like José Victór. Yet as a family, we never knew about José Victór's slaveholding, this once-obscure and consequential element of his life story. My father and I felt this once-forgotten lived history come alive before our eyes, while simultaneously feeling challenged to contemplate our newly acquired knowledge in a generative way for educational purposes. From my own perspective, we experienced a sense of an intergenerational haunting upon hearing details of this tragic history, and upon being met with concrete evidence that Indian Agent Lafayette Head's Captive Indians Report of 1865 exists, confirming García's participation in Indigenous enslavement.

Slaveholding System in Territorial New Mexico and Colorado

As stated by Bill Piatt and Moises Gonzales in *Slavery in the Southwest: Genízaros, Dignity, and the Law*, enslavement of Indigenous peoples contributed to the foundation of early

Hispano settlement in what is known today as New Mexico, Colorado, and in the American Southwest generally.[76] Today the inclusion of the names of enslaved Indigenous persons, particularly women and children, in federal documents, and in particular enslavement ledgers, impacts the person (historian or otherwise) who engages those documents psychologically and emotionally.

According to "Captive Indians Report for Conejos County, Colorado, in 1865," José Victór García held three "enslaved children" in his Conejos household.[77] These included two Navajo girls named Maria Antonia, age twelve-years-old, and Maria Gertrudes, age eleven-years-old, both purchased in 1862, as well as one Ute boy named José Antonio, ten-years-old, and purchased in 1860.[78] Altogether, the report lists 149 captives across various *Hispano* and Euro-American households in Costilla and Conejos Counties. According to the July 14, 1860 U.S. Census in the precinct of Conejos, Taos Territory of New Mexico, the García household included José Victór García, classified as a farmer originally from Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, age twenty-seven-years-old; his wife María Candelaria Jácquez from Taos County, New Mexico, age eighteen-years-old; José Alejandro García, age three-years-old; Placida, an infant; and an enslaved child named Antonia, age eight-years-old, an "Indian" from the Utah Territory.[79] A noted discrepancy is evident across these different historical records, as Antonio is not listed on the 1865 Captive Indians Report, and the U.S. census record does not include Maria Antonia, Maria Gertrudes, nor José Antonio.

Categories of racial difference speak through nineteenth-century territorial, state, and federal records. The ethnic category "Hispanic" was officially incorporated into the 1950 U.S. Census; prior to that *Hispano/a* people were categorized racially as "White," but did not have an ethnic categorization.[80] García and his immediate family are listed in the 1860 U.S. Census

record as "White," while José Victór García has an "Indian" "domestic servant" listed in his household. According to Rael-Gálvez, via his *Native Bound-Unbound—Archive of Indigenous Slavery* project, in order to subvert the illegality of slavery in the Southwest, euphemisms were implemented to hide Indigenous enslavement in official documents and records. These euphemisms include, but are not limited to, the following terms: "*serviente* or servant, *genízaro/a* or Indian captive/detribalized Native American, *criada/o* or reared as a servant or maid, *laborio* or laborer of Native American background, *rescatada/o* or rescued or ransomed, *yanacona* or servant who was Indigenous."[81] These euphemistic terms aid our understanding of how Indigenous enslavement was disguised or altogether concealed in official documents such as census records.

Furthermore, in the official record, Antonia's "Color" is listed as "Indian;" thus, Indigenous peoples were placed in categories other than "White," and were therefore racialized and categorized by difference in official federal records. Antonia was from the Utah Territory. In addition, Indigenous enslaved persons' actual statuses were covered up when they were listed as domestic servants instead of enslaved persons. In the1860 U.S. Census precinct of Conejos, then in the county of Taos Territory in New Mexico, each person is listed according to "Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age." Therefore, eight-year-old Antonia's "Profession, Occupation, or Trade" as a "domestic servant," but more likely she was an enslaved Indigenous child, yet this category is absent, and thus erased.[82]

Another census recorded twenty years later includes the name of an additional Indigenous domestic servant living in García's household. The June 16, 1880 U.S. Census for "Inhabitants of the Conejos Valley" in Conejos County, lists José Victór García, age forty-eight-years-old, living with two female "Indian" domestic servants including María Gertrudes, age twenty-six-

years-old, and Rita García, age twenty-five-years-old.[83] On the "Captive Indians by Owner Surname, 1860-1880" table, Maria Gertrudes is listed as Navajo and Rita García is listed as Navajo under José Victor's father, José Serafin García, who has four enslaved peoples listed under his name.[84] Indian domestic servants in actuality were oftentimes Indigenous enslaved persons who were captured in raids and often traded among *Hispanos* and Euro-Americans.[85]

Enslaved Indigenous persons were oftentimes legally adopted into *Hispano* families that they lived in for years prior. Nevertheless, as Rael-Gálvez astutely observes, there is a difference between "*being* family and *being like* family."[86] It is difficult to imagine how formerly enslaved Indigenous children could be accepted into a family without feeling a sense of trauma due to the fact that they were once owned by their new "family members." In "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity," as reflected upon by Rael-Gálvez, in some instances on official lists, enslaved Indigenous people were asked whether they wanted to return to their biological families. A minority of formerly enslaved Indigenous individuals did return to their own families eventually; yet the majority of individuals had been kept in their circumstances for long enough that they assimilated, and thus did not return home to their original families.[87] In fact, José Victór García must have adopted his Indigenous enslaved children. Church records reflect the christenings of José Antonio on January 24, 1861, Maria Gertrudes on December 15, 1861, and Maria Antonia on June 30, 1864 at Saint Augustine Catholic Church in Antonito, Conejos, Colorado.[88]

Contributing to the Washington D.C. National Archives for his *Native Bound-Unbound* project, Rael-Gálvez, along with his team of researchers, is creating a digitally archived list of Indigenous enslaved persons.[89] Thus, in his role as a historian, Rael-Gálvez is assembling a comprehensive digital database of Indigenous enslavement data as a contribution to the broader

American Southwestern historical archive. Rael-Gálvez reveals the crux of his project by stating that his intention is to highlight individual life narratives in particular. He states: "One of the most critical aspects of this study is the understanding that each and every individual captive's life experience and narrative history counts and therefore becomes critical in pointing to the larger narrative as a whole."[90] In his dissertation, Rael-Gálvez includes statistical charts that document facts such as "years of purchase" and gender by age at the time of "purchase," which illuminates patterns of captivity that in turn provide a fuller picture of people's lives.[91] For Rael-Gálvez's project, and for my own endeavor as well, reading in-between the lines of historical documents such as the "Captive Indians Report of 1865," as well as U.S. census records, is a beneficial method for uncovering individual stories that have become obscured in larger historical narratives.[92] Yet, pouring over historical information in the archives sometimes leads to gaps, absences, and further questions.

Indigenous Child Captives

Examining an official list of enslaved Indigenous children held captive by *Hispano* and Euro-American slaveowners allows for peeling back layers of trauma experienced by those children in the context of families that were not biologically their own. In *Nación Genízara: Ethnogenesis, Place, and Identity in New* Mexico, editors Moises Gonzales and Enrique R. Lamadrid emphasize: "We can only imagine the experiences and historical trauma that captured and enslaved endured, their embedded memory of witnessing their family members murdered in raids, and the pain and suffering they endured when their owners imprisoned, beat, starved, raped, or maimed them into submission."[93] This powerful statement highlights the point that only through a willingness to imagine is it possible to glean what enslaved Indigenous children experienced in terms of deep personal and historical trauma. We have no other way of knowing

how the enslaved Indigenous children of José Victór García were treated, or what they felt and thought about their experience.

Furthermore, in *Nación Genízara*, Lafayette Head's official document entitled "Captives Reported by Indian Agent Lafyette Head, 1865" for Conejos and Costilla Counties, includes "owner" José Victór García's "Indians":

> José Antonio, at residence in Braso, age ten, Utah, 'purchased' in 1860 from 'Utahs' in the San Luis Valley, and return to tribe 'No';
> Maria Gertrudes at residence in Braso, age eleven, Navajo, 'purchased' in 1860 from 'Utahs' in the San Luis Valley, and return to the tribe 'No';
> and Maria Maguela, at residence in Braso, age twelve, Navajo, 'purchased' in 1862 from 'Utahs' in the San Luis Valley, and return to tribe 'No.'[94]

Yet another historical document of Indigenous enslaved persons features a table "including known captives who lived in the counties of Conejos, Costilla, Huérfano, Las Animas, and Saguache" listed by owner surname, 1860-1880 (information provided in part by the U.S. Census).[95] Under the surname García, a total of seven captive Indigenous peoples are listed for José Victór García, and comprised of the following:

> Antonio (male) at residence in Conejos, (no tribe designation)
> José Antonio (male) at residence in Braso, Utah (Ute)
> José Inez (male) at residence in Conejos, (no tribe designation)
> Maria Antonia (female), at resident in Conejos, Utah (Ute)
> Maria Gertrudes (female) at residence in Braso, Navajo
> Maria Miguela (female) at residence in Braso, Navajo
> Sarifino (male), at residence in Conejos, (no tribe designation).[96]

To some extent, this list of enslaved Indigenous peoples personalizes individuals, since it encompasses details such as name, gender, residence, and tribe. Nevertheless, we know little about the lived experiences of these individuals, which lends to their ghostly presences in the historical archive. Also, the absence of Indigenous peoples in their tribal communities marks a social haunting since their presence has been forcefully removed from sites of belonging and kinship. In addition, a discrepancy on lists and across the ledger, in terms of total number of

enslaved peoples named under José Victór García, is puzzling and must be reconciled in further studies.

We can expand upon Rael-Gálvez's argument about foregrounding individual stories of enslaved Indigenous persons by asserting that individual histories accounted for (or unaccounted for) in official ledgers expose private hauntings within families and communities. The absences of Indigenous enslaved persons who never returned home embody a type of simultaneous intimate and social haunting since their families experienced a sense of loss that was irreplaceable and mourned in private spaces, as well as in social settings. These absences of individuals in families undoubtedly took a psychological and emotional toll, as well as social toll, on tribal communities.[97] Moreover, repercussions from the trauma of Indigenous enslavement are acknowledged and addressed intergenerationally. Gary Medina Cook's 2023 documentary film entitled *The Genízaro Experience: Shadows in the Light*, examines the history of Indigenous enslavement in New Mexico.[98] Cook illuminates the ways in which *genízaro* descendants are performing acts of resistance and survival through dance, song, and telling stories.

The Current-Day García Ranch Headquarters

José Victór García was the first citizen of the new state of Colorado to buy a ranch formerly part of the Conejos Land Grant in 1883.[99] The current-day *El Rancho de José Víctor* includes a sprawling *adobe* house. Construction on this house began circa 1850 and was completed circa 1890. More than a century later, the house was restored by my father, Reyes García, in 2011. The ranch property also includes an historic *adobe* potato barn built circa 1945, an old wooden privy, detached garage, *adobe* ruins of the Lafyette García house, *acequias*, or irrigation ditches, running throughout the property, and surrounding meadows.[100] José Victór

García named his own son Lafayette, after Indian Agent Lafayette Head, and García considered Head his son's godfather, despite engaging in numerous public disputes with him over the years.[101] The *adobe* ruins of Lafayette García's dwelling still exists on the southeast corner of the current-day *El Rancho de José Víctor*, and its existence is included as a key archeological feature on the National Historic Register report. The Lafayette García *adobe* house ruins include remains of the classic historical *Hispano* and also pueblo revival architectural feature of *vigas,* or wooden beams, that traverse ceilings. Evidence of a structural fire exists, indicating that the dwelling was purposely burned prior to abandonment. In two fields adjacent to the ruins, historic farming and ranching equipment can be found.

Figure 4: *El Rancho de José Victór adobe* house in 2017
Photograph Source: taken by the author

Figure 5: Back view of *El Rancho de José Victór adobe* house & garage in 2019
Photograph Source: taken by the author

In 2019, *El Rancho de José Víctor* became known as the García/Espinosa/Garland Ranch Headquarters. One generation of Espinosas and two generations of Garlands owned the ranch between ownership by Celestino García (1890-1923) and my Uncle Joe García (1983-2010). My father inherited the García ranches consisting of 770 acres of mostly river bottom meadows along the Conejos River.

The *adobe* ranch house, *adobe* potato barn, and privy was nominated and officially listed on The National Register of Historic Places, while the sixty-two acres of the "building enclosure" was designated an "Historic District" after a hearing that I personally attended along with the originators of the 2019 application written by Tom and Laurie Simmons (historical archaeologists), at the History Colorado center in Denver, Colorado.[102] In 2023, grants from the Colorado State Historical Fund were awarded to Colorado Preservation Incorporated and the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area. The grants were designated to restore the potato barn,

since it is a rare historic building built with double *adobe* walls with an air space between, only a few of which still exist today in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado.[103]

Figure 6: Back view of historic *adobe* potato barn on García ranch (built circa 1945)
Photograph Source: Courtesy of Colorado Preservation Incorporated

Figure 7: Front view of historic *adobe* potato barn on García ranch (built circa 1945)
Photograph Source: Courtesy of HistoryColorado.org

Haunting Through Space and Place

The historic character of the García/Espinosa/Garland Ranch Headquarters is evident today, especially in the context of the surrounding historic community of Conejos, Colorado.

Ronald Rael, Architecture Professor and former Chair at the University of California at Berkley, was interviewed at the Lafayette Head house he currently owns in Conejos. In the "Colorado's Most Endangered Places 2021" documentary film interview, Rael comments on the historic building and how it evokes "layers of history" and "signs of a darker chapter in Colorado's history . . . part of that history involves the history of slavery."[104] The Lafayette Head house and Indigenous enslaved quarters is a "haunted site," since it bears concrete, or more literally *adobe*, witness to barbarisms of the Indigenous enslavement enterprise that existed in rural southern Colorado during the 1860s. In fact, the Lafayette Head house is a focal point in the "darker chapter" of this complex Indigenous enslavement history as it serves to create historical awareness and education of this inhumane practice documented by Lafayette Head's 1865 Conejos and Costilla County slaveholder ledger. The structures on the García ranch can be viewed as haunted sites as well, given the family history of keeping enslaved people on the property.

A contrast comes to light between the stark, official records of the Indigenous slaveholding practice, which at first appears cold and distant, and the actual lived realities of Indigenous persons who were forced into enslavement, and whose names and fragments of life stories reverberate around the San Luis Valley, if one knows where to look, listen, and learn. I argue that recognizing, acknowledging, and creating awareness of this haunted history is in itself an act of healing, even if is a partial and imperfect one, in that its aim is to restore a sense of equilibrium unsettled by the traumas of the past. Since haunting necessarily stirs up an emotional reaction, I assert that an intentional generative response to the disturbance is to heal and transform deep wounds of this local history. For example, a generative response can involve educating people about such haunted histories.

During fall of 2022, Colorado Preservation Incorporated, a non-profit historical organization that focuses on restoring culturally significant buildings, brought several Colorado-based groups to tour the García/Espinosa/Garland Ranch Headquarters, including the historic *adobe* house and *adobe* potato barn.[105] The groups then proceeded on to tour the Lafayette Head house art installation located near the old *plaza* in Conejos, Colorado.[106] A renewed interest in restoring historically significant buildings in the San Luis Valley is evident by the grants awarded to the García family.[107] The preservation of historic structures in the San Luis Valley allows the public to become aware and educated about site-specific histories, stories, and memories of *Hispanos*, as well as Indigenous peoples.

Locating Sites and Sights of Haunting

An exhibition entitled "Unsilenced: Indigenous Enslavement in Southern Colorado," at the Fort Garland Museum and Cultural Center in the San Luis Valley, focuses on the lesser-known history and "centuries-old-system" of Indigenous enslavement that Andrés Reséndez deems "'the other slavery.'"[108] A *New York Times* article by Patricia Leigh Brown entitled "A Grim, Long-Hidden Truth Emerges in Art: Native American Enslavement," profiles this museum exhibit exposing the broad outlines as well as nuances of Indigenous enslavement in the San Luis Valley, and also locates both sites and sights of haunting.[109]

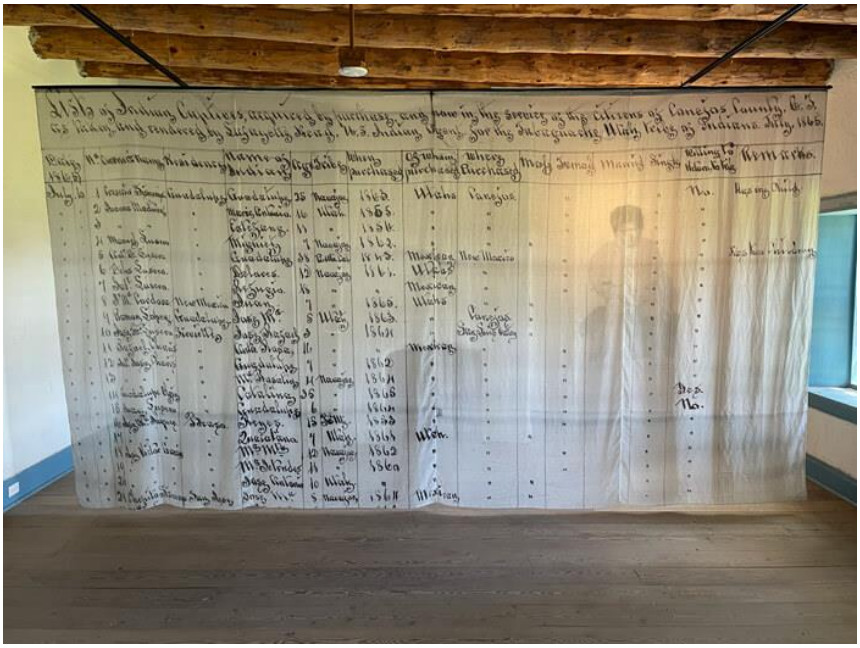


Figure 8: "Unsilenced: Indigenous Enslavement in Southern Colorado" Exhibition at the Fort Garland Museum
in San Luis Valley, Colorado
Photograph Source: Courtesy of Fort Garland Museum

"Indigenous bondage" is an often disregarded, and intentionally obscure, element of Colorado history, yet it is finally being reckoned with via new attention brought forth by exhibits such as "Unsilenced," along with Andrés Reséndez's work, Estevan Rael-Gálvez's scholarship, and my own project as well.[110] As a further matter, Leigh Brown contends: "While Indigenous enslavement was never legal, slaveholders resisted federal and state efforts to stop it. Until relatively recently, it was an untold part of the Southern Colorado story, an area of intricate political geography made more complex by deeply-rooted histories."[111]

Leigh Brown states that federal agent and first lieutenant governor of Colorado Lafayette Head compiled the list that recorded the names, tribes, "owners," dates, source of purchase, and Indigenous enslaved persons' stated willingness to return to their tribes.[112] The U.S. government's "Captive Indian Report of 1865," is an eerie symbol of state-sponsored injustice written via the official historical narrative.[113] In "Identifying Captivity and Capturing Identity,"

Rael-Gálvez contends that when Head amassed the list of enslaved peoples, there were a myriad of intertribal tensions between Ute bands and Navajos.[114] During the 1860s, intertribal tensions often amounted to warfare among and between tribes when American military forces would frequently accelerate such conflicts.[115]

The Lafayette Head house in Conejos County Colorado is a focal point of the "Unsilenced: Indigenous Enslavement in Southern Colorado" exhibit. As part of this exhibit, there is a select list of enslaved persons names projected onto a one-story *adobe* wall of the small house adjacent to the main house.[116] The "Captives Indian Report of 1865" ledger, magnified and inscribed onto the wall, draws attention to this local history that reflects and embodies a lingering haunting effect.[117] The Lafayette Head building and art instillation is positioned slightly northwest of the original Conejos Plaza.

Infamous figures in Southwest history such as Indian Agents Kit Carson and Lafayette Head still command lasting legacies despite their depredations against Indigenous peoples as featured in "Unsilenced." Today, many public sites in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado are named after Carson, including Carson National Forest and Kit Carson Peak in the Sangre de Cristo mountains.[118] I argue that Carson's and Head's legacies must continue to be reevaluated by scholars since they were major perpetrators of violence against Indigenous peoples. A popular non-fiction book written by Hampton Sides, entitled *Blood and Thunder: An Epic of the American West*, addresses Kit Carson's dramatic conquests enacted under the ideology of Manifest Destiny while engaging in battles with Navajos.[119] Agent Carson himself owned a Navajo enslaved boy named Juan Carson, whose photograph is featured in "Unsilenced."[120] Carson also held a captive "son" named Gabriel Woodson, another Navajo boy. A photograph of Woodson, taken in 1880, is also featured in the "Unsilenced" exhibit and

accompanies the *New York Times* article.[121] The "Unsilenced" exhibit in Fort Garland, Colorado, is located south of the base of Mount Blanca, known as Sisnaajini to the Navajos, which is at the far eastern boundary of the Dineháh landscape, and is considered sacred to the Navajo.[122]

Physician and visual artist Chip Thomas's "Unsilenced Indigenous Enslavement in Southern Colorado" exhibition highlights "a detailed and dispassionate survey from 1865," exposing how a beautifully penned, yet ultimately impersonal rendering of the ledger chronicling landowners' lists of Indigenous enslaved peoples marks a distinguishable haunting.[123] One hundred and forty-nine Indigenous persons were taken captive from their Indigenous communities and placed in domestic servitude in the San Luis Valley, for a duration of years, if not entire lifetimes. Of the one hundred and forty-nine captives, one hundred were women and forty-nine were men.[124] The youngest Indigenous enslaved person is listed as a three-year-old child.[125] Initially, one wonders what the practical use of a young child could be to an established household. Yet, children were mentally and physically groomed for a life of enslaved servitude for their adult masters. In other words, children were most commonly captured for indentured servitude (i.e., enslavement) since they were most easily shaped for domestic labor.

The fact that children as young as three-years-old were taken from their tribes and placed into *Hispano* and Euro-American households, indicates a blatant disregard for the continuation of tribal communities, and also signals an overall sense of inhumanity. Leigh Brown remarks on the "forced assimilation" that was often the main goal of both *Hispano* and Euro-American colonizers.[126] The overt act of "forced assimilation" is a type of haunting that actively works to erase cultures, languages, customs, traditions, kinship ties, and ways of life for Indigenous peoples. Numerous Indigenous tribes across the United States, Canada, and around the world are currently addressing forced assimilation practices and countering cultural erasure through

language revitalization programs and other measures. For example, a renewed focus on the practice of hula dancing in the Hawaiian Islands is a way to enhance, continue, and preserve Indigenous Hawaiian cultural practices.[127]

In Colorado's San Luis Valley, many landed *Hispanos* as well as Euro-Americans did indeed force Indigenous peoples into their households, particularly if they had the financial resources to retain them. In *Slavery in the Southwest: Genízaro Identity, Dignity, and the Law*, Bill Piatt and Moises Gonzales comment on the lived reality of enslaved children, stating:

> Imagine for a moment what it must have been like for the Indian children who had been captured by other Indians and then sold to members of another community. Consider the horror that these children had witnessed and the suffering they were enduring being separated from their families and tribe.[128]

Only through imagining the experiences of enslaved Indigenous children can we begin to understand the horrors they faced being displaced and alienated from their families and tribal communities. Piatt and Gonzales further imagine the fear felt by children as their lives were upended despite the fact that in order to welcome the enslaved children into slaveholding communities, ritual dances were often performed. The authors, Piatt and Gonzales, describe dances of the *Comanchitos*, or "little Comanche children," who were actually from Ute, Apache, and other tribes, but then captured by Comanches and later traded or sold to *Hispano* families.[129] In New Mexico today, *genízaro* descendants perform ritual dances to remember and honor their ancestors.

Conclusion

Curator of American enslavement at the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C., Mary Elliot reveals that "as a nation we are facing a moment of reckoning as we confront our deeply disheartening history during a time in which atrocities were committed against humanity for the sake of profit and power."[130] It is therefore our current-

day responsibility to illuminate this often-forgotten early Colorado history, as well as broader Southwest histories, and to disclose its fraught and nuanced stories. Elliot's contention points to the necessity of delving into overlooked historical archives and stories in order to uncover these complex histories and educate people about them. My project grapples with the haunting after-effects of trauma regarding Indigenous enslavement and also explores how the effects of these historical hauntings are being confronted, and healed from, as descendants such as myself are discovering the roles their ancestors played in this "dark history" of Indigenous enslavement.

Chapter Three

Recognizing Ghosts of Land Dispossession: Reevaluating the Land Exploits & Legacies of Reyes Gonzales, T.D. Burns, & Ed Sargent

Chapter Three complicates dominant Southwest colonial metanarratives through critically exploring Abiquiú's history in northern New Mexico as a dynamic site of power struggles between Indigenous peoples, *Hispanos*, and Euro-American settlers during the late nineteenth century. The tricultural myth of New Mexico is a colonial metanarrative in that it refers to "a widely accepted misconception about the racial makeup of New Mexico that implies that Indigenous, Latina/o/x, and white people live[d] here in a harmonious, interracial community."[1] This tricultural myth is critiqued here specifically because the complex and often contentious relationships between the aforementioned groups of people undermines the notion that people lived in interracial harmony. Chapter Three also stresses how ideologies of settler colonialism are problematic in the New Mexico territorial context.

This chapter illuminates historical figures Reyes Gonzales (1827-1922), my paternal great-great-grandfather; Thomas "T.D." Daniel Burns (1842-1916), my paternal second great-grand uncle; and Edward "Ed" Sargent (1877-1958), my paternal great-grand uncle.[2] Reyes Gonzales was a prominent *Hispano* landowner, sheep-raiser, and influential community member in the Abiquiú region of the northern New Mexico Territory.[3] Irish immigrant Thomas "T.D." Burns was a wealthy landholder, businessman, banker, and influential political figure in the New Mexico Territory.[4] Edward "Ed" Sargent was a local Euro-American, prominent sheep-raiser, well-known businessman in the northern New Mexico region, and serves as the namesake for the

current-day Edward Sargent Wildlife Area located near the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado border, a part of what used to be the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant.[5]

Chapter Three focuses on how Reyes Gonzales, T.D. Burns, and Ed Sargent exerted influence, control, and power over local Indigenous and, in some cases, *Hispano* peoples. In addition, this critical discussion makes the claim that ghosts are active subjects who haunt and embody a sense of dispossession regarding Indigenous peoples' land as it relates to the after-effects of trauma, and marginalization within a Southwest colonial context. For example, Reyes Gonzales, in conjunction with fellow land speculator Thomas B. Catron, acquired land via the Abiquiú Land Grant by creating an argument that ultimately deprived Indigenous *genízaros* that inhabited the area of their land rights, thus, signifying a haunting injustice that will henceforth be examined.[6]

As noted in Chapter Two, the act of forced assimilation—along with cultural erasure associated with Indigenous peoples—I argue, uniquely qualifies as a form of haunting because it marks a human rights violation that is still endured today as Indigenous groups experience it in the U.S. and across the contemporary world. A pattern of land dispossession aimed at communal *genízaro* property owners emerges via the political actions of Reyes Gonzales, T.D. Burns, and Ed Sargent.[7] Land dispossession must be considered a form of haunting since it exposes trauma that can contribute to an erasure of *querencía*, or a sense of homeland, for *Hispano* communities in the American Southwest.

Haunting, although typically considered in relation to social happenings, I argue, can alternatively apply to experiences of trauma in connection with land dispossession. Land dispossession marks a distinct loss as it greatly affects the human psyche, contributes to intergenerational trauma in families, and has consequences for individual, familial, and

communal legacies within this specific Southwest locale. Land dispossession is also a primary form of settler colonialism. As Patrick Wolfe claims, settler colonialism is a deliberate process and an ongoing project meant to displace and eliminate Indigenous peoples.[8] Settler colonialism is a spreading phenomenon that metaphorically poisons all that it touches, creating an "othering" categorization and experience for those who do not fit into a Euro-American heteropatriarchal paradigm. In addition, a key concept worth underscoring is that *Hispano* and Euro-American land grant settlers in both Abiquiú and Tierra Amarilla were wholly necessary for the concerted removal and expulsion of Indigenous as well as *Hispano* peoples.

Chapter Three elucidates lesser-known or hidden histories while arguing for centering "othered" ghosts such as those of Indigenous people dispossessed of their land, and Indigenous enslaved peoples. Violent chasms between Indigenous family ties and coerced adoption of Indigenous children into *Hispano* families for the purpose of domestic labor will be examined. In addition, Chapter Three explores what it means to *Hispanicize* Indigenous peoples for the benefit of well-to-do *Hispano* families in rural village communities such as Abiquiú and El Rito located in northern New Mexico. *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado*, edited by Vincent C. De Baca, uncovers early Colorado colonial legacies and its analytical viewpoint can be a useful connection with regional and cultural areas such as the villages of Abiquiú and El Rito in northern New Mexico.[9]

The Historical Context of Abiquiú

This section situates Abiquiú and the surrounding region, focusing on its history and overall cultural significance. The pastoral village of Abiquiú in Rio Arriba County signifies a unique place in the Chama River Valley of northern New Mexico, which lies at the crossroads of Indigenous, *Hispano*, and Euro-American cultures, and thus will be a key focal point for this

chapter.[10] Abiquiú is known for being the third largest settlement in the Spanish territory of *Nuevo México* in the 1730s.[11] The village of Abiquiú in Rio Arriba County is built on the site where an ancient Tewa pueblo existed from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.[12] *Hispano* settlers came to the region in the 1730s, but were often disturbed by raiding Indigenous tribes.[13]

The village of Abiquiú is located northeast of Abiquiú Lake and east of the Rio Chama. Abiquiú, New Mexico is internationally famous for its location of modernist American painter Georgia O'Keeffe's residence and artist studio from 1949 until close to her death in 1986.[14] The Georgia O'Keeffe's house in Abiquiú exists now as the Georgia O'Keeffe Museum and belongs to a group of museums.[15] The main Georgia O'Keefe art museum is located in New Mexico's capital Santa Fe, which geographically lies north of Albuquerque. A site called Ghost Ranch is a 21,000-acre scenic swath of land located northwest of Abiquiú.[16] Ghost Ranch marks a place where O'Keeffe painted, and as noted, is a place where she periodically resided over several decades.

Ghost Ranch is a retreat and education center as well as a popular tourist site for sightseeing, hiking, and horseback riding.[17] Ghost Ranch and the surrounding area of Abiquiú are places where numerous motion pictures are filmed, for example, *Oppenheimer*, a 2023 biographical film written and directed by Christopher Nolan. Due to Ghost's Ranch's and Abiquiú's historical significance, cinematographers often capture its stunning scenic red rock cliffs, and outstretched desert terrain that remain symbolic trademarks of the Southwestern landscape. Northern New Mexico as a region is often regarded as a unique place that embodies the state's iconic motto: "The Land of Enchantment."[18]

In contradistinction to the view of New Mexico being described as the "Land of Enchantment," Southwest Studies scholar Michael L. Trujillo's ethnographic work entitled *Land*

of Disenchantment: Latina/o Identities and Transformations in Northern New Mexico, focuses on the contemporary social problems in Española, New Mexico, stemming from Spanish and Mexican colonialism.[19] Trujillo's scholarship also highlights problems regarding the state's history, beginning with the nefarious Spanish conquistador Juan de Oñate who became governor of the province of Santa Fe de *Nuevo México* in 1598, and who ordered the infamous Acoma Massacre in 1599 in which 800 to 1,000 Acoma people were killed.[20]

Juan de Oñate continues to be a deeply controversial figure in New Mexico's history since some consider him and other Spanish conquistadors as important founding figures. However, the brutality of conquistador regimes cannot be regarded without substantial critique. *Hispano/a* and Indigenous peoples still suffer the effects of violence and injustices perpetrated by Oñate and other Spanish colonial figures such as Hernán Cortéz and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado.[21] Moreover, this project is meant to expose intracultural tensions in northern New Mexico, and thereby also challenge an idealized vision of the state of New Mexico.

Reyes Gonzales: Well-Known Sheep Raiser, Mercantile Store Owner, & Landowner

Figure 9: Reyes Gonzales (1827-1922)
Photograph Source: García family collection

Reyes Gonzales, my great-great-grandfather (my father's mother's maternal grandfather, and thus, on the opposite side of the family lineage from José Victór García), was born in Bernalillo in the New Mexico Territory and eventually settled in Abiquiú in1853.[22] Gonzales was a man of considerable wealth due in part to land claims that displaced Indigenous people and *Hispanos* in the Abiquiú and Chama areas of northern New Mexico. According to the National Register of Historic Places, Gonzales was the son of Miguel Antonio Gonzales and María Lugarda García of Bernalillo.[23] Reyes Gonzales was heir to the Plaza Colorada Land Grant. In addition, Gonzales was a "well-known freighter" who provided goods to Colorado mining camps via ox-drawn wagons between Denver, Cripple Creek, Dodge City, and other mining towns in Colorado.[24] Gonzales married Tiofila Maria Gallegos, who was born in the New Mexico Territory in 1846.[25] Testifying in 1885 and 1893, Reyes Gonzales utilized his voice in favor of the Plaza Colorada Grant, stating that he held a vested interested in the grant from his father-in-law.[26] Reyes Gonzales became a wealthy sheep and cattle rancher, and was eventually recognized as the largest sheep holder in the lower Chama River Valley of the New Mexico.[27] By 1900, Reyes Gonzales owned 150,000 sheep across fifteen sheep camps.[28]

Figure 10: Tiofila Maria Gallegos Gonzales (1846-1922)
Photograph Source: Courtesy of Kay Quinlan, my second cousin

During the 1880s and 1890s, Gonzales bought extensive land tracts on both sides of the Chama River in Abiquiú, and he eventually owned most of the Plaza Colorada Grant.[29] In 1892, Reyes Gonzales purchased, from his father-in-law, the fourteen-room Gallegos family home situated within the Plaza Colorada Grant.[30] The former Gallegos home became the Gonzales family residence, and was remodeled as an expansive Spanish colonial home, formerly known as Rancho de Abiquiú estate, which boasts 14,843 square feet of living space.[31] Reyes Gonzalez's former house is currently situated east of the Tomás Gonzales House, also known as "Mormon House" or "Goad Place."[32] The former Reyes Gonzales house is also on the National Register of Historic Places. Gonzales actively participated in a legal fight to preserve his land by means of acquiring the Plaza Colorada Land Grant, greatly expanding his land acquisitions. Gonzales had four sons named Reyes, Miguel, Pablo, and Tómas Gonzales.

Reyes Gonzales's Claim to Private Property in the Abiquiú Land Grant Deposition

Reyes Gonzales took an active stance to gain title to land via the U.S. federal court system when he became a claimant to Abiquiú's Land Grant in the late 1800s. On August 19, 1893, Reyes Gonzales, along with J.M.C. Chávez, are listed as claimants in the Abiquiú Land Grant petition in the United States Court of Private Land Claims.[33] The historic case is entitled *Reyes Gonzales and José M.C. Chaves vs. the United States*.[34] The original Reyes Gonzales Abiquiú Land Grant papers from August 17, 1895 are currently located in the Thomas B. Catron collection in the University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Research.[35] This archival location information is interesting because Thomas B. Catron is also associated with T.D. Burns, who will be discussed later in this chapter. Catron was Gonzales's attorney. The Spanish translation of the Abiquiú Land Grant case transcript reveals that Reyes Gonzales, in his deposition and in conversation with his attorney Catron, states: "[The Abiquiú Land Grant] was occupied by the Indians of the pueblo and by other people." Catron asks:

> Is there any pueblo Indians there now?' and Gonzales responds: 'It is always being called the Pueblo of the half-breeds.' Catron asks: 'Who are the people that live at the pueblo of Abiquiu, with reference to the persons who are called 'Jenizaros' (half-breeds?)' Gonzales answers: 'I think that they have always lived there since the time they were born.[36]

In this pivotal conversation, Gonzales acknowledges that Indigenous "Puebloans" or *genízaros* originally existed at Abiquiú, yet he only advocates for the land rights of relative newcomers such as himself. Throughout his deposition, Gonzales attempts to enact an erasure of Indigenous rights to property through asserting his own position as a worthy land owner who was in favor of private property over communal land.

The Abiquiu Land Grant papers from *Reyes Gonzales and José M.C. Chaves vs. the United States* state that the original land grant was created in 1754.[37] In that year, Tomas Velez Cachupin, the Governor and Captain General of New Mexico, was ordered by the viceroy of

New Spain to grant the Pueblo of Abiquiú a tract of land called the Abiquiú Land Grant.[38] The Abiquiú land grant "consisted of converted half-breed Indians."[39] The official perimeters of the land grant area included a northern line at the Chama River.[40] The alleged Chama River boundary location is the focus of the nineteenth-century land claim debate. The Abiquiú Land Grand claimants petitioned for the Chama River no longer to be designated as the northern boundary, instead insisting that the boundary should exist along the river's edge, where it originally flowed in 1754.[41]

The stated petitioners, namely Reyes Gonzalez and José M.C. Chávez, question the stated grant's validity, and claim that they themselves are entitled to the land in question, claiming as a further matter: "That the said grantees, their heirs and assigns, held possession of said lands so granted from the time of said grant until the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and from thence to the present time."[42] Thus, in order to settle the debate at-hand, claimants are deposed to determine if they are indeed rightful land claimants. Chávez frequently refers to "half-breed Indians" and "Indians" while acknowledging their long-term status as residents, yet Chávez adamantly asserts that local *Hispanos*, such as himself, deserve rights to the land over the "Indians."[43]

José M.C. Chávez, son of famous general José María Chávez, was a government official during the Spanish, Mexican, and American territorial periods.[44] Chávez lived in the same house that Georgia O'Keeffe would later inhabit in 1945 near the Abiquiú Plaza. Following his father's path, Chávez was a successful land speculator who purchased land, in association with Thomas B. Catron, from various grants, including the San Joaquín del Río de Chama Grant.[45] Chávez petitioned the U.S. Court of Private Land Claims to take possession of the Abiquiú Land Grant, admitting that "half-breed Indians" once possessed the land, yet at the same time asserting his rightful land claim ownership despite the *genízaro*s' original residency.[46]

In the 1890s, the Abiquiú Land Grant contained slightly more than 16,500 acres.[47] The U.S. government had already established eighteen pueblos in New Mexico, by means of a submission and confirmation to Congress; thus, the government did not wish to view Abiquiú as a pueblo but rather as "the Town of Abiquiu" and "a grant classification reserved for Hispanic community grants."[48] Over time, due to the U.S. Court of Private Land Claims in 1892, and also contributed in part by Gonzales's deposition, Abiquiú became considered a *Hispano* rather than Indigenous village.

Reyes Gonzales, in his recorded deposition for the U.S. Court of Private Land Claims, acknowledges that *genízaros* still exist in the Abiquiú pueblo, yet he implicitly refuses to make the case that *genízaros* deserve to retain the land that they occupy in the pueblo.[49] By simultaneously recognizing that *genízaros* are living in the Abiquiu community, yet relegating *genízaros* to a space where they do not threaten his plan to acquire land, Gonzales erects a metaphorical boundary between *Hispanos,* like himself, and detribalized Indigenous peoples. Similar to T.D. Burns and Ed Sargent, Reyes Gonzales possessed a keen sense of self-interest, subsequently resorting to extraordinary lengths to acquire personal property and wealth while suppressing Indigenous voices and their rights to property ownership. Clearly Gonzales doubled down on a concept of private property that is an ethnocentric Western idea of ownership, one which lies in contrast to communal-centered Indigenous concepts of land.[50]

Genízaros in Northern New Mexico

Genízaros, or detribalized Indigenous peoples, located in the Pueblo of Abiquiú were forced to assimilate and become *Hispanicized*. The Abiquiú Land Grant, which eclipsed the land claims of the area's original Indigenous inhabitants, was evidence of this *Hispanicization* process, and also contributed to it.[51] *Genízaros* have long been targeted, subjugated and

oppressed, such as during the Witchcraft Trials of Abiquiú during the 1700s.[52] *Genízaros* eventually became acknowledged citizens of the state of New Mexico, but only when they relinquished aspects of their Indigenous identities and converted to Catholicism.[53] The "othering" of *genízaros* is still a concern today, yet there are active projects that center their histories, lives, and stories, including by *genízaro* scholars such as Moises Gonzales.

Genízaros, sometimes referred to as *Hispanicized* Indians, often married *Hispanos* and subsequently became elevated in the New Mexico territorial caste system.[54] A rigid *casta*, or caste, system known as *limpieza de sangre*, Spanish for "purity of blood," existed in Spanish colonial New Mexico, and remnants of it exist to this day.[55] New Mexico's Spanish colonial caste system included people of African descent, Spanish, and Indigenous peoples. It also included *genízaros*, who occupied a distinct cultural borderland region since they were no longer considered part of tribal nations, nor were they considered citizens of colonial Spain.[56] Eventually, *genízaro*-occupied Abiquiú came to embody a significant geographical and cultural crossroads that merged Spanish and Indigenous lifeways, as a place where both trading and enslavement occurred.[57] Importantly, many people living in New Mexico, both in the past and today, are *mestizo/a*, or of mixed genealogical ancestry. According to Vincent de Baca in *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado*: "In ethnic context, the blood of Apaches, Spaniards, Mexicans and American forty-niners is mixed together (*mestizaje*) in the veins of their modern *Hispano* descendants."[58]

In 1832, the Mexican government established the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant, north of Abiquiú, for Manuel Martinez to benefit Abiquiú *genízaro* settlers.[59] The location of the Tierra Amarilla Land Gant has since become a site of contentious land claims. Totaling nearly 600,000 acres, the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant not only occupies enormous physical land acreage, but

also its fate is still regarded as a relevant issue in New Mexico's popular imagination.[60] Land grants were specifically created to act as land barriers to protect *genízaro* and *Hispano* settlements from attacks by raiding Jicarilla Apaches, Utes, and Navajos.[61] A pervasive fear of strangers overtaking the land persisted among *Hispano* inhabitants of the area, and their fears were not unfounded.

Family stories add complexities to the narrative that Reyes Gonzalez was an individual who exerted unfair power over *genízaros*, and dispossessed them from their land. The García/Gonzales family history recollects that Gonzales was a generous man who attended to the needs of his *vecinos*, Spanish for "neighbors." The meaning of the term *vecinos* here implies that the landowner was an original settler. According to García oral family history, Gonzales would be generous to his neighbors in the community by offering to buy them goods in the local store if they did not have the means to purchase items themselves. Therefore, it is difficult to reconcile these two opposing views of his legacy. On the one hand, he essentially stole land from *genízaros* in Abiquiú. Yet, on the other hand, he was a generous *vecino*. In other words, Gonzales was a complex person who alternately engaged in domineering deeds concerning land takeover while he also magnanimously extended personal favors to certain privileged individuals.

Locating Hidden *Críadas* and *Genízaros*

In this section, I build upon Chapter Two's subject of Indigenous enslavement by discussing the "open secret" practice of keeping indentured servants in *Hispano* households. I include this subject matter here because it fits with the critical conversation on how Indigenous peoples were exploited, in connection with disputes over land, specifically in northern New Mexico. I also situate this conversation here because it covers the other side of my family

history, regarding my great-great-grandfather, Reyes Gonzales (rather than José Victór García). I argue that this particular form of Indigenous enslavement marks an intimate form of haunting. These Indigenous servants were often children who simultaneously blended into new families, yet also they also occupied an *othered* position since they were considered "owned" property. During the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries in the American Southwest—specifically in the region of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado—it was common practice for *Hispano* and Euro-American landed gentry to purchase household servants, or *críadas,* who were usually Indigenous peoples sometimes called *genízaros.*[62]

The detribalization of *genízaros* happened due to enslavement.[63] Margaret Sargent García, Reyes Gonzales's granddaughter, and my paternal grandmother, born in 1905, spoke in my presence about how, on occasion, Navajos traded very young disabled children with wealthy *Hispano* families to assist with chores in the household. According to this oral family history, at least two of these Navajo children became domestic servants in her El Rito, New Mexico, childhood home. This practice points to a disturbing reality, and the hidden history that is often kept silent in narratives of *Hispano* New Mexico. This specific cultural practice of widespread Indigenous enslavement marks an acute example of haunting, as referred to in Chapter Two.

Young indentured servants, often women and children, were intentionally kept on the periphery of family bounds, yet they were placed in such close proximity to *Hispano* families like my own that they were effectively *othered* insiders, forced to perform manual household labor. Stated differently, *críado/as* were most often children who were not initially family members, yet were raised in the household, occasionally adopted, and provided lodging in return for performing menial house chores.[64] As noted by David Correia: "Slave taking and trading played a central role in the complicated political economy of the Spanish-Indian borderlands,

where human bodies proved to be valuable commodities for the frontier slave traders who served the slave-labor economy of northern Spain."[65] Engaging in slave captivity and ownership was not only an injustice toward individual Indigenous people, but perniciously contributed to the complexities and larger injustices of the broader political economy in the Southwest borderlands. As we shall soon see, Reyes Gonzales was not only involved with dispossessing gen*ízaros* of their land in Abiquiú, but in later years he had a close connection to an Indigenous indentured servant who lived in his family household in the nearby village of El Rito.

A *Genízara* in El Rito, New Mexico

This section recognizes the secret existence of a young *genízara* living with the Sargent/Gonzales family. According to García/Sargent/Gonzales family oral history, a *genízara* lived as a domestic servant in my paternal grandmother Margaret Sargent's family home in El Rito, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, during the early 1900s, along with her mother Ana Ludgarda's father Reyes Gonzales.[66] The knowledge that this young woman was Navajo has been passed down intergenerationally within the García/Sargent/Gonzales family. Per the García/Sargent/Gonzales family folklore, the young *genízara* was traded for goods or services by her Navajo family. More specifically, this young Navajo *genízara* living in the household eventually became assimilated, and then adopted into the Sargent family.

The adoption of enslaved Indigenous children into both Indian Agent Lafayette Head's and José Victór García's households in the San Luis Valley, Colorado, corroborates the Sargent/Gonzales family narrative of their own Indigenous servant, albeit in northern New Mexico. As previously noted, these adoptions of young Indigenous peoples were often forced adoptions. Margaret Sargent's oversized scrapbook from her girlhood includes photographs of her life experiences in El Rito, New Mexico, attending finishing school in Maryland, and

nationwide travels. Yet, a blatant absence exists; there is no photograph depicting the young Navajo *genízara* who was living with her family during this time period. The photograph, shown below, depicts Margaret and her sisters in El Rito, as children, but notably, no other family members are included here.

Figure 11: Mercedes, Margaret, and Dora Sargent
Sisters having tea in El Rito, New Mexico (circa 1910)
Photograph Source: García family collection

During the early 1910s and 1920s, formal adoption of Indigenous household members into families was a common occurrence. When it comes to the Sargent/Gonzales household, the family's record in the January 30th to 31st 1920 U.S. Census for El Rito, New Mexico, includes a domestic servant, listed as eighteen-year-old "Agapita."[67] John Henry Sargent, born in Ireland, is listed as fifty-years-old, his wife Ana Ludgarda is listed as thirty-seven years old, Margaret Sargent is listed as fourteen-years-old, her sister Mercedes as eleven-years-old, Ludgarda Dora as ten-years old, father-in-law Reyes Gonzales as ninety-four years old, his wife Tiofila is seventy-five years old. Although Agapita (her last name Gallegos is crossed out on the census) is

listed under the race category as "W" or "White," it is more realistic to assume that she was a Navajo *genízara* since my *nana*, Margaret, confirmed this to me and to other family members.[68]

Overturning the U.S. Court of Private Land Claims Decision

On November 11, 1909, the U.S. Court of Private Land Claims overruled the protest over the Abiquiú Land Grant boundaries, and a patent was issued to the Abiquiu Board of Land Grant Commissioners.[69] In 1928, a historic vote occurred among members of the Abiquiú Land Grant, which consisted of *Hispanos*. According to Malcolm Ebright, the question put to vote was simply: "Did the members want to be an Indian pueblo or a Hispanic Village?"[70] The claimants' vote determined that the Abiquiú Land Grant was to be a *Hispano* village. José María Chávez, according to oral history, continued to collect and pocket people's paid taxes.[71] At present, the Abiquiú Land Grant is managed for its current members and is primarily used for livestock grazing since the land is not irrigable.[72] Currently, there are approximately eighty members of the land grant and up to one-hundred-and-fifty head of livestock are permitted to graze the land.[73]

While the Abiquiú Land Grant shifted from Indigenous-centered to *Hispano*-centered around 1928, Malcom Ebright claims that a highly significant religious transformation of the local community began about a century prior.[74] For example, the religious order of the *Penitentes*, known in English as the Brotherhood of our Father Jesus of Nazareth of Abiquiú, became established around 1820.[75] The *Penitente* religious movement began to grow and strengthen in Abiquiú, and two *Moradas*, or special small chapels, came into existence in the area of the pueblo.[76] Today, the Pueblo of Abiquiú, celebrates its Indigenous identity during the Santo Tomás Feast Day every November, with its famous Indita Dances, and also celebrates its *Hispano* identity during the Santa Rosa de Lima Feast Day every August.[77] Abiquiú celebrates

its *Hispano* and Indigenous cultural heritage intermingling, and this hybrid community identity was brought about in part by Abiquiú's complicated land grant histories.

T.D. Burns's Irish Origins, Land Speculation, and Rise to Political Power

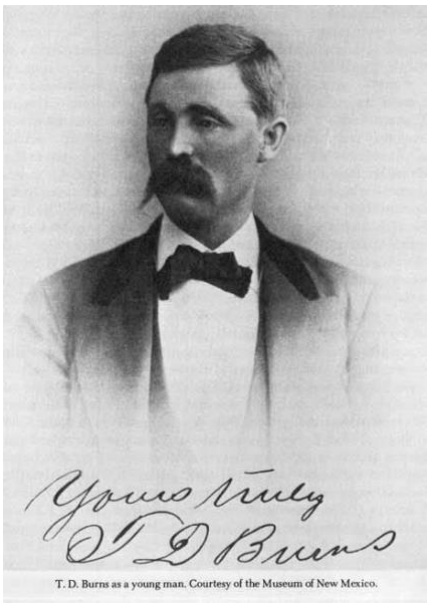


Figure 12: T.D. Burns (1844-1916)
Photograph Source: Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico

Although other scholars have examined Thomas "T.D." Burns's life and history in northern New Mexico, here I argue that Burns's legacy needs to be reconsidered through the methodology of a haunting gaze. Thomas Daniel Burns, my grandmother's great uncle (his sister Margaret Burns being her father's mother), was born in County Waterford in Ireland on October 15, 1844.[78] Burns emigrated to the United States with his parents William and Mary Burns in 1854. They moved first to Whitewater, Wisconsin, and finally settled in northern New Mexico in 1864.[79] In the early 1860s, Burns travelled back and forth to the Territory of Colorado where he worked trading houses and mercantile shops. Burns was industrious; he learned Spanish, and also became acquainted with property relations as he worked to become a successful merchant.[80] During the summer of 1866, Burns traveled to Abiquiú.[81]

According to Robert J. Torrez, former New Mexico state historian, Thomas D. Burns was known locally as "'El Bornes,' and was an example of men who, arriving in the Southwest during the 1860s and 1870s, 'each in their [sic] sphere contributed to the making of modern New Mexico.'"[82] Burns became the most prominent merchant and landowner in Tierra Amarilla, located northwest of Abiquiú and played a major role in shaping its history and current-day political legacy. As noted by Torrez, although Burns is well-known in both northern New Mexico and southern Colorado history, there is a lack of documentation about his life, because much of his contemporary correspondence disappeared or was destroyed.[83] However, Torrez assembles his own research and information about Burns's life and impact through articles written contemporaneously about Burns and a few other dispersed sources.[84]

Although Burns's life and historical legacy appears straightforward, I contend that his influence is deeply complicated. Burns's legacy appears admirable with regard to his business prowess, yet his legacy also embodies a lingering haunting, especially regarding how he purposefully dispossessed Indigenous peoples and *Hispanos* of their land rights. Surviving documentation about Burns includes his attempt as a young man to join the 1848-1855 Gold Rush in Colorado as he traveled to Pike's Peak.[85] Burns was ultimately unsuccessful in his venture for gold.[86] Torrez asserts that in Boulder, Colorado, Burns was fooled by a local man when Burns himself insisted that he could easily find gold. After feverishly digging for gold and blistering his hands, Burns found no gold and only then did he learn that success in business ventures comes through hard, dedicated work, but also by being imaginative and educated in the law.[87] Determined to meet success in business, Burns continued his travel adventures with only five dollars in his pocket. Once Burns was in Nebraska, he desperately attempted to sell pamphlets instructing people on how to care for sick horses.[88] Burns subsequently travelled

southwest to New Mexico, earned $700, learned Spanish, bought goods in Santa Fe, and opened a mercantile store in Conejos, Colorado, eventually becoming quite prosperous.[89]

By the late 1800s, T.D. Burns and Thomas Benton Catron, fellow businessman, U.S. senator, and lawyer, experienced meteoric rises in their political power and personal wealth in the New Mexico Territory. According to 1872 tax records, Burns amassed a total of $200,000 in commercial wealth.[90] Burns became one of a group of elite attorneys and land speculators who formed the well-known, elite, and powerful Santa Fe Ring.[91] Catron also belonged to high society and was connected to the notorious Santa Fe Ring.[92] In tandem, Catron and Burns concocted the ambitious goal of gaining control of the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant. Catron learned Spanish, which he used to gain access and usurp control of *Hispano*-populated land grant lands. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, Catron became one of the largest private landowners in the U.S., owning more than three million acres in New Mexico, which he amassed in large measure by understanding Spanish and Mexican land grants. Catron assisted in establishing New Mexico as a state. Catron County and other namesake places still exist in New Mexico today.[93]

Catron and Burns were adept at seizing and accruing land because they understood how Spanish and Mexican land grants worked within the U.S. legal system. Catron and Burns additionally situated themselves as well-liked men in elite positions, both as prestigious local attorneys. Along with his rise in upward social and political mobility, Burns opened stores in Los Ojos, Chama, Canjilon, Blanco, and Las Nutrias in northern New Mexico as well as in Durango and Ignacio, in southern Colorado.[94] By 1872, Burns owned numerous business such as Burns National Bank, located in downtown Durango, where he was also a stockholder. At one point in time, Burns owned a large amount of land from the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant.[95] In 1872, Burns

married María Josefa Gallegos, daughter of José Pablo Gallegos, the head of a wealthy Abiquiú family, and father-in-law to Reyes Gonzalez, gaining prominence through the union despite not directly inheriting the Gallegos family monetary wealth.[96] Burns was a State Senator, County Commissioner, and Treasurer. According to the T.D. Burns, Jr. Papers, held at the New Mexico State archive, Burns was also an interpreter for the Ute tribe.[97]

Burns's expansive business repertoire included his development of Trimble Hot Springs, which is located in the Animas Valley north of Durango, Colorado. The Animas Valley was a popular hunting ground for Utes beginning in the 1700s.[98] Burns built the elegant, three-story Victorian Hermosa House adjacent to the hot springs, which eventually burned down and was destroyed on July 30, 1931.[99] In 1881, Frank Trimble borrowed $8,000 from Burns, but because Trimble was unable to repay the debt, Burns and his wife Josefa Gallegos Burns acquired Trimble Hot Springs.[100] Trimble Hot Springs was recently renamed Durango Hot Springs Resort and Spa, and it remains a lucrative site, as both locals and tourists alike continue to soak in its waters.[101] The hot mineral waters are reputed to possess medicinal and healing qualities. At the Durango Hot Springs Resort and Spa, a historic black-and-white photograph of T.D. Burns hangs in the entryway. The same photographic portrait of Burns, as well as a photograph of Hermosa House, exists on the resort's website under a section on the hot springs' history.[102]

As previously noted, Burns and Catron strategically used Spanish language skills to their advantage in acquiring land and gaining political power. Catron became a master at seizing land from Spanish and Mexican land grants, while Burns learned substantial lessons from his partner's business acuity and knowledge of the local political atmosphere. Catron reciprocally relied on Burns's political prowess to gain vast landholdings in the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant between 1874 and 1893.[103] In addition, Catron leased land to Burns for sheep grazing while

Burns engaged in timber production.[104] During one point in time, Burns owned a surplus of sheep in the range of tens of thousands.[105] T.D. Burns, Reyes Gonzales, and Ed Sargent were among the most respected sheep-raisers in the New Mexico Territory.

A Calculated Attempt to Acquire Land

T.D. Burns and Thomas B. Catron's calculated exertion of political power is astonishing in its acceleration and breadth, and cannot be assessed without acknowledging the *Hispano* and Indigenous people they exerted control over in order to acquire their enormous landholdings and monetary wealth. Burns and Catron obtained land in Tierra Amarilla in the New Mexico Territory though political connections and collusion among politicians, merchants, judges, territorial bankers, and three of New Mexico's surveyor generals who participated in the Santa Fe Ring.[106] The Santa Fe Ring exploited the land's original Indigenous inhabitants and more broadly the local *Hispano* community, in a concerted effort that enabled a select group of men to own vast tracts of land and thus, assert their wealth and power.

The Santa Fe Ring extorted Spanish and Mexican land grant recipients for its members' greedy benefit. Obtaining large tracts of land often required land speculators to engage in fraudulent acts against homesteader claims, as part of a process that furthered the notion of westward expansion in accordance with the ideology of Manifest Destiny.[107] In their land speculation, T.D. Burns and Thomas B. Catron were akin to late nineteenth century robber barons such as J.P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, who dominated the geography of wealth acquisition and held monopolies in the northeastern United States.[108] Catron and Burns continually prioritized individual, or private land, over communal, or public, land ownership at the expense of *Hispano* and Indigenous peoples in the territory. Burns's and Catron's brazen act of *Hispano* land dispossession from original land grant claimants in Tierra Amarilla left a

haunting, indelible scar on northern New Mexico's history. Tens of millions of acres of communal property from the Spanish and Mexican land grants were expropriated through fraudulent and oftentimes illegal means. Furthermore, Burns and Catron engaged in land exploitation, including exercising control over natural resources, while dominating the local northern New Mexico community in order to extend their reaches. Burns's manipulation of land grants became known nationally when newspapers such as *The New York Herald* sent undercover reporters to investigate "'the New Mexico land thieves.'"[109]

Burns and Catron, along with Sargent, used both their Spanish and their economic transactions with local individuals and communities in order to gain land and grazing rights. As stated in the *Pagosa Sun* newspaper: "Burns is said to have spoken fluid Spanish and was trusted implicitly by the Hispanics living in the area. It is said he granted them credit in his store and in other ways and accepted title of their respective portions of the T[ierra] A[marilla] Land Grant as payment on their debts."[110] The declaration in the *Pagosa Sun* newspaper, expressing Burns's Spanish fluency and his strong influence over local *Hispanos*, was inseparable from the influence Sargent exerted over local *Hispanos* who were in debt.[111] The *Pagosa Sun* article claims that Burns engaged in chicanery, or purposeful trickery, for political, monetary, or legal purposes, and that "these Hispanics did not read or understand English and did not understand that the value of their titles vastly exceeded the amount of their debts."[112] Burns's land-grabbing chicanery is the kind of blatant deception that Reies Lopez Tijerina became incensed about when he raised awareness, via violent means, during the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse raid of 1967.[113]

A Tierra Amarilla Indian Agent: Haunting Happenings & Cultural Erasure

Alongside Gonzalez's and Burns's attempts to control land in the regions of Abiquiú and Tierra Amarilla, a story about an Indian agent further exposes the late nineteenth century

campaigns to take over Indigenous lands in the region. This section is meant to frame and contextualize my critical conversation on Indigenous land dispossession in the northern New Mexico region in the late 1800s. U.S. Indian Agent William F. Arny's policies symbolize a haunting happening that reflects the disastrous consequences of Indigenous cultural erasure. Arny and other agents were in control of the northern New Mexico Territory, holding steady to the rules of militias such as those in Tierra Amarilla.[114] Arny was an Indian Agent from 1861 to the Utes and Jicarilla, replacing Kit Carson, and he eventually resigned in 1875.[115] Oftentimes, force and violence were utilized to suppress Utes and retaliate against Ute attacks on land grant settlements.[116] U.S. Indian agents not only patrolled land as militia men, but they also exercised control over mineral rights in northern New Mexico. In 1867, Arny was assigned as an Indian Agent in Abiquiú, aware that the year previous, 1,200 had Utes had attacked Tierra Amarilla in their own retaliatory raid.[117] Thereafter, *Hispano* settlers of Tierra Amarilla moved to Abiquíu for refuge. Arny dealt with many conflicts with Utes and attempted to coerce them to move north to Colorado, but he was unsuccessful.[118] Arny observed that mining was a critical means of revenue for the area. And upon his initial exit as an Indian Agent in 1868, he hired himself as a prospector and panned for gold along the Rio de Chama, and into southern Colorado.[119] Arny was later appointed as a "Special Agent for the Indians of New Mexico" in March 1870 by President Ulysses S. Grant.[120]

After ongoing conflict with Utes, Arny eventually argued against militarized policy in the New Mexico Territory toward Indians, and believed that "social engineering" was the most appropriate tactic for negotiation.[121] The Indian agent was interested not in the removal and ultimate elimination of Indigenous tribes per se, but rather he was in favor of the Americanization or assimilation of Indigenous peoples into American cultural practices and

Christianity. Commenting on his own proposed tactic, Arny contends: "'The wild Indians of New Mexico are now in a condition to be placed upon reservations so as to be civilized, Christianized, and made self-sustaining.'"[122] During the late nineteenth century, it was common belief that Indigenous peoples must assimilate, be "Christianized," and forced to live on reservations. In 1892, during the "Conference of Charities and Correction" in Denver, Colorado, Captain Richard Henry Pratt uttered the infamous phrase: "Kill the Indian in him, and save the man."[123] Pratt's assertion stoked decades of assimilation practices that included sending Indigenous youth to boarding schools such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School founded by Pratt in 1879.[124]

The haunting psychological damage resulting from the practice of forcing cultural assimilation—often discussed as cultural genocide—onto Indigenous peoples continues today, intergenerationally across families and communities. Cultural, linguistic, and religious erasure of Indigenous peoples historically was, and continues to be, a constant threat from Euro-Americans who were intent on gaining control over Indigenous lands and lucrative environmental resources. During the late 1880s, however, Agent Arny's perspective was not initially well-received by fellow Euro-Americans in Indian affairs, especially regarding his plan to enact a process of socialization aimed at Indigenous peoples in the Southwest. Much to Arny's chagrin, Capote Utes in Tierra Amarilla refused to leave, controlling large areas of land surrounding the land grant villages.[125] In 1872, John Armstrong, the subsequent Indian agent, invited Ute Chief Sabota to a meeting in the land grant village of Las Nutrias in the New Mexico Territory.[126]

Chief Sabota's acceptance of a proposed meeting with Indian Agent Armstrong signaled a rare occurrence, and thereby a shift in dynamics marked a significant change in New Mexico-Ute relations. U.S. Indian Agent Armstrong intended to negotiate the removal of Utes from

Tierra Amarilla, yet what ultimately drove Utes and Apaches from northern New Mexico by 1878 were limited raiding opportunities as well as uncertain U.S. government aid.[127] After Indian Agent Armstrong's and Chief Sabota's meeting, The Battle of Tierra Amarilla broke out in the Chama River Valley between Sabota's men and Armstrong's cavalry, leaving one of Sabota's men dead.[128] Utes, and less forcefully, Jicarilla Apaches, battled for land in Tierra Amarilla against land grant settlers and mining speculators.[129] Eventually, land grant settlers triumphed as Tierra Amarilla today, if not much else of the surrounding Tierra Amarilla Land Grant, remains in the hands of its original heirs. Land grant settlers were at the center of reinforcing government Ute removal policies and practices in Tierra Amarilla.[130]

Ed Sargent: Prominent Sheep-Raiser & Local Businessman

Chapter Three reveals a continuous power struggle for Reyes Gonzalez and T.D. Burns, as well as Ed Sargent, my paternal great-grand uncle, as they engaged in pursuing ventures to gain access to land and wealth. Sargent was considered one of the predominant sheep-raisers in Rio Arriba County during the early twentieth century. During the late 1800s, political conflict arose between the U.S. Forest Service and *Hispano* villagers and livestock grazers in northern New Mexico.[131] According to *The Santa Fe New Mexican* newspaper, Sargent and fellow European immigrants, including the Irish-born Burns, displaced *Hispanos* on the eastern plains and northwest public lands in New Mexico. Sargent was able to accomplish this bold act of land dispossession despite not at first obtaining mountain land grazing permits, and also not benefiting from U.S. Forest Service grazing land.[132] Sargent, along with Frank Bonds, eventually did acquire numerous grazing permits from local *Hispanos* who were either hard-pressed for cash or deeply in debt. The contentious battle over grazing permits between stockmen showcases

a tumultuous and continuous conflict between local *Hispanos* and Euro-Americans over land ownership.[133]

Burns and Sargent share much in common, as businessmen intent on gleaning material riches from the land while leaving legacies punctuated by personal prosperity, wealth, power, and privilege. Like Burns, Sargent was of Irish heritage; his father John Henry Sargent was born in Ireland.[134] On April 1, 1877, Ed Sargent was born in Janeseville, Wisconsin. Sargent's mother was Mary Burns, sister of T.D. Burns, which makes Burns my grandfather John Sargent's maternal uncle, and also my maternal second great-grand uncle. The Sargent family resided in Whitewater, Wisconsin, from 1854 to1859, and in 1866 they settled in Tierra Amarilla, later becoming prominent landowners in the northern New Mexico Territory.[135] On the June 7, 1880 U.S. Census from Nutritas in the county of Rio Arriba County, Ed Sargent is listed as five-years old. He is living in the household of his thirty-six-year-old uncle Thomas Daniel Burns, and their family.[136]

Thomas "T.D." Burns directly participated in shaping the life and business acumen of his maternal nephew, Ed Sargent. While working as an employee under Burns in the small railroad-centered town of Chama, New Mexico, Sargent also worked in the Burns stores, eventually saving his earnings to start a business.[137] Sargent eventually owned several trading posts in the area, and ran sheep at Chaco Canyon in northwestern New Mexico during the winter months. At the height of Ed Sargent's sheep-raising career, he owned 20,000 acres in the Chama Valley, which was his summer sheep range.[138] Sargent eventually owned a home in Denver, Colorado and was director of the Union Stockyard, in addition to being involved with the Wool Warehouse in Albuquerque, New Mexico.[139]

As recorded in *The Santa Fe New Mexican* newspaper, Ed Sargent grazed land in Chaco Canyon, and ran 60,000 sheep in the surrounding area.[140] According to some accounts, Sargent controlled much of the entire Chaco Canyon region such that he greatly exceeded appropriate grazing, causing extreme environmental erosion.[141] Furthermore, newspaper documentation details the intense conflicts that arose between Sargent's *Hispano* sheepherders and local Navajos. Due to this cross-cultural Euro-American-*Hispano* tension, Sargent eventually lost his grazing privileges in the area.[142] In 1946, the U.S. government erected a fence that prevented livestock from grazing at Chaco Canyon. In 1948, the last Navajo family living in the canyon park area was relocated elsewhere.[143]

Ed Sargent's political prominence in the northern Rio Chama valley requires critical attention; I am convinced that Sargent's legacy has not been adequately viewed with an eye gazing toward his dominance over land and grazing privileges. As noted by Tom Wolf in a 1991 opinion piece in *The Santa Fe New Mexican,* at the peak of Sargent's career, he ran 25,000 to 30,000 head of sheep in Rio Arriba County.[144] Sargent also possessed title to 100,000 acres of grazing land. As a resident of Chama, New Mexico, Sargent held office as Lieutenant Governor for two terms in the 1920s, and was a Republican National Committee member for nearly a decade. Additionally, Sargent was a twenty-year-long organizer for the National Wool Marketing Group, and participated in the New Mexico Wool Growers Association. Furthermore, Sargent was director of Rosa Mercantile Company at Rosa, New Mexico, and director of the Bond-Sargent Company at Grants, New Mexico, as well as the Bond-Baker Company at Roswell, New Mexico.[145]

Sargent's landholding legacy extends into the current day as a vast domain of conserved land remains in his name, revealing his continuing dominance over public lands. The Edward

Sargent Wildlife Area was purchased in 1975 with funding from the National Conservancy and Federal Sportfish and Wildlife Restoration Act. The wild life area is located north of Chama in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico.[146] The Edward Sargent Wildlife Area's northern boundary extends to the southern Colorado border, encompassing a total of 20,209 acres.[147]

Conclusion

During the late 1800s in northern New Mexico, some families were comprised of blended *Hispano* and Euro-American family members. For example, both T.D. Burns and Ed Sargent married *Hispanas* who came from wealth and privilege. These intermixed *Hispano/a* and Euro-American families oftentimes held significant landholdings, thereby gaining even more political power and prestige. As a further example of adding to interfamily privilege, Sargent's brother John Henry Sargent, Jr., my great-grandfather, also became involved in the mercantile business in El Rito, New Mexico. John Henry Sargent's societal position was important since he was among several Sargent family members who were prominent Republicans in New Mexico.[148] According to John Henry Sargent, Jr.'s obituary published on December 26, 1934 in *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, he was a well-regarded merchant, and one of the foremost stockmen in the San Luis Valley of Colorado.[149] John Henry Sargent Jr., along with his brother Ed, participated in local and state politics of New Mexico, but he lived in Colorado. John Henry Sargent owned a mercantile store in Antonito, Colorado, circa 1949, as shown below. The store later burned down, but the photograph captures its existence for the historical record.

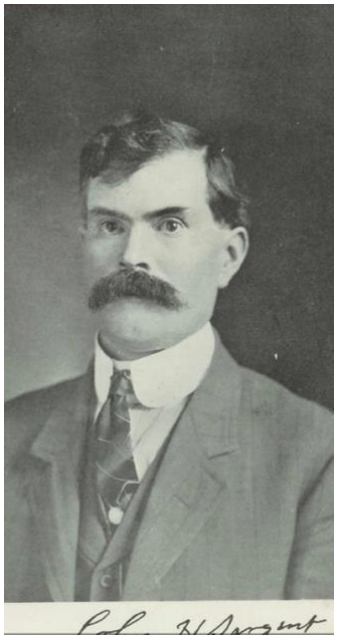


Figure 13: John Henry Sargent (1870-1934)
Photograph Source: Courtesy of Kay Quinlan

Figure 14: Mercantile store owned by John Henry Sargent in Antonito, Colorado (circa 1949)
Photograph Source: posted in *Forgotten Southern Colorado* Facebook group by Verna Jiron

Chapter Four

Accounting for Ghosts in the Archive

In this chapter, I invoke a creative methodological approach, derived from Avery F. Gordon, that mixes imagination and critique to access historical gaps and silences, while also emphasizing self-reflexivity with regard to my subject. My main sources for this chapter are biographical sketches in *History of Colorado*, a text published in 1919, as well as García family photographs, and accompanying stories from historical periodicals.[1] Here I center a visual analysis of these photographs, as well as analysis of the accompanying historical texts. On one level, this chapter is about the assertion of power by *Hispanos*, particularly the García family men, within a Euro-American-dominant Colorado territorial political environment and the broader American society. But on another level, it is about haunting and troubling absences, as well as presences, in the early Colorado historical archival record, and in the history of the García family itself, as its preserved and communicated through that record.

In this chapter, the haunting of the prominent García family happens through two tragic events. First, the death of Alejandro García (1883-1905) at age twenty-one.[2] Alejandro was the son of José Amarante García, sheriff and county judge of Conejos County, and the grandson of rancher, lawyer, and politician José Victór García. The chapter uncovers the effects of Alejandro García's untimely drowning in 1905. I address José Amarante's reaction to the traumatic experience of his son's death, and its haunting aftermath. Second, the chapter explores the elder García's role in overseeing public state executions in Colorado during the late 1880s. I examine the affective implications, the haunting emotional impact, of José

Amarante witnessing and participating in spectacles of violence during his public service in Conejos County, Colorado. García's role as sheriff and judge in Conejos necessitated his participation in state executions, which created a haunting and reverberating aftermath. Through considering these case studies of haunting, Chapter Four continues the dissertation's exploration of the often-overlooked region of Colorado's San Luis Valley, as a unique cultural-historical site. I examine García family oral and written histories to recover missing pieces of the vast *Hispano* cultural legacy of this region. Thus, I continue to build my story of how the cultural history of *Hispano* and Indigenous inhabitants endures, haunts, and ultimately allows for a space of healing and recovery.

A Hidden History of the San Luis Valley

The San Luis Valley— the largest alpine valley in the world is framed by the Sangre de Cristo Mountain Range and encompassing farmland, ranches, rivers, *acequias*, the Great Sand Dunes National Park, and many more natural and human features—is stunningly beautiful. Both the culture and landscape of the San Luis Valley deserve more academic recognition, and more reverence. In praising Virginia Sánchez's book, *Pleas and Petitions: Hispano Culture and Legislative Conflict in Territorial Colorado*, Ken Salazar—former U.S. Secretary of the Interior under President Barack Obama, as well as one-time U.S. Senator, Colorado Attorney General, and current U.S. Ambassador to Mexico under President Joseph Biden—declares that "Sánchez helps fill this void [of a "forgotten history"] by telling the story of the rich history and brave struggles of our ancestors in southern Colorado. Most natives of Colorado do not know precisely how and why the northern part of New Mexico became a part of Colorado."[3] Salazar, via Sánchez, reveals behind-the-scenes territorial

power plays in Colorado that affected *Hispanos* in the region, emphasizing that the majority of such inhabitants had limited agency in this political decision.

The "forgotten history" of southern Colorado mentioned by Ken Salazar exists largely as a hidden history, at least in academic spaces; the culture, history, and current-day lives of *Hispano/as* in the region has not been adequately studied and written about in academic scholarship.[4] It is worth acknowledging that Salazar is a *vecino*, or neighbor, whose ranch on the Conejos River is adjacent to our García ranch outside of Antonito. This association underscores the importance of ties between land, culture, community, and kinship. Southwest Studies scholars Estevan Rael-Gálvez, Devon Peña, and Virginia Sánchez, among others, have addressed the marginalization of *Hispanos* as well as Indigenous peoples.[5] In their work, each of these scholars creates a space for uncovering histories, and for expanding the breadth of knowledge regarding northern New Mexico and southern Colorado history, life, and culture.

Challenging Biographical Sketches in Early Colorado History

To understand the nuances of southern Colorado history, and tell the stories of people who have lived there, one must access alternative historical sources, and think about how to approach information that is and is not included there. One of these sources is a vintage history book focusing on biographical sketches of early "pioneers" of Colorado.[6] On one hand, the detailed biographical sketches included in this book provide a foundation for building family and community heritage. On the other hand, these sketches omit key details that animate complicated life stories. Early Colorado history biographical sketches also gloss over, or downright hide, historical hauntings.

In the 1919 text *History of Colorado*, a biographical sketch of José Amarante García is comprised of a written narrative, accompanied by a black-and-white photographic studio portrait.[7] The biographical entry highlights the political significance of García as a sheriff and judge in Conejos, Colorado. The sketch also references his father, José Victór García, thus highlighting that both father and son were *Hispanos* in highly respectable positions.[8] The José Amarante García biographical sketch begins by stating: "Judge García's father was an early pioneer who risked the hardships of frontier life, including the danger of Indian attack, and through self-sacrifice and courage he held in every conceivable way in promoting the advancement and prosperity that constituted the initial step in the development of the Territory of Colorado."[9] This is a celebratory portrayal. Stated differently, it conveys that José Victór García participated in the enactment of Manifest Destiny, since he furthered the expansion of the Colorado Territory while fending off "Indian attacks."[10] These attacks likely refer to conflicts involving Utes and Jicarilla Apaches, whom García would have understood as encroaching on his land in Conejos. The theme of José Victór García's involvement with Indigenous peoples who "attacked" his land also runs through Chapter Two of this dissertation.

José Amarante García's biographical sketch showcases his prominence as a public figure, demonstrating his influence in and over the local community. García's biographical narrative additionally points out his "Spanish" family's prominent position in southern Colorado. As per the *History of Colorado* sketch, García "left the impress of his individuality and influence as well as his ability upon the history of his section of the state and was a representative of one the best known and most highly honored of the Spanish families in southern Colorado."[11] That the family is categorized as "Spanish" demonstrates the García

family's position in the Spanish colonial caste system, according to which "Spanish" was considered the most "pure," elevated, and respected caste.[12]

As discussed in Chapter Two, in the late 1880s, José Amarante's father, José Victór García, was lauded as a prominent landowner and rancher. The elder García had earned a reputation representing the southern part of Colorado in territorial affairs, and in this way he opened an avenue by which his sons José Amarante and Celestino furthered his legacy in the years that followed. José Víctor's García's legacy conveyed power and privilege, and his son José Amarante García's own biographical entry in *History of Colorado* provides evidence of that legacy. Thus, the inclusion of both father and son's biographical sketches in the text indicates a practice of primogeniture inheritance, which refers to the eldest son exclusively inheriting family property, wealth, and also prestige. José Victór García's efforts to maintain his landholdings and public position as a Colorado territorial legislator in turn enabled him to transfer his land, wealth, and power intergenerationally to his eldest son, José Amarante. Biographical sketches like those in *History of Colorado* were intended to profile, highlight, and venerate influential Colorado societal figures, casting them as shining examples of service to their constituents and securing their place in history books for the sake of posterity.

A more in-depth "biographical sketch" might include the following description: José Amarante García, my paternal great-grandfather (1858-1918), a rancher, sheriff, and county judge, married Sofia Amada Espinosa de García (1865-1898) on July 22, 1881, and thereafter had six children together. After José Amarante García's first wife Sofia Amada Espinosa de García died in 1898, leaving behind their six children, José Amarante García married Sofia's younger sister, my great-grandmother, Teodora Espinosa (1878-1957), on August 1, 1889 in the small historical village of Saguache, Colorado, according to public marriage records.[13]

During the middle to late nineteenth century, it was common practice for a widower to marry his wife's sister in order to continue the family lineage.

Figure 15: José Amarante Garciá, Sofia Amada Espinosa de García, & children
Front row, left to right: Reginaldo, Rufino, Alejandro Cervante, Placida
Back row: Julianita Amada, Sofia Amada (mother), Maria Candelaria, José Amarante
Photograph Source: familysearch.org

Inserting Family Photographs into the Broader Historical Archive

A photograph taken during the late 1880s, and archived by the Auraria Library at the University of Colorado at Denver, and also the Chicano and Latino History Project, situates the García family as a prominent family in the San Luis Valley community of southern Colorado, which included *Hispano/as*, Indigenous peoples, and Euro-Americans.[14] The García family would have traveled to participate in the studio portrait session that produced the photograph. Photography studios were located in larger cities such as Alamosa, Trinidad, Pueblo, and Denver, Colorado. The black-and-white studio photographic portrait of José Amarante García and Teodora Espinosa de García, captured in 1889, was taken on the occasion of their wedding.[15] According to the Auraria Library's archival description, which

accompanies the photograph, García wears a dark suit and tie, has dark hair, and a full mustache. His bride Teodora wears a white lace wedding gown and veil. Furthermore, the description states that García held the position of Conejos County sheriff and was later elected county and probate court judge several times.[16]

Figure 16: José Amarante García & Teodora Espinosa de García in 1889
Photograph Source: digital.auraria.edu
Original Photograph: Courtesy of Frank Gallegos

The 1889 wedding studio portrait, shown above, demonstrates how, during the late nineteenth century, the García couple sought and managed to appear distinguished in style of dress, hairstyle, demeanor, and body language. Overall, the couple delivers visual cues that amount to a composed and poised presentation. Their style of dress reflects an elevated class standing (i.e., social status) as landed gentry in early Colorado history. In addition, the black-and-white portrait emphasizes the Garcías as an important couple. Its careful preservation adds additional evidence of the prestigious stature the family held within the community.[17] In *History of Colorado*, José Amarante García, and Teodora Espinosa de García, his second

wife, are captured in professional black-and-white portraits in 1912. Their portraits are shown below.[18]

Figure 17: Sheriff José Amarante García (1858-1918)
Photograph Source: García family collection

Figure 18: Teodora Espinosa de García (1878-1957)
Photograph Source: García family collection

Figure 19: José Amarante Garcia, Teodora Espinosa García, & children in 1912
Front row, left to right: José Victór, Jr., Sofia, Julián, Erinea, Amarante
Middle row: Candelaria, José Amarante, Avelina, and wife Teodora
Back row: Plácida, Reginaldo, and Rufina (from first wife, Sofia)
Photograph Source: digital.auraria.edu
Original Photograph: Courtesy of Frank Gallegos

In a García family portrait, shown above, and included in the Auraria Library's digital archive, José Amarante García and Teodora Espinosa de García are pictured with their blended family from his late first wife, Sofia Amada Espinosa de García.[19]

Figure 20: Captain José Julián Espinosa, José Amarante Garcia, Teodora Espinosa García, & children (circa 1909)
Front row, left to right: Erinea and Amarante
Middle row: José Victór, Jr., José Amarante, Teodora, baby Julián, Sofia
Back row: Plácida, Captain José Julián Espinosa
Photograph Source: denverdigitalibrary.org
Original Photograph: Courtesy of Frank Gallegos

An earlier studio photograph from 1909, shown above, captures Captain José Julián Espinosa, his daughter Teodora Espinosa, and her young family.[20] The black-and-white photograph showcases not only Teodora Espinosa de García, her husband José Amarante García, their blended family, but also Teodora's father, Captain José Julián Espinosa.

Considered as a set, these formal photographic portraits assert the García/Espinosa family's prominence in the southern Colorado community. The family's societal position, as represented and affirmed via these photographs, actively countered discrimination and marginalization of *Hispano/as* during the era in which the images were produced. This back-and-white studio portrait, as shown above, distinctly features José Julian Espinosa (1829-1912) from El Rito, New Mexico.[21] It appears that this photograph may have been taken in the family residence in Conejos. Espinosa's presence in the historical photograph affirms his

position as a central figure in his family, and an important member of society. Captain Espinosa presents himself as a distinguished, well-dressed, and impeccably groomed gentleman looming behind his daughter, Teodora de Espinosa, her husband, José Amarante García, and their children. The image showcases Captain Espinosa's dominant place, as the patriarch of the family, and within the broader community. For context, Captain José Julian Espinosa married María Rufina Montoya in 1852. The couple had sixteen children together in Saguache, a village located in the San Luis Valley.[22]

Centering Counternarratives in the Archive

The aforementioned Espinosa and García family studio photographs functioned similarly to photographic portraits of distinguished middle-class African American families during the nineteenth century. W.E.B. Du Bois, renowned public intellectual and sociologist, contributed photographs of African American families for the "American Negro" exhibit at the 1900 Paris Exposition.[23] Offering concrete, visual representation of well-to-do ethnic or racial minority families, as a strategy for upholding their class standing and position in society, is thereby a notable feature of the broader American historical archive.[24] During the late 1880s, both *Hispanos* and African Americans were regarded as minorities who frequently experienced discrimination, marginalization, and racism in American society.

Shawn Michelle Smith's interdisciplinary text *Photography on the Color Line: W.E.B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*, engages in a critical study of Du Bois's archive of 363 photographs of predominantly middle-class African Americans from the southern state of Georgia, which Du Bois entered in the "American Negro" exhibit at the 1900 Paris Exposition.[25] Due in part to the gold medal he received for this photographic archive at the exposition, Du Bois subsequently became an internationally famous African American

scholarly figure. Du Bois became an important figure within the discipline of sociology, as well as a public intellectual. Smith cites Du Bois's famous quote: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," and to help outline her project. She declares: "This book aims to recover the *visual* meanings of the color line, to excavate from Du Bois's initial conception the visual theater of racist projection and inscription, as well as an antiracist stance, which, for Du Bois, structures the process of racial identification."[26] Since the historical context of the American Negro Exhibit is different from our current context, Smith recognizes that she must "excavate" or reinterpret Du Bois's visual archive.

Smith explains that Du Bois's archive in fact comprises a "counterarchive," because it actively moves against racist ideologies that persisted during the time Du Bois compiled his photographs.[27] She argues that "Du Bois himself was an early *visual* theorist of race and racism." Smith describes her own aim as follows: "my task here [is] to make these images comprehensible once again for a contemporary audience, to recover their lost meaning, and to revitalize them as an antiracist visual archive."[28] Hence, Smith uncovers Du Bois's original intention to produce his photographic archive, while setting out to reshape the meaning of the archive for contemporary viewers.

In examining *Photography on the Color Line*, one must be aware of Smith's methodological approach to her interdisciplinary study. By stating that "critical comparative interpretive visual methodology" is her approach to studying Du Bois as a visual theorist, Smith reveals that her focus lies in comparative, or *archive-to-archive*, analysis in relation to the cultural and historical context that a given photographic archive is embedded within.[29] In order to clarify the significance of Du Bois's archive, Smith maintains that Du Bois, at least in part, meant to disrupt and "reject the whitewash of normative middle-class archives,

claiming a space for African Americans within the middle class" by providing a grouping of photographs showing well-to-do or middle-class African Americans.[30] Through Smith's provocative analysis of Du Bois's archive, and of the meaning of race both nationally and internationally, she makes a broad claim. This "book demonstrates how central race has been to visual cultural production," she explains, "how visual culture has also fundamentally shaped and informed the meaning of race in the United States."[31] By setting forth a critical comparative analysis of Du Bois's photographic archive, Smith provides a richly complex study of visual culture as it relates to race and dominant racist ideologies. For Du Bois, via Smith, photographs subvert established ideologies and challenge racist ideas.

In a similar way, the intentionally curated insertion of these impressive García family studio portraits into the broader historical archive maintained by the Denver Public Library can be read as building a counterarchive, one with sources that push against the perceived subaltern status of *Hispanos* in American society.[32] The Denver Public Library, along with the non-profit organization History Colorado, focus their archives on the influence of *Hispanos* on Colorado life and history. Their inclusion of photographs helps build a story about how *Hispanos* have lived in the region for many years.[33] This is analogous to how History Colorado, in particular, has worked to list many historical *Hispano* buildings, such as our García/Espinosa/Garland Ranch Headquarters, on the National Register of Historic Places (2019), and also has sponsored exhibitions that highlight the contributions of *Hispanos* to Colorado society.[34] An effort to collect and preserve *Hispano* family oral histories is also being undertaken by History Colorado, in addition to the Stephen D. Hart Research Center, as a resource for enhancing the public's understanding of family ancestry and genealogy.[35] History Colorado's archival work, along with my own centering of García

family counterarchives within the broader historical archive, aims to destabilize racial ideologies, hopefully in the way that Du Bois originally imagined.

The Haunting Drowning of Alejandro García

In 1905, the same year that my paternal grandmother Margaret Sargent was born in El Rito, New Mexico, Alejandro García, the brother of her future husband's father, José Amarante García, perished in a river crossing accident high above Chama, New Mexico, in southern Colorado.[36] In 2017, on a spring day high in the rugged San Juan Mountain wilderness of southern Colorado, near the summit of Cumbres Pass, and at an elevation 10,022 feet, the fate of Alejandro García would become evident to me. While driving over Cumbres Pass, my father, my partner, Alex, and I stopped to observe a Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area historical signboard. The signboard features a brief narrative of Alejandro García's tragic death. A black-and-white photograph showcasing Alejandro García as a distinguished young man, is also included on the informational signboard. I wondered about the fuller story of Alejandro and his premature demise in the mountains of southern Colorado/northern New Mexico.

Figure 21: My father, Reyes, at Apache Canyon Overlook in 2017
Photograph Source: taken by the author

Figure 22: A closer image of the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area signboard at Apache Canyon Overlook
2017
Photograph Source: taken by the author

As shown above, this black-and-white portrait of Alejandro García, circa 1901, is positioned on the top right corner of the left-hand portion of the board, underneath the title: "The Secret Died with Him."[37] The photograph of a teenage Alejandro—gazing off to the side, dressed formally in a dark suit and tie, and hair parted down the middle—was contributed by the Castelar García Collection.[38] According to a story told orally by my great-uncle Castelar García about his paternal uncle Alejandro García, Alejandro was working with cattle (rather than sheep as discussed in an alternative account). According to Castelar's story, over one hundred years ago, Alejandro gathered cows near the top of Cumbres Pass, Colorado.[39] He always carried a geologist's pick with him on horseback and if he had the opportunity, he would search the land for gold, silver, or other minerals of value.[40]

Castelar García's oral history states that one day in the fall, Alejandro drank water from a fresh water spring and he discovered gold ore nearby.[41] García claims that Alejandro's fellow cattleman said that Alejandro would depart camp, and return in the amount of time it took to cook flapjacks, with saddlebags filled with gold.[42] The narrative continues on to describe Alejandro's tragic demise, stating that during the spring of the following year, Alejandro was forging Little Wolf Creek when he was swept away by the current and drowned.[43] As orally recalled by Castelar, his family members held a strong suspicion that Alejandro was actually killed because the young man refused to disclose the location of the gold mine to anyone.[44] In this version of his death, Little Wolf Creek replaces the Chama River, which was recorded by an article in the *Alamosa Independent Journal*, as will soon be discussed. According to the oral history, many people searched for the alleged gold mine discovered by Alejandro, but were unsuccessful in the venture.[45] Today its location is still unknown. It is difficult to discern how factually accurate Castelar García's story is overall; the detail about the gold is likely not verifiable, since no evidence of Alejandro's wealth has ever been discovered. But whatever the veracity of the story, Castelar's recorded oral history endures on written signage, and it still has haunting effects as it is passed down through the generations.

During a visit to the Conejos cemetery in 2019, I was emotionally struck again when I observed Alejandro García's headstone (23 October 1883 – 20 May 1905), because of his young age when he died.[46] A photograph of Alejandro's headstone is shown below. On the headstone, it appears that a younger sibling, Julian, is buried with him in the Conejos cemetery. My curiosity sparked once more, and I resolved to learn about the still mysterious circumstances surrounding his early death, beyond what I had read on the signboard near

Cumbres Pass. I recalled observing Alejandro García as a young boy in family photographs, yet I never knew why his image ceased to appear in later family portraits. With the knowledge that I have now, his ghostly image now haunts those family photographs. Alejandro experienced his own haunting loss when is mother Sofia Amada Espinosa died of tuberculosis in 1898, when he was fourteen years old.[47]

Figure 23: Alejandro García (1883-1905) headstone in Conejos Cemetery in 2019
Photograph Source: taken by the author

Performing further research, I found additional information on Alejandro García's death in the Colorado Historic Preservation Society Newspapers Collection. This information offers an alternative to the account of Alejandro's drowning featured on the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area signboard. The *Alamosa Independent Journal* article from May 26, 1905 is entitled: "Young García Drowned."[48] The subtitle of the article states: "Untimely End of a Very Prominent Young Man in Chama River." The news story is dispatched from Conejos, Colorado, and dated May 23, 1905. The article refers to the death of Alejandro, son of José Amarante, who drowned in the Chama River on May 20, 1905.[49] According to the newspaper story, Alejandro was twenty-one years of age and "the pride of his father's heart,

having lavished upon him all that money could buy in the way of education."[50] Throughout the generations, education was the primary focus for the García family. Alejandro García's formal education was clearly critical to the family, and a family legacy that places emphasis on education continues to this day.

Alejandro García's life story begins with notable successes, and the wealth of potential that came with being the son of a prosperous family, a son whose notable father was the sheriff and judge of Conejos County. According to the *Alamosa Independent Journal,* Alejandro graduated from the Barnes Commercial College in Denver with high honors, and thereafter told his father that he wished to go into business.[51] The young man stated his intention to repay his father, José Amarante, for the money he had contributed to his son Alejandro's education.[52] The newspaper article further notes that José Amarante García had become a large sheep-holder over the last several years and, as the story continues, sheep were shipped to Chama for "lambing purposes, and Alejandro was assigned the duty of overseeing the herd and the herders."[53] The story indicates that the sheep were located a few miles above the town of Chama, New Mexico. As the newspaper's narrative unfolds, it discloses that: "Alejandro thinking the pasture was better on the other side of the river, went to investigate and crossed in the presence of the herder, the herder going back to camp."[54] Later in the evening, the herder recognized Alejandro's absence in the sheep camp, but was not alarmed since another sheep camp was located nearby. The herder thought he returned to that camp instead.[55] According to the story, the following morning, Alejandro's horse was found alone bridled, saddled, and wet from head to tail.[56]

One can imagine the haunting sight of Alejandro's horse, prepared for riding but missing a rider. Paired with the young man's absence, it would have surely been cause for

alarm. The story explains that, shortly thereafter, the sheep herder went between camps, but failed to find Alejandro, eventually coming to the conclusion that he drowned in the Chama River.[57] According to the *Alamosa Independent Journal*, the sheep herder descended into Chama to call for help, and then upwards of thirty to forty men searched the river for the young man's body.[58] Returning from the camp, located a mile below the river crossing, searchers spotted a body lying on a sand bar. The body was retrieved "at a great risk."[59] In the meantime, at the high mountain railroad settlement of Osier, Colorado, José Amarante was informed of the news "and became so crazed with grief that he started for Chama on horseback. His grief, when he learned that the body had not [yet] been found, was pitiful to see."[60] As sheriff and county judge, José Amarante had dealt with difficult scenes, including presiding over the public execution that will be discussed later. Yet learning of his own son's drowning was too much to bear, as it was such a sudden and personal loss.

The *Alamosa Independent Journal* notes that José Amarante's horse became exhausted traveling to Chama, so he started to return to Colorado, and then held up a passing train on its way to Chama.[61] José Amarante finally learned that his son's body had been discovered and retrieved from the river. On May 23, 1905, a funeral was held at Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish. The historic Catholic church, located in Conejos, is listed as the oldest church in Colorado.[62] Alejandro García's funeral was a large and beautiful service. The conclusion of the newspaper story states: "A touching occurrence was the arrival of the boy's grandfather, Julian Espinosa of Saguache, who, on account of a delayed train, was only able to get here in time to see the remains lowered in to their last resting place."[63] This interaction between living grandfather and departed grandson, a solemn, yet deeply meaningful occurrence, offers solace within the story. The Conejos Cemetery where Alejandro is buried

is located near the old white García family house, and its proximity would have served as a constant reminder to his family of the irreplaceable life lost. In other words, his grave in the nearby cemetery would have haunted them. The house remains today, and is still owned by the García clan. Now the residence itself appears hauntingly abandoned, as its original splendor has long faded, and its windows are covered with wooden boards.

For Alejandro's father, seething grief mingled with an awareness of a profound absence, as he mourned the loss of future years to be experienced with his son. José Amarante had experienced the loss of his first wife Sofia Amada Espinosa in 1898, and now in 1905, that of his beloved son. These losses, and the absences they created, demarcate hauntings that echo today. The Sangre de Cristo National Heritage historical board especially, which references Alejandro's drowning, symbolizes an ever-present reminder, to our García family, local Colorado and New Mexico community members, and tourists who pass through, of this tragic loss of a promising young life.

A sense of the deep and enduring familial absence created by Alejandro García's death is reflected in the *Alamosa Independent Journal* article's closing statement. The article's final words reflect Alejandro García's premature passing, and the loss of his father's potential protégé: "Everyone mourns with Sheriff García. He has lost a dutiful son, a bright, and intelligent boy, and one who might have been his mainstay during the later years of his life."[64] Any loss of life is something to mourn, but from the vantage point of the García family history, Alejandro's death is especially haunting because he was regarded as an exceptionally bright, focused, and loyal son, one who held potential to continue his father's legacy in public life and service. For this reason, the example of Alejandro's death produced a bold and ghostly haunting and had wide-reaching repercussions.

The drowning death of a young man is not only a tragic event, but also a haunting event. Alejandro's death was born out of a closeness that the García family had to land and water. And, as a haunting, Alejandro's death would have lingered and reverberated, as family members inevitably wondered how the death could have been avoided. For the García family, who were practicing Catholics, a sudden event like this accidental drowning would probably have prompted reflections about how and why this event happened in relation to God's will. In all likelihood, close family members would have struggled with a sense of guilt, and the loss would provoke prayers and mourning.

The haunting of a life cut short, entwined with Alejandro García's lost potential, not only for his immediate family, but also the Conejos County community, resounds through these stories. Here a young man's tragic absence becomes a lingering haunting presence. Trauma, loss, and acute grief seep and settle into fissures of the past, and also exist in faded remnants today. Trauma and haunting occurrences shroud the present, and possibly foreshadow the future. Although Alejandro García's tragic story was recorded in a regional newspaper, it could easily fall into obscurity, and be forgotten with the passing of time. The Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area signboard also assists in creating awareness of this story. With this in mind, it becomes the responsibility not only of family members, but of current and future Southwest Studies scholars, to keep memories of this sort alive. We do this by telling stories that are often on the verge of being forgotten altogether. The tragic loss of a young life forces us to reckon with Alejandro's ghost, and the pressing, haunting question of what could have been as it lingers in family lineage and local history.

Figure 24: Sheriff José Amarante García
Photograph Source: taken by the author in 2017
Original Photograph: García family collection

Another photograph (a cropped version is shown above) on the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area historical signboard, captured around 1901, shows Sheriff José Amarante García on horseback transporting large metal milk cans full of trout to stock García Lake in Cumbres.[65] The photograph was taken in the same year as the aforementioned portrait of his son Alejandro García. The Cumbres-Toltec train tracks can be seen in the background of the image.

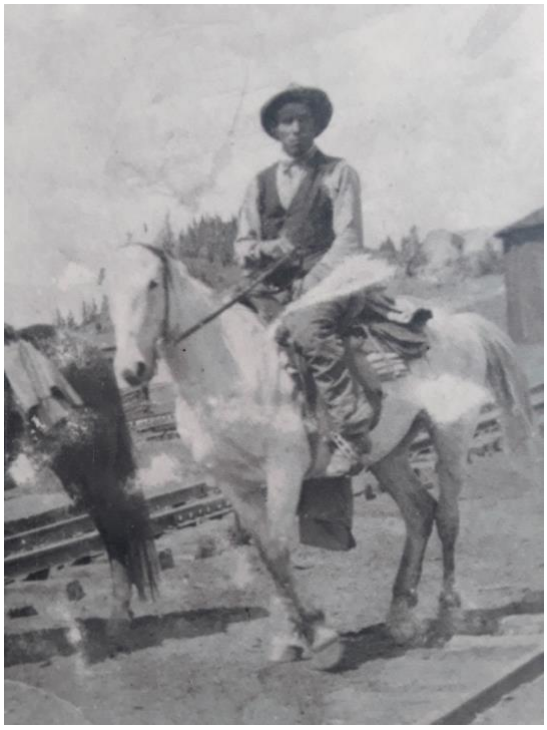


Figure 25: José Amarante García (1905-1959)
Photograph Source: taken of the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area signboard in 2017
Original Photograph: García family collection

A separate photograph (a cropped version is shown above) positioned on the signboard shows a male figure atop a white horse. This photograph shows my paternal grandfather, my father's father, who was named in turn after his father: also, José Amarante García. The image is one of the few known photographs of him. My father and I were surprised to observe the rare photograph prominently displayed. The lack of images of my grandfather within our family is haunting in itself. Here my grandfather is shown sitting on a saddled white horse in between the Cumbres-Toltec railroad tracks. The setting for the photograph appears to be near Osier, Colorado. Osier is an old railway settlement and train stop situated on Colorado State Highway 17, midway on the train's journey from Antonito, Colorado, to Chama, New Mexico.[66] The Cumbres and Toltec coal-fueled train is still in operation, and is one of the most popular tourist ventures in the region.

The caption accompanying the 1901 photograph of Sheriff José Amarante García on the National Heritage Area signboard includes a statement by Castelar García, describing the lifeways of *Hispanos* in the region at the turn of the century. García states: "Ranching was a way of life. With the railroad came the telegraph. The telegraph was used to send important messages from the García Ranch [in Osier] to the towns down the mountain."[67] Again, the photograph appears courtesy of the Castelar García Collection. García's narrative continues as he asserts: "The land was, and remains, a focal point of the García family. It provides a deep sense of history and self-worth. For each new generation it is a reminder that if ancestors could achieve great things, so can we."[68] Land is similarly reflected upon in oral family narratives over the years; it remains a tremendously powerful feature of familial identity.

To this day, land stewardship and environmental conservation is valued and encouraged within our García family. Our family history continues to embrace the intimate connections between land, history, and cultural identity. This project emphasizes the notion that *Hispano* history matters. By uncovering lesser-known, complex histories of the San Luis Valley, through stories of figures such as José Amarante García and his son Alejandro García, as I do in this chapter, intergenerational connections are forged. My interest in recovering these stories is about keeping life stories and local history alive as well as accessible for current and future generations.

A Spectacle of Violence: A Second Haunting for Sherriff García

Another haunting within the García family is communicated through another photograph from the late nineteenth century in Colorado. Located in the Denver Public Library "Photographs of Western History" Special Collection, the black-and-white image

depicts the "last [legal] hanging in Conejos."[69] The photograph shows the 1888 hanging of José Abram Ortiz at Conejos for the murder of a man whose name is recorded only as LaDuke.[70] Accompanying summary notes explain that, in the image, Sheriff José Amarante García and Deputy Jack Eels flank José Abram Ortiz, who is bound by ropes on wooden gallows set up outside of the *adobe* jail in Conejos. In the image, Sheriff García is reading the execution sentence. Male spectators wearing wide-brimmed hats stand or sit on the fence and observe the execution.

According to the Denver Public Library's special collections, the photograph's handwritten archival description states that the last legal hanging occurred in Conejos County, twenty-two miles west of La Jara, before a new state statue mandated that executions be confined to the state penitentiary.[71] In the late 1880s, the Conejos Plaza was situated across from the current-day Conejos County courthouse. From a contemporary perspective, the presence of numerous spectators at a hanging in that *plaza* is disturbing; one can imagine a gawking crowd, gathered to witness a barbaric act of state-sanctioned murder. During the late 1880s, local citizens were expected to attend and to watch the public reckoning of a murderous crime, as a means to deter against future crime. In order to glean a deeper meaning, one must read between the lines of these historical archival descriptions since, at face value, the stated information only includes the bare facts.

Here, my visual analysis of the Conejos execution demonstrates how this historical photograph communicates a visual and visceral haunting. As previously noted, haunting is a term used to convey the after-effects of trauma. Haunting can be transmitted orally or visually or in writing, within generations of a family or intergenerationally, and more broadly, within a cultural community. I recognize that Sheriff García thought he was

enacting a legal and moral punishment for Ortiz's crime of murder, but I also know that the he felt physically ill after this execution took place. Our family archive contains a written narrative, by my father Reyes García, that describes Sheriff García's immediate reaction to this execution as it was observed by his wife, Sofia Amada Espinosa de García. Sofia's sister, Teodora, and my father's grandmother, relayed the story to him as it was told to her by her sister. García also witnessed other public executions in southern Colorado.[72]

Figure 26: Sheriff José Amarante García presides over the "Last Legal Hanging in Conejos, Colorado" in 1888
Photograph Source: Denver Public Library Special Collections: denverdigitallibrary.org

In the 1888 black-and-white photograph, Sheriff García reads the execution sentence to the condemned criminal José Abram Ortiz before an audience of approximately a dozen male spectators, as they await Ortiz's imminent execution.[73] The male spectators are framed at the bottom right edge of the photograph with their heads tilted upwards, as shown by their angled hats, at Sherriff García, Deputy Eels, and the convicted criminal, who stands on the raised wooden platform or scaffold. The overall visual analysis of the photograph reveals the scene as a visual exhibition, or spectacle, of Colorado state-sanctioned violence.

The execution's staging in the Conejos Plaza indicates an intention for the punishment to serve as an example and warning to the public. Today, the Conejos County Courthouse, and several dilapidated business buildings still remain on the Conejos Plaza, but are no longer in use for the public, except for a title company. Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish, "the oldest church in Colorado," first built in 1863 as an *adobe* church which later burned, is positioned adjacent to Ortiz's site of execution, and in the line of site from the gallows outside the county jail, creating a juxtaposition between a religious authority that places religious emphasis on guilt, shame, and contrition, and the civil authorities who punished those determined to be guilty by the court of law.[74] Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish's close proximity to the execution site would have served as a reminder for the public to abide by the law, whether that be societal laws or religious laws.

As stated in *History of Colorado*, José Amarante García was a man who was deeply committed to his Roman Catholic faith.[75] José Amarante and his wife Teodora Espinosa de García attended Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish in Conejos—a stained-glass window with Teodora's name adorned on it still exists in the church.[76] Thus, the sheriff would have been aware of the consequences of a crime like murder from a devoutly religious perspective. But he also might have recalled the story of Jesus on the cross when he thought about public executions. As the execution clearly troubled the sheriff's conscience, he and his wife probably prayed over, and perhaps even discussed with their priest, these criminal punishments by death.

I contend that the execution of José Abram Ortiz in Conejos triggered a haunting aftermath, one that marks a delayed emotional and psychological reaction to the horrors of a violent and highly visible, albeit state-sanctioned, killing. During the 1888 execution of

Ortiz, and during other state-sanctioned executions in Colorado, Sheriff García was obligated to remain composed in his official state role, and therefore to disguise his emotions during the public spectacle. But according to a written family account, and contrary to Sheriff García's outward public appearance, he was privately deeply distraught over the event. With this in mind, it seems a near certainty that his psyche became haunted for the remainder of his life in Conejos, Colorado.

According to an article in the *Colorado Springs Gazette* from July 17, 1889, Sheriff García, along with Deputy Sheriff Eels, led Ortiz up the gallows scaffolding at 10:00 A.M.[77] Sheriff García held the powerful position of publicly delivering Ortiz's sentence. García also almost certainly stated the command to release the convicted, and he may have noosed Ortiz from the wooden gallows, so that the convict would fall to his brutal death, below eye-level, but always facing the public spectators. Death resulting from hanging is not quick and painless, but rather drawn out over minutes and incredibly violent, as the neck bones break upon the gravitational release of the body.[78] One wonders how the spectators gathered in the Conejos Plaza reacted. Was there solemn silence, or were there jeers and taunting? In the *Colorado Springs Gazette* article, it does not describe how the audience reacted. Since this was the last such execution in Conejos County, citizens would cease to participate in such public spectacles, and state violence would slip from sight as it was moved to state penitentiaries.[79]

As recalled by Reyes Roberto García, my father, in personal typewritten papers from 1972, based in turn on family oral history, Sheriff García—Reyes's grandfather—observed multiple executions over the years of his public service as Conejos County sheriff and judge.[80] Sheriff García is remembered, in the text *History of Colorado*, as "a friend to the

poor and unfortunate," who came to their aid when asked for assistance.[81] According to our García family archive, he was also in favor of enacting justice for crimes committed. It was said he could track a criminal on horseback across the dry earth. Local folklore states that Sheriff García was known as far away as Atlanta, Georgia, because no escaping criminal could escape his clutches.[82] In addition, as recounted by my father in his father's archival papers: "[Sheriff García] was a stern judge of the guilty, although it was his responsibility for condemning men to hang. It was always a traumatic experience for him to preside over a hanging. According to his wife he would come home yellow and green after a hanging some afternoons and vomit all night."[83] Sheriff García understood himself as carrying an enormous responsibility to hold criminals accountable for their actions, yet he was not a man without feeling and emotion. Perhaps he carried a deep sense of guilt. The trauma that García experienced witnessing violent executions would haunt his life long after his work as sheriff ended. Those public executions would also leave an indelible mark on Conejos County history.

The fact that Sheriff García would come home physically ill after a state-sanctioned execution demonstrates—in an intensely corporal way—the haunting after-effects of participating in and witnessing violent acts first-hand. For his nineteen years as sheriff and two terms as a county judge in Conejos, García played his public role as an official enactor of justice, yet he also had a conscience plagued by self-reflexive thoughts, feelings, and emotions for the deeds he was responsible for, which spanned many decades.

In homage to Avery F. Gordon's advocation of blending imagination and critique, I argue that a haunting lingered for José Amarante García long after Ortiz's execution occurred. The haunting effects of trauma lasted far beyond when the historic photographic

officially entered the record in Colorado state record books and archives. Despite the comfort and companionship his wife Sofia would have offered at the time, when García returned home after witnessing an execution, I suggest here that he could not escape his association with the traumatic event.

Sheriff García would have contended with the psychological effects of the public execution throughout his life. The Conejos Plaza gallows existed less than half a mile south from the García family's residence, thus serving as a constant, ghostly reminder of the execution. The close proximity of the García family home to the execution gallows, as well as the Conejos Cemetery where his son was buried, represented an impossibility for Sheriff and later Judge García to distance himself from the experience of trauma, and the psychological, emotional, and physical effects it brings with it. People can be haunted in a multitude of ways, and there are emotional, and perhaps even spiritual, consequences of encountering ghosts. Ghosts emerge, whether though the sudden and premature death of a beloved son, as in the case of Alejandro García, or through the traumatic experience of José Amarante presiding over public executions in rural Conejos County.

Conclusion

I argue that the García family's curated cultural legacy, featuring its positive contributions to early Colorado history, is rendered complicated by the two aforementioned hauntings. Stated differently, García family members served their communities and created potential for future generations within the family, yet the family legacy is complicated by these two haunted, ghostly, and melancholic events. Visual photographic representation in history books, public exhibitions, and local literature provided a space to actively challenge marginalization, as well as cultural erasure, while encouraging a sense of cultural pride

regarding educational accomplishments and contributions to American society. Although the García family legacy remains complicated, due in large part to José Victór García's participation in Indigenous enslavement as discussed in Chapter Two, it nonetheless reveals that by being respected landowners, ranchers, legislators, and judges, the García's position in society mattered.

Figure 27: José Amarante García, my grandfather at left, holding *History of Colorado*
Sister Sevilla García Trambley & brother, Julián García, holding their father, Sheriff García's revolver
Photograph Source: García family collection (Courtesy of Aggie García, daughter of Julián)

Conclusion
Countering Hauntings by Centering *Querencía*

To conclude this project, I return to the personal sense of haunting that I feel regarding my great-great-grandfather's "ownership" of enslaved Indigenous persons, in his household, on his ranch in Conejos. I carry responsibility, as the descendant of a slaveholder. Here my responsibility requires that I expose this unknown story. Yet, I wonder too about elements missing even from the story I tell here. For the purpose of this American Studies dissertation, my research and writing has been limited to a narrow scope, legible primarily within the field of Southwest Studies. And even within that scope, questions remain about Indigenous enslavement that require further research. I am thinking especially about questions related to the everyday experiences of enslaved people. For example: where exactly did the enslaved Indigenous individuals within José Victór García's household live? What rooms did they inhabit, within the walls of the *adobe* house where my family still resides? What kinds of labor did these individuals perform? How were they treated by my great-great-grandfather and his family? Above all, who *were* these enslaved Indigenous youths? What family did they leave behind when they became captives? How would this story look different told from their perspective, rather than that of my family? Many more questions abound. Further research may reveal answers. Or perhaps these pieces of the story are impossible to know.

Estevan Rael-Gálvez notes that many people living in New Mexico and southern Colorado today are descendants of enslaved, or formally enslaved, *genízaros*. He states: "There's not a single Nuevomexicano, and by that, I mean this entire region in Colorado as well, who cannot trace their ancestry back to at least one individual enslaved and indigenous."[1] To date I have found no evidence, through current genealogical research, that enslaved Indigenous peoples

were also family members in our García/Espinosa/Gonzales lineage. But we do have Indigenous ancestry. And certainly, for many *Hispano* families in New Mexico, the following question is also crucial: what does it mean to be a descendant of both a *Hispano* slaveholder and Indigenous enslaved persons?

My intervention into Southwest Studies scholarship, within the discipline of American Studies, is to bring a sharper awareness to the detrimental effects of Indigenous enslavement in the Southwest, specifically through revealing and critiquing my own García family history. I argue that when this dark chapter of Southwestern history is grappled with by scholars and community members alike, as something that is still powerfully present, then a generative response can occur. Only when Indigenous slavery and land dispossession, and their associated hauntings, are reckoned with is there potential for the colonial master narrative to be countered. Thereby, a possibility exists for the master narrative to eventually be usurped and replaced with a constructive, regenerative space, as an antidote to haunting for future generations. Stated differently, to recognize haunting is also to understand that after a trauma occurs, a potential for a generative response opens up that can span across generations.

Countering the Haunting After-Effects of Assimilation

As my dissertation makes clear, my family's troubling legacy of slaveholding exists alongside its efforts to make it as a *Hispano* family in the Euro-American-dominated political and social landscape of territorial New Mexico and southern Colorado. The García family encountered discrimination, and also actively countered such discrimination in its bid to assimilate into mainstream culture. Thus, a continual theme in this dissertation project speaks to *Hispano/a* efforts to assimilate into dominant Euro-American society. Yet, the García family story also makes clear that *Hispanos* simultaneously worked to retain their longstanding

traditions, and exercised pride in their unique cultural heritage. According to oral family history, my paternal grandmother, Margaret Sargent García (1905-1992), intentionally called *Nuevomexicano* food "Spanish" food rather than Mexican or Mexican American cuisine.[2] I believe my *nana* experienced a sense of internalized discrimination and racism based on the notion of *limpieza de sangre*, or the purity of blood, (i.e., hierarchies of difference; the racialized caste system in New Mexico).

Figure 28: Margaret Sargent (1905-1992)
Graduation portrait from the Loretto Academy
in Santa Fe, New Mexico (circa 1923)
Photograph Source: García family collection

Figure 29: Margaret Sargent García & José Amarante García at leisure in Cumbres, Colorado (circa 1935)
Photograph Source: García family collection

Figure 30: Teresa García Graham (1936-1961), her daughter, Victoria, & border collie, Prince in Antonito, Colorado
Photograph Source: García family collection

Margaret, my *nana*, and my grandfather, Amarante (1905-1959), as he was called, shown in a photograph above, encouraged their children: my father, Reyes Roberto García (1946-), his older brother José Amarante Eduardo García (1938-2010), and older sister, Teresa García Graham (1936-1961) (shown above with her daughter, Victoria), to speak English in the household rather than Spanish.[3] My father asserts that his own lack of fluency in Spanish is due to his parents dissuading their children from speaking Spanish during everyday life, as a result of their experiences with racism, especially while the family was living, for a period in the 1950s, in the Pacific Beach neighborhood of San Diego, California.

According to my father, his parents encouraged their children to speak English as their primary language because of the discrimination and racism they experienced. During the 1950s in America, racism was especially prevalent against people of Mexican descent. Despite the García family understanding themselves as *Hispano*, they were still perceived as Mexicans by Euro-Americans around them. The García family's experience with discrimination in San Diego—undoubtedly similar to experiences of other *Hispano* families—was due to a lack of public knowledge about cultural and ethnic differences. When people lack nuanced understandings of specific cultural, ethnic, regional, and even national differences, it causes people to conflate terms, lump identities together, and therefore make sweeping generalizations, which are damaging to people of different and complex cultural and ethnic backgrounds and heritages.

For *Hispanos* living in the Southwest, experiences with discrimination are unfortunately still common among people across varying socio-economic backgrounds and positions in society. As an example, I learned that Ken Salazar experienced discrimination even as a state senator of Colorado. In a 2006 *New York Times* article by Kirk Johnson, Salazar asserts: "The

story of Hispanics in America has not been told." In his political and governmental roles as Colorado senator, Secretary of the Interior under President Barack Obama, and now as U.S. Ambassador to Mexico under President Joseph Biden, Salazar has stepped in to tell the stories of *Hispanos* in America.[4]

My project marks an effort to tell these stories that are untold. Further on in the *New York Times* article, Kirk writes about how Salazar and his family have been living in the U.S. for a very long time (as is the case with the García family in southern Colorado.) The article states: "Mr. Salazar is not an immigrant. His family roots can be traced to Spain, and Salazars help found Santa Fe, N.M. in the late 1500's, decades before the Mayflower set sail. That also means, technically speaking, that he is not quite Mexican-American, as he sometimes says, because his ancestors arrived before there was a Mexico, or a United States, for that matter. 'It was a border that came over us, Mr. Salazar said. 'We didn't come over the border.' "But he is a personal witness to ethnic bigotry, he said. 'I've been taunted, called names – from dirty Mexican to lots of other names – as I was growing up [in the San Luis Valley], and even now as a United States senator,' Mr. Salazar said."[5] In connection with Salazar's statements, my project is meant to educate scholars, students, and the general public, about how *Hispanos* have lived in the borderlands of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado over a long period of time. By employing haunting as my methodology, I have sought to tell this story in a way that is honest too about *Hispano*-Indigenous power dynamics, and about the difficult parts of the *Hispano* legacy in this region. Salazar points out that long-established families belong in the *Hispano* cultural community. I recognize that we must also raise awareness through education about this community, but only in relation to Indigenous peoples belonging in the San Luis Valley as well.

Hence, my attention to the complex *Hispano*-Indigenous interactions and histories analyzed in this dissertation.

Querencía: A Sense of Homeland & Belonging

Past and perhaps present episodes of discrimination against *Hispano/as* can be countered through current generations speaking Spanish, or learning to speak Spanish, and thereby embracing one's own cultural heritage and lineage. Along with *Indo-Hispano* scholars like Enrique Lamadrid and *genízaro* scholars such as Moises Gonzales, I also argue that to counter prejudice and "ethnic bigotry," *Hispanos* must practice engaging with *querencía*.[6] The concept of *querencía*, Spanish for a sense of homeland, embodies ongoing awareness of how acute psychological and emotional damage caused by discrimination, forced assimilation, and the scars of Indigenous enslavement, that my ancestors participated in, remains present. Yet, it also embodies a sense of hope that the damage can be countered, challenged, and healed by the cultivation of shared connections with the land. In other words, the notion of *querencía* marks a response to hauntings.

My contention is that *querencía*, maintaining or recovering a sense of homeland, provides an opportunity for *Hispanos* to confront traumatic hauntings, thus creating a sense of balance and equanimity. *Querencía* can further symbolize the act of identity being found. *Querencía* is also a Spanish term that references the safe place in the bullring where a bull makes his stand against the *matador*, or bullfighter. But *querencía* could be translated most literally as "fondness."[7] The term *querencía* conveys a strongly rooted sense of place, homeland, and belonging. In the first sense, *querencía* could also be understood as a "haunt" or a "lair," a place where an animal feels safest.[8] Furthermore, *querencía* implies a place that is frequented, familiar, and a space that

provides a sense of equilibrium for long-term inhabitants of a specific locale. More generally and more commonly, and for my purpose, *querencía* means "longing for or maintaining awareness of the continuing existence of homeland" and epitomizes the strong cultural bond and a profound feeling of connection between family, land, and heritage.[9]

Moreover, I contend that *querencía* can also extend to Indigenous peoples who have been haunted intergenerationally by land dispossession and enslavement in the Southwest. The concept of *querencía*—especially regarding an intangible closeness to the natural world and notions of homeland—along with *survivance*, a concept innovatively utilized by scholar and creative writer Gerald Vizenor, member of the Chippewa tribe on the White Earth reservation, can generate healing for Indigenous communities as well as *Hispano* communities. Vizenor implements the neologism *survivance* to underscore how tribal communities resist and survive colonialism and mainstream American culture. Indigenous cultures have distinct, unique concepts of belonging, homeland, and what the renowned late Kiowa scholar and writer, N. Scott Momaday terms "blood memory," in his groundbreaking 1968 novel, *House Made of Dawn*. My mother, Susan Scarberry-García's own Southwest scholarship, including her book entitled *Landmarks of Healing: A Study of House Made of Dawn*, analyzes Indigenous pathways to healing (including the theme of fragmentation and re-assemblage) in Momaday's novel.[10] These important ideas could be explored in a future research project.[11] Building upon this dissertation further could entail exploring notions of Indigeneity, Indigenous concepts of land, belonging, and kinship, thereby delving more deeply into researching the Indigenous side of this story told here.

Saidiya Hartman, in her article entitled "Venus in Two Acts," sets forth a concept called "critical fabulation," which refers to the inevitable gaps, shadows, and silences in the historical

archive. Critical fabulation signals that archival absences can potentially be accounted for through the method of writing imaginative narratives interspersed with archival findings. Hartman's own work focuses on the transatlantic slave trade in her historical, self-reflexive text, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*. Hartman's notion of critical fabulation can also extend to this study of Indigenous enslavement, specifically regarding the hauntingly missing pieces within historical archival records. In this dissertation project, I have perhaps implicitly implemented Hartman's writing method in that I employ my imagination and speculate as to what my ancestors felt regarding their haunting life experiences. In addition, I uncover stories that, in part, aim to address the roles my ancestors played in both Indigenous enslavement and settler colonialism in the Southwest borderlands of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

Throughout this dissertation, I reckon with ghosts of the past while acknowledging ghosts that still lurk in the historical archive. Ghosts remain, not only in the archive, but linger in the settler colonial context of the complex socio-political-historical region of present-day northern New Mexico. Ghosts remind us of traumas and hauntings related to land dispossession, and also gesture toward the multiple power differentials at play in the Southwest. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz's *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, centers Indigenous narratives that resist settler colonialism in the southwestern U.S. Furthermore, in Dunbar-Ortiz's *Roots of Resistance: A History of Land Tenure in New Mexico*, she describes the process of colonization that starts with military conquest, and then proceeds on to detail the process of territorialization. As a territory, which New Mexico was until 1912, laws were generally loose in terms of acquiring private property, so as to favor the rich and well-positioned. Hence, this fact speaks to

how T.D. Burns, Reyes Gonzalez, and Ed Sargent possessed privilege, power, and wealth that, in turn, allowed them to amass significant landholdings in New Mexico.

Here, I also acknowledge that transformation and healing come through storytelling. By telling this complex and untold narrative, I hope to contribute some measure of justice for the Indigenous enslaved people that I write about here. Further, reflecting on the argument that haunting allows us to *feel*—which marks a substantial difference with other more traditional academic disciplines that are restricted to "objective," purely evidence-based, or factual ways of knowing—my project aims to open up new possibilities and create potential for healing. Closing the gap between people and land as separate entities, the notion of *querencía* establishes an affective mode of knowing what it means to *feel* kinship and a strong sense of place-based identity. Hence, *querencía* reflects an active recognition of belonging and acceptance for individuals in a cultural community. Q*uerencía* also conveys a deeply-rooted love of people and place.[12] A concept held in high esteem in the *Hispano/a* community, I contend that *querencía* marks a way to challenge haunting. Thus, *querencía* is a constructive concept, one with a distinguishable positive connotation, that involves a sense of warmth, a notion of homeland, and frequenting a place in which one senses deep notions of identity, belonging, recognition, and acceptance.

In *La Gente: Hispano History and Culture in Colorado*, as noted by Vincent de Baca, *Hispano* farming and ranching communities still practice a collective work ethic that includes delegating chores of cleaning irrigation *acequias*, and assigning grazing rights.[13] According to de Baca: only the land endures.[14] De Baca further explains that *Hispano* family ranches and farmland lent inspiration for the development of the American West and the notion of frontier icons.[15] Located on desolate lands are *vaqueros*, or cowboys, who tend to herds of cattle. On

ranches and farmlands, a *pastor* would engage in agricultural practices in lush, irrigated lands while private lands contain a *patrón* who "bequeathed a dreamland that only tourists and rich city folk now imagine."[16] De Baca continues to write imaginatively, stating that on communal lands Indigenous peoples revere and respect Mother Earth as they fight to retain their lands. If we ignore these lessons for *la gente* to nurture the land, then as a society, we risk great peril.[17]

During the 1800s in southern Colorado, in order to preserve land for future generations, primogenitor inheritance was pervasive, originating from the time of Spanish conquistadors, and still continues today in *Hispano* ranching families in the San Luis Valley.[18] For example, my father's older brother, José Eduardo García (1938-2010), or "Joe," as he was known, shown in a photograph below, inherited cattle ranching properties from his father, José Amarante García (1905-1959). My Uncle Joe was regarded as the main inheritor of family properties and thus, he was held solely responsible for maintaining an intergenerational landholding legacy. Evolving into a strong male figure within his own family, my Uncle Joe instilled a deep-seated dedication to *acequia* irrigation and ranching in his younger brother Reyes, who started herding his father's sheep while in grade school, by age thirteen was driving a tractor during haying, and herding his brother's cattle on horseback. My Uncle Joe extended his *patrón* status into his community of Antonito, Colorado, and also further into the surrounding ranching communities of *El Valle de San Luis*, by earning the respect of his *vecinos* as a generous man of honor capable of carrying on the legacy of his ranching *antepasados*.

Figure 31: José "Joe" Amarante Eduardo García (1938-2010) (circa 1975)
Photograph Source: García family collection

The García family continues to work to create a foundation for future generations to be afforded better opportunities to become educated while continuing to uphold a culturally rich ranching and landholding lineage. For example, my Uncle Joe inherited land from my grandfather and grandmother and became a prosperous cattle rancher, while my father attended the prestigious boarding school called The Abbey School in Cañon City, Colorado, and then Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., finally earning a Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Colorado at Boulder, where my older sister, Lana, is pursuing a Ph.D. in Environmental Studies. My father went on to teach as a Visiting Instructor at The Colorado College for five years before retiring as Professor of Philosophy after teaching at Fort Lewis College for over twenty years.

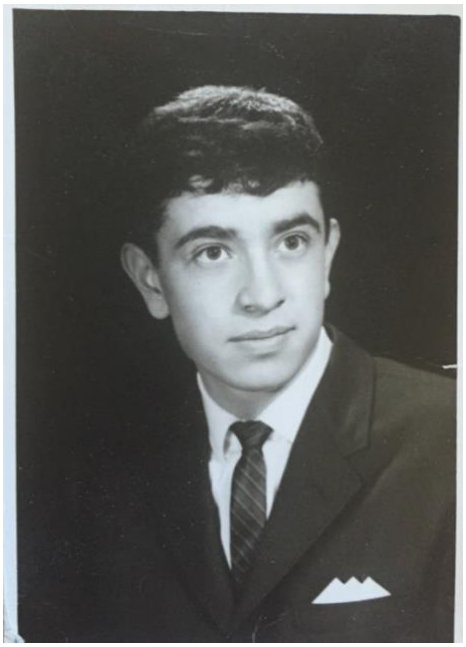


Figure 32: Reyes Roberto García (1946-)
Graduation portrait from The Abbey School, Cañon City, Colorado (1964)
Photograph Source: García family collection

As discussed in Chapter Two, today *El Rancho de José Victór*, including the *adobe* house (built circa 1850), historic *adobe* potato barn (built circa 1945), the historic "building envelope" remains on the National Register of Historic Places. Tour groups from Colorado Preservation Incorporated and Colorado History continue to visit the ranch for educational purposes. Visitors interested in *adobe* architecture and historic preservation continue to tour the *adobe* potato barn, even as it is being rebuilt and preserved for historic purposes via funding from the Colorado Historical Fund and the Sangre de Cristo National Heritage Area. Most recently, a group of one hundred or so representatives of National Heritage Areas from across the country enjoyed talks by my father, the restoration project architect, Barbara Darden, and a spokesman for History Colorado's Endangered Places Program, Kim Grant.

As a future inheritor of the García ranch, I endeavor to learn more about ranching practices, culture, and heritage from my father and our fellow ranching *vecinos*. For many years,

my father irrigated the alfalfa fields by hand, alongside his loyal dog, Nani. He worked digging out and cleaning the *acequias* in between academic teaching at The Colorado College in Colorado Springs, and later, Fort Lewis College in Durango. Carrying on the family tradition of simultaneously being an urban academic, while also maintaining a sense of rural kinship to the land, is meaningful to me as I, too, straddle the two worlds. I intend to travel to the ranch as often as possible to carry on the tradition of returning home. Our *adobe* home scenically looks northeast toward Mount Blanca, the Great Sand Dunes National Monument, the Sangre de Cristos to the east, San Antonio Mountain to the south, and Conejos Peak and Cumbres Pass located in the San Juan mountains to the west.

Figure 33: My father, Reyes, and me walking on García lane at our ranch outside Antonito, Colorado in July 2017
Photograph Source: taken by Alexander Jenks

Figure 34: My partner, Alexander Jenks, and my father walking in the fields at our ranch in July 2017
Photograph Source: taken by the author

In the near future, I intend to become an owner, along with my partner, Alex, of the northern parcel of the García ranch, which includes grassland meadows, old growth-cottonwoods, *acequias*, ponds, and wooden corrals. We believe that keeping land in the family is important, and that ranching life must endure for future generations. As a family, we also believe that maintaining a conversation easement on the ranch protects the delicate ecosystem and resident wildlife, such as deer, elk, foxes, marmots, skunks, porcupines, black bears, and even the occasional mountain lion, as they graze, hunt, search for water, and migrate across the land. Posted signs at the ranch warn that no hunting is allowed. In addition, an abundance of birds, including the federally endangered southwestern willow flycatcher, great horned owls, barn owls, eagles, geese, vultures, and many more species of birds, are protected via the conservation easement.[19] Ornithologists have visited the ranch to conduct field surveys of the wide range of birds that fly over, nest on, and migrate to and from the ranch across the seasons. Grizzly bears

and Mexican grey wolves once roamed the location where the García ranch exists today, outside Antonito, but have since been extirpated.[20] Maybe one day they will return.

The ongoing García family efforts to respect the natural environment of *el rancho* demonstrates the potential to preserve ranch land through keeping it in the family. The significance of ranching culture must be respected and acknowledged, while one must also accept responsibility for the aforementioned complicated histories of this specific region. My project speaks to a sense of land loss, since my father has experienced the wounding effects of losing land during past times in his life when land was sold, and thus passed into hands outside of the family. The possibility to recover land, I believe, marks a profound sense of resistance and *survivance* for *Hispanos*. In a sense, this story of living García family history in the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado borderlands has come full circle. Through writing this dissertation—and thereby acknowledging the need for more educational awareness, uncovering the complex histories of my ancestors, and also recognizing the beauty of maintaining a deep connection to homeland—allows for me to begin to heal from past intergenerational traumas associated with my ancestors' participation in Indigenous enslavement and the prior discussed haunting happenings within this project.

As a final note, future research could entail the relatively unknown life stories and experiences of the Gonzales/García women, especially my great-grandmother, Ana Ludgarda Gonzales Sargent (1882-1955), who was born in El Rito, New Mexico. Our family possesses a black-and-white photograph of her, shown below, appearing beautiful and distinguished, wearing an elegant lace wedding dress that was brought in from the east coast, possibly shipped over land via the Old Santa Fe Trail. Gonzales Sargent was an artist who worked informally as a painter. My father has one of her watercolors hanging in the foyer of our ranch home. I would like to

learn more about her life story, and her impact on northern New Mexico culture and society as a *Hispana* from an illustrious family.

Figure 35: Ana Ludgarda Gonzales Sargent (1882-1955)
Photograph Source: Courtesy of Kay Quinlan

Glossary of Spanish Terms

Abuela/abuelita – grandmother, affectionally little grandmother

Acequía – irrigation ditch system in New Mexico and Colorado, originates from the Moors

Adobe – brick or clay, and straw sun-dried building material

Antepesados – ancestors

Braso – refers to the area of the García ranches

Brazos – literally means embraces; area located outside Chama, New Mexico

Casta- caste

Chicano/as – political designation for people of *Mexicano* and Indigenous descent during Civil Rights Movement of 1960s and 1970s

Comanchito – Comanche tribal member

Conejos – rabbits, in association with *Conejos* River (river of rabbits)

Críadas – indentured servants of Indigenous decent

Cuentos – stories or oral histories

Cumbres – mountains or high peaks, specifically the mountain pass at 10,022 feet in the San Juan Mountain Range, located above the current-day Colorado/New Mexico border

Curanderismo – practice of traditional healing based in medicinal plants, herbs, and folkways

Familia - family

Genízaro/as – detribalized Indigenous people, often indentured servants

Gente – people of *Hispano* decent

Herederas – heiresses or female inheritors of the land

Hispanicize - a process by which someone is under Spanish influence via culture and customs

Hispano/as – people of Spanish, Mexican and/or Indigenous descent living in New Mexico, Colorado, some are Spanish-speaking

Indo-Hispano/a – people of Spanish, Mexican descent that are Indigenous to an area (pre-colonial)

Llano – plains landscape (in the American Southwest)

Mestizo/a – mixed blood or heritage, oftentimes regarding European/Spanish, or *Hispano,* and Indigenous cultural, genetic, and linguistic heritage

Mestizaje – the process of racial mixing in relation to Spanish, or *Hispano,* and Indigenous heritage, sometimes including African heritage

Morada - special small chapel

Nana – a child's term for grandmother

Nuevomexicano/a - a native of New Mexico

Nuevo México – state of New Mexico

Pobladores – early *Hispano* settlers, especially in southern Colorado

Partido – share contracts

Pastor - shepherd

Patrón – boss, especially of a farm or ranch

Plaza – town square or center

Primo – cousin, close relation

Querencía – sense of homeland for *Chicano/a, Hispano/a* people of the Southwestern U.S.

Sangre de Cristo – blood of Christ; also, a mountain range in San Luis Valley, Colorado

Testimonios – first-person stories or life narratives

Valle de San Luis – San Luis Valley

Vaquero – cowboy who often herds livestock

Vecino – neighbor, especially in a rural, tight-knit cultural community

Vigas – wooden ceiling beams in traditional *adobe* buildings located in the Southwest, especially in New Mexico, made of piñon or Ponderosa pin

Notes

Introduction

[1] Jacques Derrida, *Spectres de Marx: The State of Debt: The Work of Mourning and the New International*. (London: Routledge, 1993).

[2] Ibid.

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[4] Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination.* (New York: Verso, 2002), 3.

[5] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* edited by Pauline Nestor, London: Penguin Books, 2003.; Mary Wollstonecraft, ed. by Marilyn Butler. *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.; Toni Morrison, *Beloved*. New York City: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1987.*;* Henry James, *The Turn of the Screw: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, and* Sources, edited by Robert Kimbrough. New York: W.W. Norton, 1966.

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